John Keats
from
Charles Brown
1819

THE

ANATOMY

OF

MELANCHOLY,

WHAT IT IS, WITH ALL THE

KINDS, CAUSES, SYMPTOMES, PROGNOSTICS,

AND

SEVERAL CURES OF IT.

IN THREE PARTITIONS.

WITH THEIR SEVERAL

SECTIONS, MEMBERS, AND SUBSECTIONS,

Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically opened and cut up.

BY

DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR.

WITH

A SATYRICALL PREFACE CONDUCING TO THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSE.

The Eleventh Edition corrected.

To which is now first prefixed

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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1813.

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SECT. III.

MEMB. I. SUBSECT. I.

A Consolatory Digression, containing the Remedies of all manner of Discontents.

BECAUSE, in the precedent section, I have made mention of good counsel, comfortable speeches, perswasion, how necessarily they are required to the cure of a discontented or troubled mind, how present a remedy they yield, and many times a sole sufficient cure of themselvses; I have thought fit, in this following section, a little to digress, (if at least it be to digress in this subject) to collect and glean a few remedies, and comfortable speeches, out of our best orators, philosophers, divines, and fathers of the church, tending to this purpose. I confess, many have copiously written of this subject, Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Xenophon, Epictetus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Crantor, Lucian, Boëthius—and some of late, Sadoletus, Cardan, Budæus, Stella, Petrarch, Erasmus, besides Austin, Cyprian, Bernard, &c. and they so well, that, as Hierome in like case said, *si nostrum areret ingenium, de illorum posset fontibus irrigari*, if our barren wits were dryed up, they might be copiously irrigated from those well-springs; and I shall but *actum agere*. Yet, because these tracts are not so obvious and common, I will epitomize, and briefly insert some of their divine precepts, reducing their voluminous and vast treatises to my small scale; for it were otherwise impossible to bring so great vessels into so little a creek. And, although (as Cardan said of his book *de consol.*) [a] *I know before hand, this tract of mine many will contemn and reject; they that are fortunate, happy, and in flourishing estate, have no need of such consolatory speeches; they that are miserable and*

[a] Lib. de lib. propriis. Hos libros scio multos spernere; nam felices his se non indigere putant, infelices ad solationem miseriæ non sufficere. Et tamen felicibus moderationem, dum inconstantiam humanæ felicitatis docent, præstant: infelices, si omnia recte æstimare velint, felices reddere possunt.

unhappy, think them unsufficient to ease their grieved minds, and comfort their misery; yet I will go on; for this must needs do some good to such as are happy, to bring them to a moderation, and make them reflect and know themselves, by seeing the unconstancy of humane felicity, others misery: and to such as are distressed, if they will but attend and consider of this, it cannot choose but give some content and comfort. [a] *'Tis true, no medicine can cure all diseases: some affections of the mind are altogether incurable: yet these helps of art, physick, and philosophy, must not be contemned.* Arrianus and Plotinus are stiffe in the contrary opinion, that such precepts can do little good. Boëthius himself cannot comfort in some cases: they will reject such speeches, like bread of stones:

Insana stultæ mentis hæc solatia.

Words adde no courage (which [b] Catiline once said to his souldiers): *a captains oration doth not make a coward a valiant man*: and, as Job [c] feelingly said to his friends, *you are but miserable comforters all.* 'Tis to no purpose, in that vulgar phrase, to use a company of obsolete sentences, and familiar sayings: as [d] Plinius Secundus, being now sorrowful and heavy for the departure of his dear friend Cornelius Rufus a Roman senator, wrote to his fellow Tiro in like case, *adhibe solatia, sed nova aliqua, sed fortia, quæ audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam: nam quæ audivi, quæ legi, omnia tanto dolore superantur*; either say something that I never read nor heard of before, or else hold thy peace. Most men will here except, trivial consolations, ordinary speeches, and known perswasions, in this behalf will be of small force; what can any man say that hath not been said? to what end are such paræ-netical discourses? you may as soon remove mount Caucasus, as alter some mens affections. Yet sure I think they cannot choose but do some good, comfort and ease a little: though it be the same again, I will say it; and upon that hope, I will adventure. [e] *Non meus hic sermo*, tis not my speech this, but of Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Austin, Bernard, Christ, and his apostles. If I make nothing, as [f] Montaigne said in like case, I will mar nothing; tis not my doctrine but my study; I hope I shall do no body wrong to speak what I think, and deserve not blame in imparting my mind. If it be not for thy ease, it may be for my own; so Tully, Cardan, and Boëthius wrote *de consol.* as well to help themselves, as others. Be it as it may, I will essay.

[a] Nullum medicamentum omnes sanare potest; sunt affectus animi qui prorsus sunt insanabiles; non tamen artis opus sperni debet, aut medicinæ, aut philosophiæ. [b] Sallust. Verba virtutem non addunt, nec imperatoris oratio facit e timido fortem. [c] Job, cap. 16. [d] Epist. 12. lib. 1. [e] Hor. [f] Lib. 2. Essays, cap. 6.

Discontents and grievances are either generall or particular; generall are wars, plagues, dearths, famine, fires, inundations, unseasonable weather, epidemical diseases, which afflict whole kingdoms, territories, cities: or peculiar to private men, [a]as cares, crosses, losses, death of friends, poverty, want, sickness, orbities, injuries, abuses, &c. generally all discontent: [b] *homines quatimur fortunæ salo:* no condition free: *quisque suos patimur manes.* Even in the midst of our mirth and jollity, there is some grudging, some complaint; as [c] he saith, our whole life is a *glucupicron*, a bitter-sweet passion, hony and gall mixt together; we are all miserable and discontent; who can deny it? If all, and that it be a common calamity, an inevitable necessity, all distressed, then, as Cardan infers, [d] *who art thou, that hopest to go free? Why dost thou not grieve, thou art a mortall man, and not governor of the world?*

Ferre, quam sortem patiuntur omnes,
Nemo recuset:

[e] *if it be common to all, why should one man be more disquieted then another?* If thou alone wert distressed, it were indeed more irksome, and less to be indured: but, when the calamity is common, comfort thyself with this, thou hast more fellows:

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris:

'tis not thy sole case; and why shouldst thou be so impatient? [f] *I, but alas we are more miserable then others: what shall we do? Besides private miseries, we live in perpetuall fear, and danger of common enemies; we have Bellona's whips, and pittifull out-cryes, for epithalamiums; for pleasant musick, that fearfull noise of ordnance, drums, and warlike trumpets, still sounding in our eares; instead of nuptiall torches, we have firing of towns and cities; for triumphs, lamentations; for joy, teares.* [g] *So it is, and so it was, and ever will be. He that refuseth to see and hear, to suffer this, is not fit to live in this world, and knows not the common condition of all men, to whom, so long as they live, with a reciprocall course, joyes*

[a] Alium paupertas, alium orbitas, hunc morbi, illum timor, alium injuriæ, hunc insidiæ, illum uxor, filii, distrahunt. Cardan. [b] Boëthius, l. 1. met. 5.
[c] Apuleius, 4. florid. Nihil homini tam prospere datum divinitus, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis; in amplissimâ quâque lætitiâ subest quædam querimonia, conjugatione quâdam mellis et fellis. [d] Si omnes premantur, quis tu es, qui solus evadere cupis ab eâ lege quæ neminem præterit? Cur te non immortalem factum, et universi orbis regem fieri, non doles? [e] Puteanus, ep. 75. Neque cuiquam præcipue dolendum eo quod accidit universis. [f] Lorchan. Gallobelgicus, lib. 3, Anno 1598, de Belgis. Sed eheu! inquis; euge! quid agemus? ubi pro epithalamio Bellonæ flagellum, pro musicâ harmoniâ terribilium lituorum et tubarum audias clangorem, pro tædis nuptialibus, villarum, pagorum, urbium videas incendia; ubi pro jubilo lamenta, pro risu fletus, aërem complent. [g] Ita est profecto; et quisquis hæc videre abnuis, huic seculo parum aptus es; aut potius nostrorum omnium conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu lætis tristibus, tristia lætis, invicem succedunt.

without sin, none without correction. [a] *An expert sea-man is tried in a tempest, a runner in a race, a captain in a battle, a valiant man in adversity, a Christian in tentation and misery.* (Basil. *hom.* 8.) We are sent as so many souldiers into this world, to strive with it, the flesh, the devil; our life is a warfare; and who knows it not?

[b] Non est ad astra mollis e terris via:

[c] *and therefore peradventure this world here is made troublesome unto us, that,* as Gregory notes, *we should not be delighted by the way, and forget whither we are going.*

[d] Ite nunc fortes, ubi celsa magni
Ducit exempli via: cur inertes
Terga nudatis? superata tellus
Sidera donat.

Go on then merrily to heaven. If the way be troublesome, and you in misery, in many grievances, on the other side you have many pleasant sports, objects, sweet smels, delightsome tastes, musick, meats, herbs, flowers, &c. to recreate your senses. Or put case thou art now forsaken of the world, dejected, contemned; yet comfort thy self, as it was said to Agar in the wildernesse, [e] *God sees thee: he takes notice of thee:* there is a God above that can vindicate thy cause, that can relieve thee. And surely, [f] Seneca thinks, he takes delight in seeing thee. *The gods are well pleased when they see great men contending with adversity,* as we are to see men fight, or a man with a beast. But these are toyes in respect: [g] *behold,* saith he, *a spectacle worthy of God: a good man contented with his estate.* A tyrant is the best sacrifice to Jupiter, as the ancients held, and his best object *a contented minde.* For thy part then, rest satisfied; *cast all thy care on him, thy burden on him; rely on him;* [h] *trust in him; and he shall nourish thee, care for thee, give thee thine hearts desire:* say with David, *God is our hope and strength, in troubles ready to be found* (Psal. 46. 1): *for they that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Sion, which cannot be removed* (Psal. 125. 1, 2): *as the mountains are about Jerusalem, so is the Lord about his people, from henceforth and for ever.*

[a] Nauclerum tempestas, athletam stadium, ducem pugna, magnanimum calamitas, Christianum vero tentatio probat et examinat. [b] Sen. Herc. fur.
[c] Ideo Deus asperum fecit iter, ne, dum delectantur in viâ, obliviscantur eorum quæ sunt in patriâ. [d] Boëthius, l. 5. met. ult. [e] Boëth. pro. ult. Manet spectator cunctorum desuper præscius deus, bonis præmia, malis supplicia, dispensans.
[f] Lib de provid. voluptatem capiunt dii, siquando magnos viros colluctantes cum calamitate vident. [g] Ecce spectaculum Deo dignum, vir fortis malâ fortunâ compositus. [h] 1 Pet. 5. 7. Psal. 55. 22.

MEMB. II.

Deformity of body, sicknesse, basenesse of birth, peculiar discontents.

PARTICULAR discontents and grievances are either of body, minde, or fortune, which, as they wound the soul of man, produce this melancholy, and many great inconveniences, by that antidote of good counsell and perswasion may be eased or expelled. Deformities and imperfections of our bodies, as lamenesse, crookednesse, deafnesse, blindnesse, be they innate or accidentall, torture many men: yet this may comfort them, that those imperfections of the body do not a whit blemish the soul, or hinder the operations of it, but rather help and much increase it. Thou art lame of body, deformed to the eye; yet this hinders not but that thou maist be a good, a wise, upright, honest man. [a] *Seldome*, saith Plutarch, *honesty and beauty dwell together;* and oftentimes, under a thread-bare coat, lies an excellent understanding:

Sæpe sub attritâ latitat sapientia veste.

[b] Cornelius Mussus, that famous preacher in Italy, when he came first into the pulpit of Venice, was so much contemned by reason of his outside, a little, lean, poore, dejected person, [c] they were all ready to leave the church; but, when they heard his voice, they did admire him; and happy was that senator could injoy his company, or invite him first to his house. A silly fellow to look to, may have more wit, learning, honesty, than he that struts it out, *ampullis jactans, &c. grandia gradiens*, and is admired in the worlds opinion.

Vilis sæpe cadus nobile nectar habet:

the best wine comes out of an old vessell. How many deformed princes, kings, emperours, could I reckon up, philosophers, orators? Hannibal had one eye, Appius Claudus, Timoleon, blinde, Muleasses king of Tunis, John king of Bohemia, and Tiresias the prophet. [d] *The night hath his pleasure;* and, for the losse of that one sense, such men are commonly recompensed in the rest: they have excellent memories, other good parts, musick, and many recreations; much happines, great wisdom, as Tully well discourseth in his [e] Tusculan Questions. Homer was blinde; yet who (saith he) made more accurate, lively, or better descriptions, with both his eyes? Democritus was blinde; yet, as Laërtius writes of him, he saw

[a] Raro sub eodem lare honestas et forma habitant. [b] Josephus Mussus, vitâ ejus. [c] Homuncio brevis, macilentus, umbra hominis, &c. Ad stuporem ejus eruditionem et eloquentiam admirati sunt. [d] Nox habet suas voluptates.
[e] Lib. 5. ad finem. Cæcus potest esse sapiens et beatus, &c.

more than all Greece besides; as [a] Plato concludes, *tum sane mentis oculus acute incipit cernere, quum primum corporis oculus deflorescit*; when our bodily eyes are at worst, generally the eyes of our soul see best. Some philosophers and divines have evirated themselves, and put out their eyes voluntarily, the better to contemplate. Angelus Politianus had a tetter in his nose continually running, fulsome in company; yet no man so eloquent and pleasing in his works. Æsope was crooked, Socrates pur-blinde, long-legged, hairy; Democritus withered, Seneca lean and harsh, ugly to behold; yet shew me so many flourishing wits, such divine spirits: Horace, a little bleareyed contemptible fellow; yet who so sententious and wise? Marcilius Ficinus, Faber Stapulensis, a couple of dwarfes; [b] Melancthon a short, hard-favoured man; *parvus erat, sed magnus erat, &c.* yet of incomparable parts all three. [c] Ignatius Loiola, the founder of the Jesuits, by reason of an hurt he received in his leg at the siege of Pampelona the chief town of Navarre in Spaine, unfit for wars, and lesse serviceable at court, upon that accident betook himself to his beads, and by those means got more honour than ever he should have done with the use of his limbs, and propernes of person. [d] *Vulnus non penetrat animam*; a wound hurts not the soul. Galba the emperour was crook-backed, Epictetus lame; that great Alexander a little man of stature; [e] Augustus Cæsar of the same pitch; Agesilaüs *despicabili formâ*; Boccharis a most deformed prince as ever Egypt had, [f] yet (as Diodorus Siculus records of him) in wisdome and knowledge far beyond his predecessours. *A. Dom.* 1306, [g] Uladeslaus Cubitalis, that pigmy king of Poland, reigned and fought more victorious battels, then any of his long-shanked predecessours. *Nullam virtus respuit staturam*: vertue refuseth no stature; and commonly your great vast bodies, and fine features, are sottish, dull, and leaden spirits. What's in them?

> [h] Quid nisi pondus iners, stolidæque ferocia mentis?

what in Otus and Ephialtes (Neptunes sons in Homer) nine akers long?

> ——————[i] Qui, ut magnus Orion,
> Cum pedes incedit, medii per maxima Nerei
> Stagna viam findens, humero supereminet undas:

what in Maximinus, Ajax, Caligula, and the rest of those

[a] In Convivio, lib. 25. [b] Joachimus Camerarius, vit. ejus. [c] Riber. vit. ejus. [d] Macrobius. [e] Sueton. c. 7. 9. [f] Lib. 1. Corpore exili et despecto, sed ingenio et prudentiâ longe ante se reges cæteros præveniens. [g] Alexander Gaguinus, hist. Polandiæ. Corpore parvus eram, cubito vix altior uno: Sed tamen in parvo corpore magnus eram. [h] Ovid. [i] Virg. Æn. 10.

great Zanzummins, or giganticall Anakims, heavie, vast, barbarous lubbers?

——si membra tibi dant grandia Parcæ,
Mentis eges.

Their body (saith [a]Lemnius) *is a burden to them, and their spirits not so lively, nor they so erect and merry:*

Non est in magno corpore mica salis.

A little diamond is more worth then a rocky mountain: which made Alexander Aphrodisiæus positively conclude, *the lesser, the* [b]*wiser, because the soul was much contracted in such a body.* Let Bodine (in his 5. *c. method. hist.*) plead the rest: the lesser they are, as in Asia, Greece, they have generally the finest wits. And for bodily stature, which some so much admire, and goodly presence, 'tis true, to say the best of them, great men are proper and tall, *I grant,——caput inter nubila condunt;* but *belli pusilli,* little men are pretty:

Sed si bellus homo est Cotta, pusillus homo est.

Sickness, diseases, trouble many, but without a cause. *It may be 'tis for the good of their souls: pars fati fuit:* the flesh rebels against the spirit; that which hurts the one, must needs help the other. Sicknesse is the mother of modesty, putteth us in minde of our mortality; and, when we are in the full career of worldly pomp and jollity, she pulleth us by the ear, and maketh us know ourselves. [d]Pliny calls it the sum of philosophy, *if we could but perform that in our health, which we promise in our sicknesse. Quum infirmi sumus, optimi sumus;* for what sick man (as [e]Secundus expostulates with Rufus) was ever *lascivious, covetous, or ambitious? he envies no man, admires no man, flatters no man, despiseth no man, listens not after lyes and tales,* &c. And, were it not for such gentle remembrances, men would have no moderation of themselves; they would be worse then tigers, wolves, and lions: who should keep them in awe? *Princes, masters, parents, magistrates, judges, friends, enemies, fair or foul meanes cannot contain us; but a little sicknes* (as [f]Chrysostome observes) *will correct and amend us.* And therefore, with good

[a] Lib. 2. cap. 20. oneri est illis corporis moles, et spiritus minus vividi. [b] Corpore breves prudentiores, quum coarctata sit anima. Ingenio pollet, cui vim natura negavit. [c] Multis ad salutem animæ profuit corporis ægritudo. Petrarch. [d] Lib. 7. Summa est totius philosophiæ, si tales, &c. [e] Plinius epist. 7. lib. Quem infirmum libido solicitat, aut avaritia, aut honores? nemini invidet, neminem miratur, neminem despicit, sermone maligno non alitur. [f] Non terret princeps, magister, parens, judex; at ægritudo superveniens omnia correxit.

discretion, [a]Jovianus Pontanus caused this short sentence to be engraven on his tombe in Naples: *Labour, sorrow, grief, sicknesse, want and woe, to serve proud masters, bear that superstitious yoke, and bury your dearest friends, &c. are the sawces of our life.* If thy disease be continuate and painfull to thee, it will not surely last: *and a light affliction, which is but for a moment, causeth unto us a far more excellent and eternall weight of glory* (2 Cor. 4. 17): bear it with patience: women endure much sorrow in childbed; and yet they will not contain; and those that are barren, wish for this pain: *be couragious:* [b]*there is as much valour to be shewed in thy bed, as in an army or at a sea-fight: aut vincetur, aut vincet;* thou shalt be rid at last. In the mean time, let it take his course; thy minde is not any way disabled. Bilibaldus Pirkimerus senator to Charles the fifth, ruled all Germany, lying most part of his days sick of the gout upon his bed. The more violent thy torture is, the lesse it will continue: and, though it be severe and hideous for the time, comfort thy self, as martyrs do, with honour and immortality. [c]That famous philosopher Epicurus, being in as miserable paine of stone and collick, as a man might endure, solaced himself with a conceit of immortality; *the joy of his soul for his rare inventions repelled the pain of his bodily torments.*

Basenesse of birth is a great disparagement to some men, especially if they be wealthy, bear office, and come to promotion in a common-wealth: then, (as [d]he observes) if their birth be not answerable to their calling, and to their fellowes, they are much abashed and ashamed of themselves. Some scorn their own father and mother, deny brothers and sisters, with the rest of their kindred and friends, and will not suffer them to come near them, when they are in their pomp, accounting it a scandal to their greatness, to have such beggarly beginnings. Simon, in Lucian, having now got a little wealth, changed his name from Simon to Simonides, for that there were so many beggars of his kin, and set the house on fire where he was born, because nobody should point at it. Others buy titles, coats of armes, and by all means screw themselves into ancient families, falsifying pedegrees, usurping scutchions, and all because they would not seem to be base. The reason is, for that this genti-

[a] Nat. Chytræus, Europ. deliciis. Labor, dolor, ægritudo, luctus, servire superbis dominis, jugum ferre superstitionis, quos habet caros sepelire, &c. condimenta vitæ sunt. [b] Non tam mari quam prœlio virtus, etiam lecto exhibetur: vincetur aut vincet; aut tu febrem relinques, aut ipsa te. Seneca. [c] Tullius, lib. 7. fam. ep. Vesicæ morbo laborans, et urinæ mittendæ difficultate tantâ, ut vix incrementum caperet; repellebat hæc omnia animi gaudium ob memoriam inventorum. [d] Boëth. lib. 2. pr. 4. Huic census exsuperat, sed est pudori degener sanguis.

lity is so much admired by a company of outsides, and such honour attributed unto it, as amongst [a] Germans, Frenchmen, and Venetians, the gentry scorn the commonalty, and will not suffer them to match with them; they depresse, and make them as so many asses, to carry burdens. In our ordinary talk and fallings out, the most opprobrious and scurrile name we can fasten upon a man, or first give, is to call him base rogue, beggarly rascall, and the like: whereas, in my judgement, this ought, of all other grievances, to trouble men least. Of all vanities and fopperies, to brag of gentility is the greatest; for what is it they crack so much of, and challenge such superiority, as if they were demi-gods? Birth?

Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?

It is *non ens*, a meer flash, a ceremony, a toy, a thing of nought. Consider the beginning, present estate, progresse, ending of gentry; and then tell me what it is. [b] *Oppression, fraud, cosening, usury, knavery, baudery, murther and tyranny, are the beginning of many ancient families.* [c] *One hath been a bloud-sucker, a parricide, the death of many a silly soul in some unjust quarrels, seditions, made many an orphan and poor widow; and for that he is made a lord or an earl, and his posterity gentlemen for ever after. Another hath been a bawd, a pander to some great men, a parasite, a slave,* [d] *prostituted himself, his wife, daughter,* to some lascivious prince; and for that he is exalted. Tiberius preferred many to honours in his time, because they were famous whore-masters and sturdy drinkers; many come into this parchment row (so [e] one cals it) by flattery or cosening. Search your old families, and you shall scarce find, of a multitude, (as Æneas Sylvius observes) *qui sceleratum non habent ortum*, that have not a wicked beginning; *aut qui vi et dolo eo fastigii non ascendunt* (as that plebeian in [f] Machiavel, in a set oration, proved to his fellows) that do not rise by knavery, force, foolery, villany, or such indirect means. *They are commonly noble that are wealthy; vertue and riches seldome settle on one man: who then sees not the base beginning of nobility? spoiles enrich one, usury ano-*

[a] Gasper Ens. polit. thes. [b] Alii pro pecuniâ emunt nobilitatem, alii illam lenocinio, alii veneficiis, alii parricidiis; multis proditio nobilitatem conciliat; plerique adulatione, detractione, calumniis, &c. Agrip. de vanit. scien. [c] Ex homicidio sæpe orta nobilitas, et strenuâ carnificinâ. [d] Plures ob prostitutas filias, uxores, nobiles facti; multos venationes, rapinæ, cædes, præstigia, &c. [e] Sat. Menip. [f] Cum enim hos dici nobiles videmus, qui divitiis abundant, divitiæ vero raro virtutis sunt comites, quis non videt ortum nobilitatis degenerem? hunc usuræ ditârunt, illum spolia, proditiones; hic veneficiis ditatus, ille adulationibus; huic adulteria lucrum præbent, nonnullis mendacia; quidam ex conjuge quæstum faciunt, plerique ex natis, &c. Florent. hist. lib. 3.

ther, treason a third, witchcraft a fourth, flattery a fifth, lying, stealing, bearing false witness a sixth, adultery the seventh, &c. One makes a fool of himself to make his lord merry; another dandles my young master, bestowes a little nag on him; a third marries a crackt piece, &c. Now, may it please your good worship, your lordship, who was the first founder of your family? The poet answers,

[a] Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Are he or you the better gentleman? If he, then we have traced him to his form. If you, what is it of which thou boastest so much? That thou art his son. It may be, his heir, his reputed son, and yet indeed a priest or a serving man may be the true father of him; but we will not controvert that now; married women are all honest; thou art his sons sons son, begotten and born *intra quatuor maria, &c.* Thy great great great grandfather was a rich citizen, and then in all likelihood a usurer, a lawyer, and then a ....; a courtier, and then a ....; a country gentleman, and then he scraped it out of sheep, &c. and you are the heir of all his vertues, fortunes, titles; so then what is your gentry, but, as Hierom saith, *opes antiquæ, inveteratæ divitiæ*, ancient wealth? that is the definition of gentility. The father goes often to the divel, to make his son a gentleman. For the present, what is it? *It began* (saith [b] Agrippa) *with strong impiety, with tyranny, oppression, &c.* and so it is maintained: wealth began it (no matter how got); wealth continueth and increaseth it. Those Roman knights were so called, if they could dispend, *per annum*, so much. [c] In the kingdome of Naples and France, he that buyes such lands, buyes the honour, title, barony together with it; and they that can dispend so much amongst us, must be called to bear office, to be knights, or fine for it, as one observes, [d] *nobiliorem ex censu judicant*; our nobles are measured by their means. And what now is the object of honor? What maintaines our gentry, but wealth?

[e] Nobilitas, sine re, projectâ vilior algâ:

without means, gentry is naught worth; nothing so contemptible and base. [f] *Disputare de nobilitate generis, sine divitiis, est disputare de nobilitate stercoris*, saith Nevisanus the lawyer; to dispute of gentry, without wealth, is (saving your reverence) to discusse the originall of a mard. So that it is wealth alone that denominates, money which maintaines it, gives *esse* to it, for which every man may have it. And what is their ordinary

[a] Juven. [b] Robusta improbitas a tyrannide incepta, &c. [c] Gasper Ens. thesauro polit. lib. 4. num. III. [d] Gresserus, Itinerar. fol. 266. [e] Hor. [f] Syl. nup.

exercise? [a] *sit to eat, drink, lie down to sleep, and rise to play:* wherein lies their worth and sufficiency? in a few coats of armes, eagles, lions, serpents, bears, tygers, dogs, crosses, bends, fesses, &c. and such like bables, which they commonly set up in their galleries, porches, windowes, on boles, platters, coches, in tombs, churches, mens sleeves, &c. [b] *If he can hawk and hunt, ride an horse, play at cards and dice, swagger, drink, swear,* take tobacco with a grace, sing, dance, wear his clothes in fashion, court and please his mistris, talk big fustian, [c] insult, scorn, strut, contemn others, and use a little mimical and apish complement above the rest, he is a compleat, (*Egregiam vero laudem*) a well qualified gentleman: these are most of their imployments, this their greatest commendation. What is gentry, this parchment nobility then, but (as [d] Agrippa defines it) *a sanctuary of knavery and naughtines, a cloke for wickedness and execrable vices, of pride, fraud, contempt, boasting, oppression, dissimulation, lust, gluttony, malice fornication, adultery, ignorance, impiety?* A nobleman therefore, in some likelihood, (as he concludes) is an *atheist, an oppressor, an epicure, a* [e] *gull, a disard, an illiterate idiot, an outside, a gloworm, a proud fool, an arrant asse, ventris et inguinis mancipium,* a slave to his lust and belly, *soláque libidine fortis.* And, as Salvianus observed of his countrymen the Aquitanes in France, *sicut titulis primi fuere, sic et vitiis;* and Cabinet du Roy, their own writer distinctly of the rest—*the nobles of Berry are most part leachers, they of Tourraine theeves, they of Narbone covetous, they of Guyenne coyners, they of Province atheists, they of Rhemes superstitious, they of Lions treacherous, of Normandy proud, of Picardy insolent,* &c. we may generally conclude, the greater men, the more vicious. In fine, as Æneas Sylvius addes, [f] *they are most part miserable, sottish, and filthy fellows, like the walls of their houses, fair without, foul within.* What dost thou vaunt of now? [g] *What dost thou gape and wonder at? admire him for his brave apparell, horses, dogs, fine houses, manors, orchards, gardens, walks? Why, a fool may be possessor of this as well as he; and he that accounts him a better*

[a] Exod. 32. [b] Omnium nobilium sufficientia in eo probatur, si venatica noverint, si aleam, si corporis vires ingentibus poculis commonstrent, si naturæ robur numerosâ Venere probent, &c. [c] Difficile est, ut non sit superbus dives. Austin, ser. 24. [d] Nobilitas nihil aliud nisi improbitas, furor, rapina, latrocinium, homicidium, luxus, venatio, violentia, &c. [e] The fool took away my lord in the mask: 'twas apposite. [f] De miser. curial. Miseri sunt, inepti sunt, turpes sunt; multi, ut parietes ædium suarum, speciosi. [g] Miraris aureas vestes, equos, canes, ordinem famulorum, lautas mensas, ædes, villas, prædia, piscinas, sylvas, &c. hæc omnia stultus assequi potest. Pandalus noster lenocinio nobilitatus est. Æneas Sylvius.

writes to Cosmus Medices, then duke of Florence) *for thy vertues, then for thy lovely wife, and happy children, friends, fortunes, or great dutchy of Tuscany.* So I accompt thee; and who doth not so indeed? [a]Abdalonymus was a gardner, and yet by Alexander, for his vertues, made king of Syria. How much better is it to be born of mean parentage, and to excell in worth, to be morally noble, which is preferred before that naturall nobility, by divines, philosophers, and [b] politicians, to be learned, honest, discreet, well qualified, to be fit for any manner of imploiment, in country and common-wealth, war and peace, then to be *degeneres Neoptolemi*, as many brave nobles are, only wise because rich, otherwise idiots, illiterate, unfit for any manner of service? [c]Udalricus, earl of Cilia, upbraided John Huniades with the baseness of his birth: but he replied, *in te Ciliensis comitatus turpiter extinguitur, in me gloriose Bistricensis exoritur:* thine earldome is consumed with riot; mine begins with honour and renown. Thou hast had so many noble ancestors; what is that to thee? *Vix ea nostra voco:* [d]when thou art a disard thyself, *quid prodest, Pontice, longo stemmate censeri?* &c. I conclude, hast thou a sound body, and a good soul, good bringing up? art thou vertuous, honest, learned, well qualified, religious? are thy conditions good? thou art a true nobleman, perfectly noble, although born of Thersites, *dum modo tu sis Æacidæ similis, non natus, sed factus*, noble κατ' ἐξοχήν, [e]*for neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor sickness, nor outward violence, nor the divel himself, can take thy good parts from thee.* Be not ashamed of thy birth then; thou art a gentleman all the world over, and shalt be honoured, when as he, strip him of his fine clothes, [f]dispossess him of his wealth, is a funge (which [g]Polynices, in his banishment, found true by experience, gentry was not esteemed) like a piece of coin in another countrey, that no man will take, and shall be contemned. Once more, though thou be a barbarian, born at Tontonteac, a villain, a slave, a Saldanian negro, or a rude Virginian in Dasamonquepeuc, he a French monseur, a Spanish don, a senior of Italy, I care not how descended, of what family, of what order, baron, count, prince, if thou be well qualified, and he not, but a degenerate Neoptolemus, I tell thee in a word, thou art a man, and he is a beast.

Let no *terræ filius*, or upstart, insult at this which I have said, no worthy gentleman take offence. I speak it not to de-

[a] Curtius. [b] Bodine, de rep. lib. 3. cap. 8. [c] Æneas Silvius, lib. 2. cap. 29. [d] If children be proud, haughty, foolish, they defile the nobility of their kindred. Eccl. 22. 8. [e] Cujus possessio nec furto eripi, nec incendio absumi, nec aquarum voragine absorberi, vel vi morbi destrui, potest. [f] Send them both to some strange place naked, ad ignotos, as Aristippus said, you shall see the difference. Bacons Essayes. [g] Familiæ splendor nihil opis attulit, &c.

tract from such as are well deserving, truely vertuous and noble: I do much respect and honour true gentry and nobility; I was born of worshipful parents my self, in an ancient family: but I am a younger brother, it concernes me not: or, had I been some great heir, richly endowed, so minded as I am, I should not have been elevated at all, but so esteemed of it, as of all other humane happiness, honours, &c. they have their period, are brittle and unconstant. As [a] he said of that great river Danubius, it riseth from a small fountain, a little brook at first, sometimes broad, sometimes narrow, now slow, then swift, increased at last to an incredible greatness, by the confluence of 60 navigable rivers, it vanisheth in conclusion, loseth its name, and is suddenly swallowed up of the Euxine sea; I may say of our greatest families, they were mean at first, augmented by rich marriages, purchases, offices; they continue for some ages, with some little alteration of circumstances, fortunes, places, &c. by some prodigal son, for some default, or for want of issue, they are defaced in an instant, and their memory blotted out.

So much in the mean time I do attribute to gentility, that, if he be well descended of worshipful or noble parentage, he will express it in his conditions:

> ——nec enim feroces,
> Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

And although the nobility of our times be much like our coins, more in number and value, but less in waight and goodnes, with finer stamps, cuts, or outsides, then of old; yet, if he retain those ancient characters of true gentry, he will be more affable, courteous, gently disposed, of fairer carriage, better temper, or a more magnanimous, heroicall and generous spirit, then that *vulgus hominum*, those ordinary boores and pesants, *qui adeo improbi, agrestes, et inculti plerumque sunt, ne dicam malitiosi, ut nemini ullum humanitatis officium præstent, ne ipsi Deo, si advenerit*, as [b] one observes of them, a rude, brutish, uncivil, wilde, a currish generation, cruel and malicious, uncapable of discipline, and such as have scarce common sense. And it may be generally spoken of all, which [c] Lemnius the physician said of his travel into England, the common people were silly, sullen, dogged clowns, *sed mitior nobilitas, ad omne humanitatis officium paratissima*, the gentlemen were courteous and civil. If it so fall out (as often it doth) that such pesants are preferred by reason of their wealth,

[a] Fluvius hic illustris, humanarum rerum imago, quæ, parvis ductæ sub initiis, in immensum crescunt, et subitò evanescunt. Exilis hic primo fluvius in admirandam magnitudinem excrescit, tandemque in mari Euxino evanescit. J. Stuckius, pereg. mar. Euxini. [b] Sabinus, in 6. Ovid. Met. fab. 4. [c] Lib. 1. de 4. Complexionibus.

against outward enemies, cannot free him from inward feares and cares.

> Reverâque metus hominum, curæque sequaces,
> Nec metuunt fremitus armorum, aut ferrea tela;
> Audacterque inter reges, regumque potentes,
> Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.
>
> Indeed men still attending cares and fears,
> Nor armours clashing, nor fierce weapons feare:
> With kings converse they boldly, and kings peers,
> Fearing no flashings that from gold appeare.

Look how many servants he hath, and so many enemies he suspects; for liberty, he entertains ambition; his pleasures are no pleasures; and, that which is worst, he cannot be private or enjoy himself as other men do; his state is a servitude. [a]A country man may travel from kingdome to kingdome, province to province, city to city, and glut his eyes with delightful objects, hawk, hunt, and use those ordinary disports, without any notice taken, all which a prince or a great man cannot do. He keeps in for state, *ne majestatis dignitas evilescat*, as our China kings, of Bornay, and Tartarian Chams, those *aurea mancipia*, are said to do, seldome or never seen abroad, *ut major sit hominum erga se observantia*; which the [b]Persian kings so precisely observed of old. A poor man takes more delight in an ordinary meals meat, which he hath but seldom, then they do with all their exotick dainties and continual viands:

> Quippe voluptatem commendat rarior usus:

'tis the rarity and necessity that makes a thing acceptable and pleasant. Darius, put to flight by Alexander, drank puddle water to quench his thirst; and it was pleasanter, he swore, then any wine or mede. All excess, as [c]Epictetus argues, will cause a dislike: sweet will be sour, which made that temperate Epicurus sometimes voluntarily fast. But they being alwayes accustomed to the same [d]dishes, (which are nastily dressed by slovenly cooks, that, after their obscenities, never wash their bawdy hands) be they fish, flesh, compounded, made dishes, or whatsoever else, are therefore cloyed: nectar itself grows loathsome to them; they are weary of all their fine palaces; they are to them but as so many prisons. A poor man drinks in a wooden dish, and eats his meat in wooden spoons, wooden platters, earthen vessels, and such homely stuffe: the other in gold, silver, and precious stones; but with what suc-

[a] Hor. et mihi curto Ire licet mulo, vel, si libet, usque Tarentum. [b] Brisonius.
[c] Si modum excesseris, suavissima sunt molesta. [d] Et in cupediis gulæ, coquus et pueri illotis manibus ab exoneratione ventris omnia tractant, &c. Cardan. l. 8. cap. 46. de rerum varietate.

x — blunting the fine point of seldome pleasure. S. T.

cess? *in auro bibitur venenum;* fear of poyson in the one, security in the other. A poor man is able to write, to speak his mind, to do his own business himself; *locuples mittit parasitum*, saith [a] Philostratus; a rich man imployes a parasite, and as the maior of a city speaks by the town-clark, or by M[r]. recorder, when he cannot express himself, [b] Nonius the senator hath a purple coat as stiffe with jewels, as his mind is full of vices; rings on his fingers worth 20000 sestercies; and, as [c] Perox the Persian king, an union in his eare worth 100[l] weight of gold: [d] Cleopatra hath whole boars and sheep served up to her table at once, drinks jewels dissolved, 40000 sestercies in value; but to what end?

> [e] Num, tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris
> Pocula?

Doth a man that is dry desire to drink in gold? doth not a cloth sute become him as well, and keep him as warm, as all their silks, sattins, damasks, taffaties and tissues? Is not home-spun cloth as great a preservative against cold, as a coat of Tartar lambs wooll died in grain, or a gown of giants beards? Nero, saith [f] Sueton, never put on one garment twice; and thou hast scarce one to put on: what's the difference? one's sick, the other sound: such is the whole tenor of their lives; and that which is the consummation and upshot of all, death it self makes the greatest difference. One, like an hen, feeds on the dunghil all his daies, but is served up at last to his lords table; the other, as a falcon, is fed with partridge and pigeons, and carried on his masters fist, but, when he dyes, is flung to the muckhil, and there lies. The rich man lives, like Dives, jovially here on earth, *temulentus divitiis*, make the best of it; *and boasts himself in the multitude of his riches* (Psal. 49. 6. 11): he thinks his house, *called after his own name*, shall continue for ever; *but he perisheth like a beast* (ver. 20): *his way utters his folly* (ver. 13): *male parta male dilabuntur; like sheep, they lye in the grave* (14). *Puncto descendunt ad infernum: they spend their dayes in wealth, and go suddenly down to hell* (Job, 21. 13). For all physicians and medicines inforcing nature, a sowning wife, families complaints, friends tears, dirges, masses, *nænia's*, funerals, for all orations, counterfeit hired acclamations, eulogiums, epitaphs, herses, heralds, black mourners, solemnities, obelisks, and Mausolean tombs, (if he have them at least) [g] he, like a hog, goes to hell, with a guilty conscience *(propter*

[a] Epist. [b] Plin. lib. 57. cap. 6. [c] Zonaras, 3. annal. [d] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [e] Hor. Ser. lib. 1. Sat. 2. [f] Cap. 30. nullam vestem bis induit.
[g] Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci Descendunt reges, et siccâ morte tyranni.

hos dilatavit infernus os suum) and a poor mans curse: his memory stinks like the snuffe of a candle when it is put out; scurril libels and infamous obloquies accompany him: when as poor Lazarus is *Dei sacrarium*, the temple of God, lives and dies in true devotion, hath no more attendants, but his own innocency, the heaven a tomb, desires to be dissolved, buried in his mothers lap, and hath a company of [a]angels ready to convey his soul into Abrahams bosom: he leaves an everlasting and a sweet memory behind him. Crassus and Sylla are indeed still recorded, but not so much for their wealth, as for their victories, Crœsus for his end, Solomon for his wisdome. In a word, [b] *to get wealth is a great trouble, anxiety to keep, grief to lose it.*

[c]Quid dignum stolidis mentibus imprecer?
Opes, honores ambiant:
Et, cum falsa gravi mole paraverint,
Tum vera cognoscant bona.

But consider all those other unknown, concealed happinesses, which a poor man hath (I call them unknown, because they be not acknowledged in the worlds esteem, or so taken):

O fortunatos nimium, bona si sua nôrint!

happy they are in the mean time, if they would take notice of it, make use, or applie it to themselves. *A poor man wise is better than a foolish king* (Eccl. 2. 13). [d] *Poverty is the way to heaven,* [e] *the mistress of philosophy,* [f] the mother of religion, vertue, sobriety, sister of innocency, and an upright mind. How many such encomiums might I adde out of the fathers, philosophers, orators? It troubles many that they are poor; they accompt of it as a great plague, a curse, a sign of God's hatred, *ipsum scelus*, damn'd villany it self, a disgrace, shame and reproach; but to whom, or why? [g] *If fortune hath envyed me wealth, thieves have robbed me, my father have not left me such revenues as others have,* that I am a younger brother, basely born,

—— cui sine luce genus, surdumque parentum
Nomen,

of mean parentage, a dirt-daubers son, am I therefore to be blamed? *an eagle, a bull, a lion, is not rejected for his po-*

[a] God shall deliver his soule from the power of the grave, Psal. 49. 15. [b] Contempl. Idiot. Cap. 37. divitiarum acquisitio magni laboris, possessio magni timoris, amissio magni doloris. [c] Boëthius, de consol. phil. l. 3. [d] Austin, in Ps. 76. omnis philosophiæ magistra, ad cœlum via. [e] Bonæ mentis soror paupertas. [f] Pædagoga pietatis, sobria, pia mater, cultu simplex, habitu secura, consilio benesuada. Apul. [g] Cardan. Opprobrium non est paupertas: quod latro eripit, aut pater non reliquit, cur mihi vitio daretur, si fortuna divitias invidit? non aquilæ, non, &c.

verty; and why should a man? Tis [a]*fortunæ telum, non culpæ*, fortunes fault, not mine. *Good Sir, I am a servant,* (to use [b]Seneca's words) *howsoever your poor friend; a servant, and yet your chamberfellow, and, if you consider better of it, your fellow servant.* I am thy drudge in the worlds eyes, yet, in Gods sight, peradventure thy better, my soule is more precious, and I dearer unto him. *Etiam servi diis curæ sunt*, as Evangelus at large proves in Macrobius; the meanest servant is most precious in his sight. Thou art an Epicure, I am a good Christian: thou art many parasanges before me in means, favour, wealth, honour, Claudius his Narcissus, Nero's Massa, Domitians Parthenius, a favourite, a golden slave; thou coverest thy floors with marble, thy roofs with gold, thy wals with statues, fine pictures, curious hangings, &c. what of all this? *calcas opes, &c.* what's all this to true happiness? I live and breath under that glorious heaven, that august Capitol of nature, enjoy the brightness of stars, that cleer light of sun and moon, those infinite creatures, plants, birds, beasts, fishes, herbs, all that sea and land affords, far surpassing all that art and *opulentia* can give. I am free, and, which [c]Seneca said of Rome, *culmen liberos texit, sub marmore et auro postea servitus habitavit;* thou hast *Amaltheæ cornu*, plenty, pleasure, the world at will; I am despicable and poor; but a word overshot, a blow in choler, a game at tables, a loss at sea, a sudden fire, the princes dislike, a little sickness, &c. may make us equal in an instant: howsoever take thy time, triumph and insult a while; *cinis æquat*, as [d]Alphonsus said; death will equalize us all at last. I live sparingly, in the mean time, am clad homely, fare hardly; is this a reproach? am I the worse for it? am I contemptible for it? am I to be reprehended? A learned man in [e]Nevisanus, was taken down for sitting amongst gentlemen; but he replyed, *my nobility is about the head, yours declines to the taile;* and they were silent. Let them mock, scoff, and revile; 'tis not thy scorn, but his that made thee so: *he that mocketh the poor, reproacheth him that made him* (Prov. 11. 5); and he that rejoyceth at *affliction, shall not be unpunished.* For the rest, the poorer thou art, the happier thou art; *ditior est, at non melior*, saith [f]Epictetus; he is richer, not better, then thou art, not so free from lust, envy, hatred, ambition.

[a] Tully. [b] Epist. 74. servus, summe homo; servus sum, immo contubernalis; servus sum, at humilis amicus, immo conservus, si cogitaveris. [c] Epist. 66. et 90. [d] Panormitan. rebus gestis Alph. [e] Lib. 4. num. 218. quidam deprehensus quod sederet loco nobilium, mea nobilitas, ait, est circa caput, vestra declinat ad caudam. [f] Tanto beatior es, quanto collectior.

Beatus ille, qui, procul negotiis,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis.

Happy he, in that he is [a] freed from the tumults of the world, he seeks no honours, gapes after no preferment, flatters not, envies not, temporizeth not, but lives privately, and well contented in his estate;

Nec spes corde avidas, nec curam pascit inanem,
Securus quo fata cadant.

He is not troubled with state matters, whether kingdomes thrive better by succession or election; whether monarchies should be mixt, temperate, or absolute; the house of Ottomons and Austria is all one to him; he enquires not after colonies or new discoveries; whether Peter were at Rome, or Constantines donation be of force; what comets or new stars signifie, whether the earth stand or move, there be a new world in the moon, or infinite worlds, &c. He is not touched with fear of invasions, factions, or emulations;

[b] Felix ille animi, divisque simillimus ipsis,
Quem non mordaci resplendens gloria fuco
Solicitat, non fastosi mala gaudia luxûs,
Sed tacitos sinit ire dies, et paupere cultu
Exigit innocuæ tranquilla silentia vitæ.

An happy soule, and like to God himself,
Whom not vain glory macerates or strife,
Or wicked joyes of that proud swelling pelfe,
[c] But leads a still, poor and contented life.

[d] A secure, quiet, blissful state he hath, if he could acknowledge it. But here is the misery, that he will not take notice of it; he repines at rich mens wealth, brave hangings, dainty fare: as Simonides objecteth to Hieron, he hath all the pleasures of the world; [e] *in lectis eburneis dormit, vinum phialis bibit, optimis unguentis delibuitur; he knows not the affliction of Joseph, stretching himself on ivory beds, and singing to the sound of the viol*; and it troubles him that he hath not the like; there is a difference, (he grumbles) between laplolly and phesants, to tumble i'th'straw and lye in a down bed, betwixt wine and water, a cottage and a palace. *He hates*

[a] Non amoribus inservit, non appetit honores; et, qualitercunque relictus, satis habet, hominem se esse meminit; invidet nemini, neminem despicit, neminem mirratur, sermonibus malignis non attendit aut alitur. Plinius. [b] Politianus, in Rustico.
[c] Gyges, regno Lydiæ inflatus, sciscitatum misit Apollinem, an quis mortalium se felicior esset? Aglaïum, Arcadum pauperrimum, Apollo prætulit, qui terminos agri sui nunquam excesserat, rure suo contentus. Val. lib. 1. c. 7. [d] Hor. hæc est Vita solutorum miserâ ambitione, gravique. [e] Amos, 6.

nature (as [a]Pliny characterizeth him) *that she hath made him lower then a god, and is angry with the gods that any man goes before him;* and although he hath received much, yet (as [b]Seneca followes it) *he thinks it an injury that he hath no more, and is so far from giving thanks for his tribuneship, that he complains that he is not prætor; neither doth that please him, except he may be consul.* Why is he not a prince, why not a monarch, why not an emperour? Why should one man have so much more then his fellowes, one have all, another nothing? Why should one man be a slave or drudge to another? one surfeit, another starve, one live at ease, another labour, without any hope of better fortune? Thus they grumble, mutter, and repine, not considering that inconstancy of humane affairs, judicially conferring one condition with another, or well weighing their own present estate. What they are now, thou mayst shortly be; and what thou art, they shall likely be. Expect a little; confer future and times past with the present; see the event, and comfort thyself with it. It is as well to be discerned in commonwealths, cities, families, as in private mens estates. Italy was once lord of the world; Rome, the queen of cities, vaunted herself of two [c]myriades of inhabitants; now that all commanding country is possessed by petty princes; [d]Rome a small village in respect. Greece, of old the seat of civility, mother of sciences and humanity, now forlorn, the nurse of barbarism, a den of theeves. Germany then, saith Tacitus, was incult and horrid, now full of magnificent cities: Athens, Corinth, Carthage, (how flourishing cities!) now buried in their own ruines; *corvorum, ferarum, aprorum, et bestiarum lustra,* like so many wildernesses, a receptacle of wild beasts. Venice, a poor fisher-town; Paris, London, small cottages in Cæsars time, now most noble emporiums. Valois, Plantagenet, and Scaliger, how fortunate families! how likely to continue! now quite extinguished and rooted out. He stands aloft to day, full of favour, wealth, honour, and prosperity, in the top of Fortunes wheele; to morrow in prison, worse then nothing; his son's a begger. Thou art a poor servile drudge, *fæx populi,* a very slave; thy son may come to be a prince, with Maximinus, Agathocles, &c. a senator, a generall of an army; thou standest bare to him now, workest for him, drudgest for him and his, takest an almes of him: stay but a little, and his next heire peradventure

[a] Præfat. lib. 7. Odit naturam, quod infra deos sit; irascitur diis, quod quis illi antecedat. [b] De irâ. cap. 21. lib. 3. Et si multum acceperit, injuriam putat plura non accepisse; non agit pro tribunatu gratias, sed queritur quod non sit ad prætoram perductus; neque hæc grata, si desit consulatus. [c] Lipa. admir. [d] Of some 90000 inhabitants now.

shall consume all with riot, be degraded, thou exalted, and he shall beg of thee. Thou shalt be his most honourable patron, he thy devout servant: his posterity shall run, ride, and do as much for thine: as it was with [a] Frisgobald and Cromwel, it may be for thee. Citizens devour countrey gentlemen, and settle in their seats: after two or three descents, they consume all in riot; it returnes to the city again.

[b] ——————Novus incola venit:
Nam propriæ telluris herum natura neque illum,
Nec me, nec quenquam, statuit. Nos expulit ille;
Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris.

A lawyer buyes out his poor client; after a while his clients posterity buy out him and his; so things go round, ebbe and flow.

Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
Dictus, erat nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis.

As he said then, *ager cujus, quot habes dominos?* so say I of land, houses, moveables, and mony, mine to day, his anon, whose to morrow? In fine (as [c] Machiavel observes) *vertue and prosperity beget rest; rest, idleness; idleness, riot; riot, destruction: from which we come again to good lawes; good lawes engender vertuous actions; vertue, glorie and prosperity; and 'tis no dishonour then* (as [d] Gucciardine adds) *for a flourishing man, city, or state, to come to ruine, nor infelicitie to be subject to the law of nature. Ergo terrena calcanda, sitienda cœlestia;* therefore (I say) scorn this transitory state; look up to heaven; think not what others are, but what thou art: [e] *quâ parte locatus es in re;* and what thou shalt be, what thou mayst be. Do (I say) as Christ himself did, when he lived here on earth; imitate him as much as in thee lies. How many great Cæsars, mighty monarches, tetrarches, dynastes, princes, lived in his dayes! in what plentie, what delicacie, how bravely attended, what a deal of gold and silver, what treasure, how many sumptuous palaces had they! what provinces and cities, ample territories, fields, rivers, fountains, parkes, forrests, lawnes, woods, celles, &c! Yet Christ had none of all this; he would have none of this; he voluntarily rejected all this; he could not be ignorant, he could not erre in his choice; he contemned all this; he chose that which was safer, better, and more certaine, and lesse to be repented, a mean

[a] Reade the story at large in John Fox his Acts and Monuments. [b] Hor. Sat. 2. ser. lib. 2. [c] 5 Florent. hist. virtus quietem parit, quies otium, otium porro luxum generat, luxus interitum, a quo iterum ad saluberrimas, &c. [d] Guicciardin. Nulla infelicitas subjectum esse legi naturæ, &c. [e] Persius.

estate, even povertie it self; and why dost thou then doubt to follow him, to imitate him, and his apostles, to imitate all good men? So doe thou tread in his divine steps, and thou shalt not erre eternally, as too many worldlings doe, that runne on in their own dissolute courses, to their confusion and ruine; thou shalt not doe amisse. Whatsoever thy fortune is, be contented with it; trust in him; relie on him; refer thyselfe wholly to him. For know this, in conclusion: *non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*; 'tis not as men, but as God will. *The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich, bringeth low, and exalteth* (1 Sam. 2. ver. 7, 8): *he lifteth the poor from the dust, and raiseth the begger from the dunghill, to set them amongst princes, and make them inherit the seat of glory*; 'tis all as he pleaseth, how, and when, and whom; he that appoints the end (though to us unknown), appoints the meanes likewise subordinate to the end.

Yea, but their present estate crucifies and torments most mortall men; they have no such forecast to see what may be, what shall likely be, but what is, though not wherefore, or from whom: *hoc angit*; their present misfortunes grinde their soules, and an envious eye which they cast upon other mens prosperities;

Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet:

how rich, how fortunate, how happy is he! But in the mean time he doth not consider the others miseries, his infirmities of body and minde, that accompany his estate, but still reflects upon his own false conceived woes and wants; whereas, if the matter were duely examined, [a] he is in no distresse at all, he hath no cause to complain.

——————— [b] tolle querelas;
Pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus:

he is not poore; he is not in need. [c] *Nature is content with bread and water; and he that can rest satisfied with that, may contend with Jupiter himself for happinesse.* In that golden age,

[d] Somnos dedit umbra salubres,
Potum quoque lubricus amnis;

the trees gave wholsome shade to sleep under, and the clear rivers drink. The Israelites drank water in the wildernesse; Sampson, David, Saul, Abrahams servant when he went for Isaacs wife, the Samaritan woman, and how many besides might I reckon up, Ægypt, Palæstina, whole countries in the [e] Indies, that drink pure water all their lives. [f] The Per-

[a] Omnes divites, qui cœlo et terrâ frui possunt. [b] Hor. lib. 1. epist. 12. [c] Seneca, epist. 15. panem et aquam natura desiderat: et hæc qui habet, ipso cum Jove de felicitate contendat. Cibus simplex famem sedat, vestis tenuis frigus arcet. Senec. epist. 8. [d] Boëthius. [e] Maffæus et alii. [f] Brissonius.

sian kings themselves drank no other drink then the water of Choaspis, that runs by Susa, which was carried in bottles after them, whithersoever they went. Jacob desired no more of God, but bread to eat, and clothes to put on in his journey (Gen. 28. 20).

——— Bene est, cui deus obtulit
Parcâ, quod satis est, manu:

bread is enough [a] *to strengthen the heart.* And if you study philosophy aright, saith [b] Madaurensis, *whatsoever is beyond this moderation, is not usefull, but troublesome.* [c] Agellius (out of Euripides) accounts bread and water enough to satisfie nature, *of which there is no surfeit: the rest is not a feast, but ryot.* [d] S[t] Hierome esteemes him rich, *that hath bread to eat, and a potent man that is not compelled to be a slave: hunger is not ambitious, so that it have to eat; and thirst doth not prefer a cup of gold.* It was no Epicurean speech of an Epicure—He that is not satisfied with a little, will never have enough; and very good counsell of him in the [e] poet, *O my sonne, mediocritie of meanes agrees best with men; too much is pernicious.*

Divitiæ grandes homini sunt vivere parce,
Æquo animo:

and if thou canst be content, thou hast abundance; *nihil est, nihil deest*; thou hast little, thou wantest nothing. 'Tis all one to be hanged in a chain of gold, or in a rope; to be filled with dainties or courser meat.

[f] Si ventri bene, si lateri, pedibusque tuis, nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.
If belly, sides, and feet, be well at ease,
A princes treasure can thee no more please.

Socrates in a fair, seeing so many things bought and sold, such a multitude of people convented to that purpose, exclaimed forthwith, *O ye gods! what a sight of things doe not I want?* 'Tis thy want alone that keepes thee in health of body and minde; and that which thou persecutest and abhorrest, as a ferall plague, is thy physician [g] and chiefest friend, which makes thee a good man, an healthfull, a sound, a vertuous, an honest, and happy man. For, when Vertue came from heaven (as the poet faines) rich men kicked her up, wicked men abhorr'd her,

[a] Psal. 84. [b] Si recte philosophemini, quidquid aptam moderationem supergreditur, oneri potius quam usui est. [c] Lib. 7. 16. Cereris munus et aquæ poculum mortales quærunt habere, quorum saties nunquam est; luxus autem sunt cætera, non epulæ. [d] Satis est dives, qui pane non indiget; nimium potens, qui servire non cogitur. Ambitiosa non est fames, &c. [e] Euripides, Menalip. O fili, mediocres divitiæ hominibus conveniunt, nimia vero moles perniciosa. [f] Hor. [g] O noctes cœnæque deûm.

courtiers scoffed at her, citizens hated her, [a] and that she was thrust out of doors in every place, she came at last to her sister Poverty, where she had found good entertainment. Poverty and vertue dwell together.

——— [b] O vitæ tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique lares! o munera nondum
Intellecta deûm!

How happy art thou if thou couldst be content! *Godlinesse is great gain, if a man can be content with that which he hath* (1 Tim. 6. 6): and all true happinesse is in a mean estate. I have little wealth, as he said, [c] *sed quas animus magnas facit*, a kingdom in conceit:

——— [d] nil amplius opto,
Maiâ nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis;

I have enough and desire no more.

[e] Dî bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
Fecerunt animi:

'tis very well, and to my content. [f] *Vestem et fortunam concinnam potius quam laxam probo*: let my fortune and my garments be both alike, fit for me. And, which [g] Sebastian Foscarinus, sometime duke of Venice, caused to be engraven on his tomb in S[t] Markes church, *Hear, O ye Venetians, and I will tell you which is the best thing in the world: to contemne it*—I will engrave it in my heart; it shall be my whole studie to contemne it. Let them take wealth (*Stercora stercus amet,*) so that I may have security; *bene qui latuit, bene vixit*; though I live obscure, [h] yet I live clean and honest; and when as the lofty oke is blown down, the silly reed may stand. Let them take glory, for that's their misery; let them take honour, so that I may have hearts ease. *Duc me, O Jupiter, et tu fatum,* [i] *&c.* Lead me, O God, whither thou wilt; I am ready to follow; command, I will obey. I do not envie at their wealth, titles, offices;

Stet, quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico:
Me dulcis saturet quies:

let me live quiet and at ease. [k] *Erimus fortasse*, (as he com-

[a] Per mille fraudes doctosque dolos ejicitur; apud sociam paupertatem ejusque cultores divertens in eorum sinu et tutelâ deliciatur. [b] Lucan. [c] Lip. miscell. ep. 40. [d] Sat. 6. lib. 2. [e] Hor. Sat. 4. [f] Apuleius. [g] Chytreus, in Europæ deliciis. Accipite, cives Venetî, quod est optimum in rebus humanis, res humanas contemnere. [h] Vah! vivere etiam nunc lubet, as Demea said, Adelph. Act. 4.—Quam multis non egeo! quam multa non desidero! ut Socrates in pompâ, ille in nundinis. [i] Epictetus, 77. cap. quo sum destinatus, et sequar alacriter. [k] Puteanus, ep. 62.

forted himself) *quando illi non erunt:* when they are dead and gone, and all their pomp vanished, our memory may flourish:

——— [a] dant perennes
Stemmata non peritura Musæ.

Let him be my lord, patron, baron, earl, and possesse so many goodly castles: 'tis well for me [b] that I have a poor house, and a little wood, and a well by it, &c.

His me consolor, victurum suavius, ac si
Quæstor avus, pater atque meus, patruusque fuissent.

I live (I thank God) as merrily as he, and triumph as much in this my mean estate, as if my father and uncle had been lord treasurer, or my lord maior. He feeds of many dishes, I of one: [c] *qui Christum curat, non multum curat quam de pretiosis cibis stercus conficiat:* what care I of what stuffe my excrements be made? [d] *He that lives according to nature, cannot be poor; and he that exceeds, can never have enough: totus non sufficit orbis;* the whole world cannot give him content. *A small thing that the righteous hath, is better than the riches of the ungodly* (Psal. 37. 19); *and better is a poor morsell with quietnesse, then abundance with strife* (Prov. 17. 7).

Be content then; enjoy thyself, and, as [e] Chrysostome adviseth, *be not angry for what thou hast not, but give God hearty thanks for what thou hast received.*

[f] Si dat oluscula
Mensa minuscula
Pace referta,
Ne pete grandia,
Lautaque prandia,
Lite repleta.

But what wantest thou? (to expostulate the matter) or what hast thou not better then a rich man? [g] *Health, competent wealth, children, securitie, sleep, friends, libertie, diet, apparell, and what not?* or at least maist have (the means being so obvious, easie, and well known); for, as he inculcated to himself,

[a] Marullus. [b] Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita parvus, Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons, Et paullum sylvæ, &c. Hor. Sat. 6. lib. 2. Ser.
[c] Hieronym. [d] Seneca, consil. ad Albinum, c. 11. qui continet se intra naturæ limites, paupertatem non sentit; qui excedit, eum in opibus paupertas sequitur.
[e] Hom. 12. pro his quæ accepisti, gratias age; noli indignari pro his quæ non accepisti. [f] Nat. Chytreus, deliciis Europ. Gustonii in ædibus Hubianis in cœnaculo e regione mensæ. [g] Quid non habet melius pauper quam dives? vitam, valetudinem, cibum, somnum, libertatem, &c. Card.

[a] Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem,
Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt;
Res, non parta labore, sed relicta,
Lis nunquam, &c.

I say again, thou hast, or at least maist have it, if thou wilt thy self, and that which I am sure he wants, a merry heart. *Passing by a village in the territorie of Millan,* [b]saith S[t] Austin, *I saw a poor begger that had got, belike, his belly full of meat, jesting and merry. I sighed, and said to some of my friends that were then with me, what a deal of trouble, madness, pain, and grief, do we sustain and exaggerate unto our selves, to get that secure happiness which this poor begger hath prevented us of, and which we peradventure shall never have? For that which he hath now attained with the begging of some small pieces of silver, a temporall happinesse, and present hearts ease, I cannot compass with all my careful windings, and running in and out.* [c]*And surely the begger was very merry; but I was heavy: he was secure, but I was timorous. And if any man should ask me now, whether I had rather be merry, or still so solicitous and sad, I should say, merry. If he should ask me again, whether I had rather be as I am, or as this begger was, I should surely choose to be as I am, tortured still with cares and fears; but out of peevishness, and not out of truth.* That which S[t] Austin said of himself here in this place, I must say to thee: thou discontented wretch, thou covetous niggard, thou churl, thou ambitious and swelling toad, 'tis not want, but peevishness, which is the cause of thy woes: settle thine affection: thou hast enough.

[d] Denique sit finis quærendi, quoque habeas plus,
Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
Incipias; parto, quod avebas, utere.

Make an end of scraping, purchasing this manor, this field, that house, for this and that child; thou hast enough for thy self and them;

——— [e] Quod petis, hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus:

'Tis at hand, at home already, which thou so earnestly seekest. But

[a] Martial. l. 10. epig. 47. read it out thyself in the author. [b] Confess. lib. 6. Transiens per vicum quemdam Mediolanensem, animadverti pauperem quemdam mendicum, jam credo saturum, jocantem atque ridentem, et ingemui, et locutus sum cum amicis qui mecum erant, &c. [c] Et certe ille lætabatur, ego anxius; securus ille, ego trepidus. Et si percontaretur me quispiam, an exsultare mallem, an metuere, responderem, exsultare: et si rursus interrogaret, an ego talis essem, an qualis nunc sum, me ipsum curis confectum eligerem; sed perversitate, non veritate. [d] Hor. [e] Hor. ep. lib. 1.

——————O! si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!

O! that I had but that one nook of ground, that field there, that pasture!

O! si venam argenti fors qua mihi monstret——

O! that I could but finde a pot of mony now, to purchase, &c. to build me a new house, to marry my daughter, place my son, &c. [a] *O! if I might but live a while longer, to see all things settled, some two or three year; I would pay my debts,* make all my reckonings even; but they are come and past, and thou hast more businesse then before. *O madness! to think to settle that in thine old age, when thou hast more, which in thy youth thou canst not now compose, having but a little.* [b] Pyrrhus would first conquer Africk, and then Asia, *et tum suaviter agere,* and then live merrily, and take his ease; but, when Cineas the orator told him he might do that already, *id jam posse fieri,* rested satisfied, condemning his own folly. *Si parva licet componere magnis,* thou maist do the like, and therefore be composed in thy fortune. Thou hast enough; he that is wet in a bath, can be no more wet, if he be flung into Tiber, or into the ocean it self; and if thou hadst all the world, or a solid masse of gold as big as the world, thou canst not have more then enough; enjoy thyself at length, and that which thou hast; the minde is all; be content; thou art not poor, but rich, and so much the richer, as [c] Censorinus well writ to Cerellius, *quanto pauciora optas, non quo plura possides,* in wishing less, not having more. I say then, *non adjice opes, sed minue cupiditates* ('tis [d] Epicurus advice); adde no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and, as [e] Chrysostome well seconds him, *si vis ditari, contemne divitias,* that's true plenty, not to bave, but not to want riches; *non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia;* 'tis more glory to contemne, then to possesse; *et nihil egere, est deorum.* How many deaf, dumb, halt, lame, blinde, miserable persons could I reckon up, that are poor, and withall distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, gally-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gives, in dungeons, perpetuall thraldome, then all

[a] O! si nunc morerer, inquit, quanta et qualia mihi imperfecta manerent: sed si mensibus decem vel octo supervixero, omnia redigam ad libellam; ab omni debito creditoque me explicabo. Prætereunt interim menses decem et octo, et cum illis anni, et adhuc restant plura quam prius. Quid igitur speras, o insane, finem, quem rebus tuis non inveneras in juventâ, in senectâ impositurum? O dementiam! quum ob curas et negotia tuo judicio sis infelix, quid putas futurum, quum plura supererint? Cardan. lib. 8. cap. 40. de rer. var. [b] Plutarch. [c] Lib. de natali. cap. 1. [d] Apud Stobæum, ser. 17. [e] Hom. 12. in 2 Cor. 6.

which thou art richer, thou art more happy, to whom thou art able to give an almes, a lord, in respect, a pretty prince: [a] be contented then, I say; repine and mutter no more; *for thou art not poor in deed, but in opinion.*

Yea, but this is very good counsell, and rightly applied to such as have it, and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their browes, by their trade, that have something yet: he that hath birds, may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help our selves, meer beggers, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better successe? as those old Britans, complained to their lords and masters the Romans, oppressed by the Picts, *mare ad barbaros, barbari ad mare;* the barbarians drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the barbarians: our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men; they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us; they commonly overlooke their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they voluntarily forget and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot help us. Insteed of comfort, they threaten us, miscall, scoffe at us, to aggravate our misery, give us bad language; or, if they do give good words, what's that to relieve us? According to that of Thales, *facile est alios monere;* who cannot give good counsell? 'tis cheap; it costs them nothing. It is an easie matter, when ones belly is full, to declame against feasting;

Qui satur est, pleno laudat jejunia ventre.

Doth the wilde asse braye when he hath grasse, or loweth the oxe when he hath fodder? (Job, 6. 5). [b] *Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse lætius:* no man living so jocond, so merry as the people of Rome when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, *neither shame, nor lawes, nor armes, nor magistrates, could keep them in obedience.* [c] Seneca pleadeth hard for poverty; and so did those lazie philosophers: but in the mean time he was rich; they had wherewithall to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extoll it? There *are those* (saith [d] Bernard) *that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek so long as they may say or do what*

[a] Non in paupertate, sed in paupere (Seneca): non re, sed opinione, laboras.
[b] Vopiscus, in Aureliano. Sed si populus famelicus inedià laboret, nec arma, leges, pudor, magistratus, coërcere valent.
[c] One of the richest men in Rome.
[d] Serm. Quidam sunt, qui pauperes esse volunt, ita ut nihil illis desit; sic commendant, ut nullam patiantur inopiam; sunt et alii mites, quamdiu dicitur et agitur ad eorum arbitrium, &c.

they list; but, if occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience? I would to God (as he said) [a] *no man should commend povertie, but he that is poor*, or he that so much admires it, would relieve, help, or ease others.

[b] Nunc, si nos audis, atque es divinus Apollo,
Dic mihi, qui nummos non habet, unde petat:
Now if thou hear'st us, and art a good man,
Tell him that wants, to get means, if you can.

But no man hears us: we are most miserably dejected, the skumme of the world.

[c] Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum,

We can get no relief, no comfort, no succour;

[d] Et nihil inveni quod mihi ferret opem.

We have tried all means, yet finde no remedy: no man living can express the anguish and bitterness of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another hell: and what shall we do? When [e] Crassus, the Roman consul, warred against the Partians, after an unlucky battell fought, he fled away in the night, and left four thousand men sore sick and wounded in his tents, to the furie of the enemie; which when the poor men perceived, *clamoribus et ululatibus omnia complêrunt*, they made lamentable moan, and roared down right, as lowd as Homers Mars when he was hurt, which the noise of a 10000 men could not drown, and all for fear of present death. But our estate is farre more tragicall and miserable, much more to be deplored; and far greater cause have we to lament: the devil and the world persecute us; all good fortune hath forsaken us; we are left to the rage of beggery, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomness, to continuall torment, labour and pain, to derision and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse then any death: *death* alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it; and what shall we do?

Quod male fers, assuesce, feres bene———

accustome thyself to it, and it will be tolerable at last. Yea but I may not, I cannot:

In me consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo;

I am in the extremitie of humane adversitie: and, as a shadow leaves the bodie when the sun is gone, I am now left and lost, and quite forsaken of the world.

Qui jacet in terrâ, non habet unde cadat;

[a] Nemo paupertatem commendaret, nisi pauper. [b] Petronius, Catalec. [c] Ovid. [d] Ovid. [e] Plutarch. vit. Crassi.

comfort thy self with this yet, thou art at the worst: and, before it be long, it will either overcome thee, or thou it. If it be violent, it cannot endure; *aut solvetur, aut solvet.* Let the devil himself, and all the plagues of Egypt, come upon thee at once,

Ne tu cede malis, sed contra audentior ito:

be of good courage; misery is vertues whetstone.

——— [a] serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti,

as Cato told his souldiers marching in the desarts of Libya; thirst, heat, sands, serpents, were pleasant to a valiant man; honourable enterprises are accompanied with dangers and dammages, as experience evinceth: they will make the rest of thy life rellish the better. But put case they continue; thou art not so poor as thou wast born; and, as some hold, much better to be pittied then envied. But be it so thou hast lost all, poor thou art, dejected, in pain of body, grief of mind, thine enemies insult over thee, thou art as bad as Job; yet tell me (saith Chrysostome) *was Job or the devil the greater conquerour? surely Job. The* [b] *devil had his goods; he sate on the muckhil, and kept his good name; he lost his children, health, friends; but he kept his innocency: he lost his mony; but he kept his confidence in God, which was better then any treasure. Do thou then as Job did, triumph as Job did,* [c] and be not molested as every fool is. *Sed quâ ratione potero?* How shall this be done? Chrysostome answers, *facile, si cœlum cogitaveris,* with great facility, if thou shalt but meditate on heaven. [d] Hanna wept sore, and, troubled in mind, could not eat: *but, why weepest thou,* said Elkanah her husband, *and why eatest thou not? why is thine heart troubled? am not I better to thee then ten sons?* and she was quiet. Thou art here vexed [e] in this world; but say to thy self, *Why art thou troubled, O my soule?* Is not God better to thee than all temporalities, and momentary pleasures of the world? be then pacified. And though thou beest now peradventure in extreme want, [f] it may be it is for thy further good, to try thy patience, as it did Jobs, and exercise thee in this life: trust in God, and rely upon him, and thou shalt be [g] crowned in the

[a] Lucan. lib. 9. [b] An quum super fimo sedit Job, an cum omnia abstulit diabolus, &c. pecuniis privatus fiduciam deo habuit, omni thesauro pretiosiorem. [c] Hæc viventes sponte philosophemini, nec insipientum affectibus agitemur. [d] 1 Sam. 1. 8. [e] James, 1. 2. My brethren, count it an exceeding joy, when you fall into divers temptations. [f] Afflictio dat intellectum. Quos Deus diligit, castigat. Deus optimum quemque aut malâ valetudine aut luctu afficit. Seneca. [g] Quam sordet mihi terra, quum cœlum intueor!

end. What's this life to eternity? The world hath forsaken thee; thy friends and fortunes all are gone: yet know this, that the very hairs of thine head are numbered, that God is a spectator of all thy miseries; he sees thy wrongs, woes, and wants; [a] *'tis his good will and pleasure it should be so; and he knows better what is for thy good then thou thyself.* His providence is over all, at all times; *he hath set a guard of angels over us, and keeps us as the apple of his eye* (Ps. 17. 8). Some he doth exalt, prefer, blesse with worldly riches, honours, offices and preferments, as so many glistering stars he makes to shine above the rest: some he doth miraculously protect from theeves, incursions, sword, fire, and all violent mischances: and, as the [b] poet fains of that Lycian Pandarus, Lycaons son, when he shot at Menelaüs the Græcian with a strong arm and deadly arrow, Pallas, as a good mother keeps flies from her childs face asleep, turned by the shaft, and made it hit on the buckle of his girdle; so some he solicitously defends, others he exposeth to danger, poverty, sickness, want, misery, he chastiseth and corrects, as to him seems best, in his deep, unsearchable and secret judgement, and all for our good. The tyrant took the city; (saith [c] Chrysostome) *God did not hinder it; led them away captives, so God would have it; he bound them, God yielded to it: flung them into the furnace, God permitted it: heat the oven hotter, it was granted: and when the tyrant had done his worst, God shewed his power, and the childrens patience:* he freed them: so can he thee, and can help [d] in an instant, when it seems to him good. [e] *Rejoice not against me, O my enemy; for, though I fall, I shall rise: when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall lighten me.* Remember all those martyrs, what they have endured, the utmost that humane rage and fury could invent, with what [f] patience they have born, with what willingness embraced it. *Though he kill me,* saith Job, *I will trust in him.* *Justus* [g] *inexpugnabilis,* as Chrysostome holds, a just man is impregnable, and not to be overcome. The gout may hurt his hands, lameness his feet, convulsions may torture his joynts, but not *rectam mentem:* his soule is free.

[a] Senec. de providentiâ, cap. 2. Diis ita visum; dii melius nôrunt quid sit in commodum meum. [b] Hom. Iliad. 4. [c] Hom. 9. voluit urbem tyrannus evertere, &c. Deus non prohibuit; voluit captivos ducere, non impedivit; voluit ligare, concessit, &c. [d] Psal. 113. De terrâ inopem, de stercore erigit pauperem. [e] Micah, 8. 7. [f] Preme, preme; ego, cum Pindaro, ἀβαπτιστος ειμι, ὡς φελλος ὑπερ ἁλμᾳ· immersabilis sum, sicut suber super maris septum. Lipsius. [g] Hic ure, hic seca, ut in æternum parcas. Austin. Diis fruitur iratis: superat et crescit malis. Mutium ignis, Fabricium paupertas, Regulum tormenta, Socratem venenum superare non potuit.

[a] ——————nempe pecus, rem,
Lectos, argentum tollas licet; in manicis et
Compedibus sævo teneas custode——————

[b] *Take away his mony; his treasure is in heaven: banish him his country; he is an inhabitant of that heavenly Jerusalem: cast him into bands; his conscience is free: kill his body, it shall rise again: he fights with a shadow that contends with an upright man:* he will not be moved.

——————si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ:

though heaven it self should fall on his head, he will not be offended. He is impenetrable, as an anvile hard, as constant as Job.

[c] Ipse deus, simul atque volet, me solvet, opinor.

Be thou such a one; let thy misery be what it will, what it can, with patience endure it; thou mayst be restored, as he was. *Terris proscriptus, ad cælum propera; ab hominibus desertus, ad deum fuge. The poor shall not alwayes be forgotten; the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever* (Psal. 10. 18. ver. 9.) *The Lord will be a refuge of the oppressed, and a defence in the time of trouble.*

Servus Epictetus, mutilati corporis; Irus
Pauper: at hæc inter carus erat superis.
Lame was Epictetus, and poor Irus;
Yet to them both God was propitious.

Lodovicus Vertomannus, the famous traveller, indured much misery; yet surely, saith Scaliger, he was *vir deo carus*, in that he did escape so many dangers; God especially protected him, he was dear unto him. *Modo in egestate, tribulatione, convalle deplorationis, &c. Thou art now in the vale of misery, in poverty, in agony,* [d] *in temptation: rest, eternity, happiness, immortality shall be thy reward,* as Chrysostome pleads, *if thou trust in God, and keep thine innocency. Non, si male nunc, et olim, sic erit semper;* a good houre may come upon a sudden; [e] expect a little.

Yea, but this expectation is it which tortures me in the mean

[a] Hor. epist. 18. lib. 1. [b] Hom. 5. Auferet pecunias? at habet in cœlis: patriâ dejiciet? at in cœlestem civitatem mittet: vincula injiciet? at habet solutam conscientiam: corpus interficiet? at iterum resurget. Cum umbrâ pugnat, qui cum justo pugnat. [c] Leonides. [d] Modo in pressurâ, in tentationibus; erit postea bonum tuum requies, æternitas, immortalitas. [e] Dabit Deus his quoque finem.

time; [a]*futura expectans, præsentibus angor*; whilest the grass grows, the horse starves. [b]Despair not, but hope well.

[c]Spera, Batte: tibi melius lux crastina ducet;
Dum spiras, spera——

Chear up, I say, be not dismayd. *Spes alit agricolas: he that sowes in teares, shall reap in joy* (Psal. 126. 7).

Si fortune me tourmente,
Esperance me contente: ——

hope refresheth, as much as misery depresseth; hard beginnings have many times prosperous events; and that may happen at last, which never was yet. *A desire accomplished delights the soul*, Prov. 13. 19.

[d]Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.

Which makes m' enjoye my joys long wish'd at last,
Welcome that houre shall come when hope is past:

a louring morning may turne to a faire afternoone,

[e]Nube solet pulsâ candidus ire dies.

The hope that is defer'd, is the fainting of the heart; but, when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life (Prov. 13. 12): [f]*suavissimum est voti compos fieri.* Many men are both wretched and miserable at first, but afterwards most happy; and oftentimes it so falls out, as [g]Machiavel relates of Cosmus Medices, that fortunate and renowned citizen of Europe, *that all his youth was full of perplexity, danger, and misery, till forty yeares were past; and then upon a sudden the sun of his honour brake out, as through a cloud.* Hunniades was fetched out of prison, and Henry the third of Portugall out of a poor monastery, to be crowned kings.

Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra:

beyond all hope and expectation many things fall out; and who knows what may happen? *Nondum omnium dierum soles occiderunt*, as Philippus said: all the sunnes are not yet set; a day may come to make amends for all. *Though my father and mother forsake me, yet the Lord will gather mee up* (Psal. 27. 10). *Waite patiently on the Lord, and hope in him* (Psal. 37. 7). *Bee strong, hope and trust in the Lord; and he will*

[a] Seneca. [b] Nemo desperet meliora lapsus. [c] Theocritus. [d] Hor. [e] Ovid. [f] Thales. [g] Lib. 7. Flor. hist. Omnium felicissimus, et locupletissimus, &c. incarceratus sæpe adolescentiam periculo mortis habuit, solicitudinis et discriminis plenam, &c.

comfort thee, and give thee thine hearts desire (Psal. 27. vers. 14.)

Sperate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.

Fret not thy self because thou art poor, contemned, or not so well for the present as thou wouldest be, not respected as thou oughtest to be, by birth, place, worth; or that which is a double corrosive, thou hast been happy, honourable and rich, art now distressed and poor, a scorn of men, a burden to the world, irksome to thy self and others; thou hast lost all. *Miserum est fuisse felicem*, and, as Boëthius cals it, *infelicissimum genus infortunii:* this made Timon halfe mad with melancholy, to think of his former fortunes and present misfortunes; this alone makes many miserable wretches discontent. I confess it is a great misery to have been happy, the quintessence of infelicity, to have been honourable and rich, but yet easily to be endured: [a] security succeeds, and to a judicious man a far better estate. The loss of thy goods and money is no loss; [b] *thou hast lost them; they would otherwise have lost thee.* If thy money be gone, [c] *thou art so much the lighter;* and, as Saint Hierome perswades Rusticus the monke, to forsake all and follow Christ, *gold and silver are too heavy metals for him to carry that seeks heaven.*

[d] Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas, et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiam mali,
Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet.

Zeno the philosopher lost all his goods by shipwrack: [e] he made light of it: fortune had done him a good turne: *opes a me, animum auferre non potest:* she can take away my means, but not my minde. He set her at defiance ever after; for she could not rob him that had naught to lose: for he was able to contemn more then they could possess or desire. Alexander sent an hundred talents of gold to Phocion of Athens for a present, because he heard he was a good man: but Phocion returned his talents back again, with a *permitte me in posterum virum bonum esse,* to be a good man still; let me be as I am:

Non mî aurum posco, nec mî pretium.....

That Theban Crates flung of his own accord his money into the sea; *abite, nummi: ego vos mergam, ne mergar a vobis;* I had

[a] Lætior successit securitas, quæ simul cum divitiis cohabitare nescit. Camden. [b] Pecuniam perdidisti; fortassis illa te perderet manens. Seneca. [c] Expeditior es ob pecuniarum jacturam. Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest. Seneca. [d] Hor. [e] Jubet me posthac fortuna expeditius philosophari.

rather drown you, then you should drown me. Can Stoicks and Epicures thus contemn wealth, and shall not we that are Christians? It was *mascula vox et præclara*, a generous speech of Cotta in [a] Sallust, *Many miseries have happened unto me at home, and in the wars abroad, of which, by the help of God, some I have endured, some I have repelled, and by mine own valour overcome: courage was never wanting to my designes, nor industry to my intents: prosperity or adversity could never alter my disposition.* A wise mans minde, as Seneca holds, [b] *is like the state of the world above the moon, ever serene.* Come then what can come, befall what may befall, *infractum invictumque* [c] *animum opponas:*

Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare. (Hor. Od. 11. lib. 2.)

Hope and patience are two soveraigne remedies for all, the surest reposals, the softest cushions to lean on in adversity;

[d] Durum: sed levius fit patientiâ,
Quidquid corrigere est nefas.

If it cannot be helped, or amended, [e] make the best of it; [f] *necessitati qui se accommodat, sapit;* he is wise that suits himself to the time. As at a game at tables, so do by all such inevitable accidents.

[g] Ita vita est hominum, quasi cum ludas tesseris,
Si illud, quod maxime opus est jactu, non cadit,
Illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas:

if thou canst not fling what thou wouldest, play thy cast as well as thou canst. Every thing, saith [h] Epictetus, hath two handles, the one to be held by, the other not: 'tis in our choice to take and leave whether we will (all which Simplicius, his commentator, hath illustrated by many examples); and 'tis in our own power, as they say, to make or mar our selves. Conforme thy self then to thy present fortune, and cut thy coat according to thy cloth: [i] *ut quimus, (quod aiunt) quando, quod volumus, non licet: be contented with thy lot,* state, and calling, whatsoever it is; and rest as well satisfied with thy present condition in this life:

[a] In frag. Quirites, multa mihi pericula domi, militiæ multa adversa fuere, quorum alia toleravi, alia deorum auxilio repuli et virtute meâ: nunquam animus negotio defuit, nec decretis labor; nullæ res nec prosperæ nec adversæ ingenium mutabant. [b] Qualis mundi status supra lunam, semper serenus. [c] Bona mens nullum tristioris fortunæ recipit incursum. Val. lib. 4. c. 1. Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil. [d] Hor. [e] Æquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem. lib. 2. Od. 3. [f] Epict. c. 18. [g] Ter. Adel. act. 4. sc. 7. [h] Unaquæque res duas habet ansas, alteram quæ teneri, alteram quæ non potest; in manu nostrâ quam volumus accipere. [i] Ter. And. act. 4. sc. 6.

Esto quod es: quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse;
Quod non es, nolis; quod potes esse, velis.

Be as thou art; and as they are, so let
Others be still; what is and may be, covet.

And as he that is [a] invited to a feast, eats what is set before him, and looks for no other, enjoy that thou hast, and aske no more of God then what he thinks fit to bestow upon thee. *Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum:* we may not be all gentlemen, all Cato's, or Lælii (as Tully telleth us), all honourable, illustrious and serene, all rich: but, because mortall men want many things, [b] *therefore* (saith Theodoret) *hath God diversly distributed his gifts, wealth to one, skill to another, that rich men might encourage and set poor men a work, poor men might learn severall trades to the common good.* As a peece of arras is composed of severall parcels, some wrought of silke, some of gold, silver, crewell of divers colours, all to serve for the exornation of the whole; musick is made of divers discords and keyes, a totall summ of many smal numbers; so is a common-wealth of severall inequal trades and callings. [c] If all should be Crœsi and Darii, all idle, all in fortunes equall, who should till the land? as [d] Menenius Agrippa well satisfied the tumultuous rout of Rome, in his elegant apologue of the belly and the rest of the members. Who should build houses, make our severall stuffs for raiments? We should all be starved for company (as Poverty declared at large in Aristophanes Plutus), and sue at last to be as we were at first. And therefore God hath appointed this inequality of states, orders, and degrees, a subordination, as in all other things. The earth yields nourishment to vegetals, sensible creatures feed on vegetals; both are substitutes to reasonable souls; and men are subject amongst themselves, and all to higher powers: so God would have it. All things then being rightly examined and duely considered as they ought, there is no such cause of so general discontent; tis not in the matter it self, but in our minde, as we moderate our passions and esteem of things. *Nihil aliud necessarium, ut sis miser,* (saith [e] Cardan) *quam ut te miserum credas:* let thy fortune be what it will, 'tis thy minde alone that makes thee poor or rich, miserable or happy. *Vidi*

[a] Epictetus. Invitatus ad convivium, quæ apponuntur comedis, non quæris ultra; in mundo multa rogitas quæ dii negant. [b] Cap. 6. de providentiâ. Mortales cum sint rerum omnium indigi, ideo deus aliis divitias, aliis paupertatem distribuit, ut qui opibus pollent, materiam subministrent; qui vero inopes, exercitatas artibus manus admoveant. [c] Si sint omnes æquales, necesse est ut omnes fame pereant; quis aratro terram sulcaret? quis sementem faceret? quis plantas sereret? quis vinum exprimeret? [d] Liv. l. 1. [e] Lib. 3. de cons.

ego (saith divine Seneca) *in villâ hilari et amœnâ mœstos, et mediâ solitudine occupatos: non locus, sed animus, facit ad tranquillitatem:* I have seen men miserably dejected in a pleasant village, and some again, well occupied and at good ease, in a solitary desart: 'tis the mind, not the place, causeth tranquillity, and that gives true content. I will yet add a word or two for a corollary. Many rich men, I dare boldly say it, that lye on down-beds, with delicacies pampered every day, in their well furnished houses, live at less hearts ease, with more anguish, more bodily pain, and through their intemperance more bitter hours, then many a prisoner or gally-slave, [a] (*Mœcenas in plumâ æque vigilat, ac Regulus in dolio*) those poor starved Hollanders, whom [b] Bartison their captain left in Nova Zembla, an. 1596, or those [c] eight miserable Englishmen, that were lately left behind, to winter in a stove in Greenland in 77 deg. of lat. 1630, so pitifully forsaken, and forced to shift for themselves in a vast dark and desart place, to strive and struggle with hunger, cold, desperation, and death it self. 'Tis a patient and quiet minde (I say it again and again) gives true peace and content. So, for all other things, they are (as old [d] Chremes told us) as we use them.

> Parentes, patriam, amicos, genus, cognatos, divitias—
> Hæc perinde sunt, ac illius animus qui ea possidet;
> Qui uti scit, ei bona; qui utitur non recte, mala.

Parents, friends, fortunes, country, birth, alliance, &c. ebbe and flow with our conceit; please or displease, as we accept and construe them, or apply them to our selves. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ;* and in some sort I may truly say, prosperity and adversity are in our own hands. *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso;* and, which Seneca confirms out of his judgement and experience, [e] *every mans minde is stronger then fortune, and leads him to what side he will; a cause to himself each one is, of his good or bad life.* But will we, or nill we, make the worst of it, and suppose a man in the greatest extremity, 'tis a fortune which some indefinitely prefer before prosperity; of two extremes it is the best.

> Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis:

men in [f] prosperity forget God and themselves; they are besotted with their wealth, as birds with henbane: [g] miserable, if

[a] Seneca. [b] Vide Isaacum Pontanum, descript. Amsterdam. lib. 2. c. 22. [c] Vide Ed. Pelhams book, edit. 1630. [d] Heautontim. Act. 1. Sc. 2. [e] Epist. 98. Omni fortunâ valentior, ipse animus in utramque partem res suas ducit, beatæque ac miseræ vitæ sibi caussa est. [f] Fortuna, quem nimium fovet, stultum facit. Pub. Mimus. [g] Seneca, de beat. vit. cap. 14. miseri, si deserantur ab eâ; miseriores, si obruantur.

fortune forsake them; but more miserable, if she tarry and overwhelm them: for, when they come to be in great place, rich, they that were most temperate, sober, and discreet in their private fortunes, as Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Heliogabalus, (*optimi imperatores, nisi imperássent*) degenerate on a sudden into brute beasts, so prodigious in lust, such tyrannicall oppressors, &c. they cannot moderate themselves, they become monsters, odious, harpies, what not? *cum triumphos, opes, honores adepti sunt, ad voluptatem et otium deinceps se convertunt:* 'twas [a] Cato's note, *they cannot contain.* For that cause belike,

> ——[b] Eutrapelus, cuicunque nocere volebat,
> Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam,
> Cum pulchris tunicis, sumet nova consilia et spes;
> Dormiet in lucem; scorto postponet honestum
> Officium ——

> Eutrapelus, when he would hurt a knave,
> Gave him gay clothes and wealth, to make him brave:
> Because, now rich, he would quite change his minde,
> Keep whores, fly out, set honesty behinde.

On the other side, in adversity many mutter and repine, despair, &c. both bad, I confess,

> ——————[c] ut calceus olim,
> Si pede major erit, subvertet; si minor, uret:

as a shoo too big or too little, one pincheth, the other sets the foot awry; *sed e malis minimum.* If adversity hath killed his thousand, prosperity hath killed his ten thousand: therefore adversity is to be preferred; [d] *hæc fræno indiget, illa solatio: illa fallit, hæc instruit:* the one deceives, the other instructs: the one miserably happy, the other happily miserable: and therefore many philosophers have voluntarily sought adversity, and so much commend it in their precepts. Demetrius, in Seneca, esteemed it a great infelicity, that in his life time he had no misfortune; *miserum, cui nihil unquam accidisset adversi.* Adversity then is not so heavily to be taken; and we ought not, in such cases, so much to macerate our selves: there is no such odds in poverty and riches. To conclude in [e] Hieroms words, *I will ask our magnificoes, that build with marble, and bestow a whole manor on a thred, what difference betwixt them and Paul the ermite, that bare old man: they drink in jewels, he in his hand: he is poor, and goes to heaven; they are rich, and go to hell.*

[a] Plutarch. vit. ejus. [b] Hor. epist. l. 1. ep. 18. [c] Hor. [d] Boëth. 2. [e] Epist. lib. 3. vit. Paul. Eremit. Libet eos nunc interrogare qui domus marmoribus vestiunt, qui uno filo villarum ponunt pretia, huic seni modo quid unquam defuit? Vos gemmâ bibitis, ille concavis manibus naturæ satisfecit: ille pauper Paradisum capit, vos avaros Gehenna suscipiet.

'tis a blessed houre that leads us to a [a] blessed life; and blessed are they that dye in the Lord. But life is sweet; and death is not so terrible in it self as the concomitants of it, a loathsome disease, pain, horrour, &c. and many times the manner of it, to be hanged, to be broken on the wheel, to be burned alive. [b] Servetus the heretick, that suffered in Geneva, when he was brought to the stake, and saw the executioner come with fire in his hand, *homo, viso igne, tam horrendum exclamavit, ut universum populum perterrefecerit,* roared so loud, that he terrified the people. An old Stoick would have scorned this. It troubles some to be unburied, or so:

> ——— [c] non te optima mater
> Condet humi, patriove onerabit membra sepulcro:
> Alitibus linquere feris, et gurgite mersum
> Unda feret, piscesque impasti vulnera lambent:
>
> Thy gentle parents shall not bury thee,
> Amongst thine ancestors entomb'd to be;
> But feral fowle thy carcass shall devoure,
> Or drowned corps hungry fish maws shall scoure.

As Socrates told Crito, it concerns me not what is done with me when I am dead; *facilis jactura sepulcri:* I care not, so long as I feel it not: let them set mine head on the pike of Tenariffa, and my quarters in the foure parts of the world,

> ———pascam licet in cruce corvos:

let wolves or bears devoure me:

> ——Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam;

the canopy of heaven covers him that hath no tomb. So likewise for our friends, why should their departure so much trouble us? They are better, as we hope; and for what then dost thou lament, as those do, whom Paul taxed in his time, (1 Thes. 4. 13) *that have no hope?* 'Tis fit there should be some solemnity.

> [d] Sed sepelire decet defunctum, pectore forti,
> Constantes, unumque diem fletû indulgentes.

Jobs friends said not a word to him the first seven daies, but let sorrow and discontent take their course, themselves sitting sad and silent by him. When Jupiter himself wept for Sarpedon, what else did the poet insinuate, but that some sorrow is good?

[a] Est enim mors piorum felix transitus de labore ad refrigerium, de expectatione ad præmium, de agone ad bravium. [b] Vaticanus, vitâ ejus. [c] Luc. [d] Il. 9. Homer.

[a] Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati
Flere vetet?

who can blame a tender mother, if she weep for her children? Beside, as [b] Plutarch holds, 'tis not in our power not to lament: *indolentia non cuivis contingit:* it takes away mercy and pitty, not to be sad; 'tis a natural passion to weep for our friends, an irresistible passion to lament and grieve. *I know not how,* (saith Seneca) *but sometimes 'tis good to be miserable in misery: and for the most part all grief evacuates itself by teares:*

———[c] est quædam flere voluptas:
Expletur lacrymis, egeriturque, dolor:

yet, after a dayes mourning or two, comfort thy self for thy heaviness (Eccles. 38. 17). [d] *Non decet defunctum ignavo questu prosequi:* 'twas Germanicus advice of old, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize; there's *indolentiæ ars,* a medium to be kept: we do not (saith [e] Austin) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. *I forbid not a man to be angry; but I ask for what cause he is so? Not to be sad, but why he is sad? not to fear, but wherefore is he afraid?* I require a moderation as well as a just reason. [f] The Romans, and most civil commonwealths, have set a time to such solemnities: they must not mourn after a certain day; *or if in a family a child be born, a daughter, or a son married, some state or honour be conferred, a brother be redeemed from his bands, a friend from his enemies,* or the like, they must lament no more. And 'tis fit it should be so; to what end is all their funeral pomp, complaints, and tears? When Socrates was dying, his friends Apollodorus and Crito, with some others, were weeping by him; which he perceiving, asked them what they meant: [g] *for that very cause, he put all the women out of the roome; upon which words of his, they were abashed, and ceased from their tears.* Lodovicus Cortesius, a rich lawyer of Padua (as [h] Bernardinus Scardeonius relates) commanded by his last will, and a great mulct if otherwise to his heir, that no funeral should be kept for him, no man should lament; but, as at a wedding, musick and minstrels to be provided; and,

[a] Ovid. [b] Consol. ad Apollon. non est libertate nostrâ positum non dolere; misericordiam abolet, &c. [c] Ovid. 4 Trist. [d] Tacitus, lib. 4. [e] Lib. 9. cap. 9. de civitate Dei. Non quæro cum irascatur, sed cur; non utrum sit tristis, sed unde; non utrum timeat, sed quid timeat. [f] Festus, verbo Minuitur. Luctui dies indicebatur, cum liberi nascantur, cum frater abit, amicus ab hospite, captivus domum redeat, puella desponsetur. [g] Ob hanc caussam mulieres ablegâram, ne talia facerent. Nos, hæc audientes, erubuimus, et destitimus a lacrymis. [h] Lib. 1. class. 8. de claris Jurisconsultis Patavinis.

instead of black mourners, he took order [a] *that twelve virgins clad in green should carry him to the church.* His will and testament was accordingly performed, and he buried in S[t] Sophies church. [b] Tully was much grieved for his daughter Tulliola's death at first, until such time that he had confirmed his mind with some philosophical precepts: [c] *then he began to triumph over fortune and grief, and, for her reception into heaven, to be much more joyed then before he was troubled for her loss.* If an heathen man could so fortifie himself from philosophy, what shall a Christian from divinity? Why doest thou so macerate thy selfe? 'Tis an inevitable chance, the first statute in *Magna Charta*, an everlasting act of parliament, all must [d] die.

[e] Constat æternâ positumque lege est,
Ut constet genitum nihil.

It cannot be revoked: we are all mortal; and these all-commanding gods and princes *die like men:*

[f] Involvit humile pariter et celsum caput,
Æquatque summis infima.

O weak condition of humane estate! Sylvius exclaims: [g] Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, 18 yeeres of age, in the flower of his youth, so potent, rich, fortunate, and happy, in the midst of all his friends, amongst so many [h] physicians, now ready to be [i] married, in 36 houres sickned and died. We must so be gone sooner or later all, and, as Calliopius in the comedy took his leave of his spectators and auditors,

Vos valete et plaudite.—Calliopius recensui.

must we bid the world farewell, (*Exit Calliopius*) and, having now plaid our parts, for ever be gone. Tombs and monuments have the like fate:

Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris;

kingdomes, provinces, towns, and cities, have their periods, and are consumed. In those flourishing times of Troy, Mycenæ was the fairest city in Greece; *Græciæ cunctæ imperitabat;* but it, alas! and that [k] *Assyrian Nineve, are quite overthrown.* The like fate hath that Egyptian and Bœotian Thebes, Delos, *commune Græciæ conciliabulum*, the common councel-house of Greece; [l] and Babylon, the greatest city that

[a] Innuptæ puellæ amictæ viridibus pannis, &c. [b] Lib. de consol. [c] Præceptis philosophiæ confirmatus adversus omnem fortunæ vim, et te consecratâ in cœlumque receptâ, tantâ affectus lætitiâ sum ac voluptate, quantam animo capere possum, ac exultare plane mihi videor, victorque de omni dolore et fortunâ triumphare. [d] Ut lignum uri natum, arista secari, sic homines mori. [e] Boëth. lib. 2. met. 3. [f] Boëth. [g] Nic. Hensel. Breslagr. fol. 47. [h] Twenty then present. [i] To Magdalen, the daughter of Charles the seventh of France. Obeunt noctesque diesque, &c. [k] Assyriorum regia funditus deleta. [l] Omnium, quot unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima.

ever the sun shone upon, hath now nothing but walls and rubbish left.

[a] Quid Pandioniæ restant, nisi nomen, Athenæ?

Thus [b] Pausanias complained in his times. And where is Troy it self now, Persepolis, Carthage, Cyzicum, Sparta, Argos, and all those Grecian cities? Syracuse and Agrigentum, the fairest towns in Sicily, which had sometimes 700000 inhabitants, are now decayed: the names of Hieron, Empedocles, &c. of those mighty numbers of people, only left. One Anacharsis is remembred amongst the Scythians; the world it self must have an end, and every part of it. *Cæteræ igitur urbes sunt mortales*, as Peter [c] Gillius concludes of Constantinople; *hæc sane, quamdiu erunt homines, futura mihi videtur immortalis*; but 'tis not so: nor site, nor strength, nor sea, nor land, can vindicate a city; but it and all must vanish at last. And, as to a traveller, great mountains seem plains afar off, at last are not discerned at all; cities, men, monuments decay:

——————nec solidis prodest sua machina terris:

the names are only left, those at length forgotten, and are involved in perpetual night.

[d] *Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina toward Megara, I began* (saith Servius Sulpitius, in a consolatory epistle of his to Tully) *to view the country round about. Ægina was behind me, Megara before, Piræus on the right hand, Corinth on the left, what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes? I began to think with myself, Alas! why are we men so much disquieted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter,* [e] *when so many goodly cities lye buried before us? Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself.* Correct then likewise, and comfort thy self in this, that we must necessarily dye, and all dye, that we shall rise again, as Tully held, *jucundiorque multo congressus noster futurus, quam insuavis et acerbus digressus*, our second meeting shall be much more pleasant, then our departure was grievous.

I, but he was my most dear and loving friend, my sole friend:

[f] Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis?

And who can blame my woe? Thou mayst be ashamed, I say with [g] Seneca, to confess it, *in such a* [h] *tempest as this to have*

[a] Ovid. [b] Arcad. lib. 8. [c] Præfat. Topogr. Constantinop. [d] Epist. Tull. lib. 3. [e] Quum tot oppidorum cadavera ante oculos projecta jacent. [f] Hor. lib. 1. Od. 24. [g] De tranq. fortuit. [h] Erubesce, tantâ tempestate quod ad unam anchoram stabas.

but one anchor; go seek another: and, for his part, thou dost him great injury to desire his longer life. [a] *Wilt thou have him crazed and sickly still*, like a tired traveller that comes weary to his inne, begin his journey afresh, *or to be freed from his miseries? Thou hadst more need rejoice that he is gone.* Another complains of a most sweet wife, a young wife,

(Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem)

such a wife as no mortal man ever had, so good a wife: but she is now dead and gone,

Lethæoque jacet condita sarcophago.

I reply to him, in Seneca's words, if such a woman at least ever was to be had, [b] *he did either so find or make her; if he found her, he may as happily find another*; if he made her, as Critobulus in Xenophon did by his, he may as good cheap inform another;

Et bona tam sequitur, quam bona prima fuit:

he need not dispair, so long as the same master is to be had. But was she good? Had she been so tryed peradventure as that Ephesian widow in Petronius, by some swaggering souldier, she might not have held out. Many a man would have been willingly rid of his: before thou wast bound; now thou art free; [c] *and 'tis but a folly to love thy fetters, though they be of gold.* Come into a third place, you shall have an aged father sighing for a sonne, a pretty childe;

[d] Impube pectus, quale vel impia
Molliret Thracum pectora—

——————He now lyes asleep,
Would make an impious Thracian weep—

or some fine daughter that dyed young,

[e] Nondum experta novi gaudia prima tori—

or forlorn son for his deceased father. But why? *Prior exiit, prior intravit*; he came first, and he must go first. *Tu frustra pius, heu, &c.* What? wouldst thou have the laws of nature altered, and him to live alwayes? Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Alcibiades, Galen, Aristotle, lost their fathers young. And why on the other side shouldst thou so heavily take the death of thy little son?

[f] *Num*, quia nec fato, meritâ nec morte, peribat,
Sed miser ante diem—

[a] Vis ægrum, et morbidum, sitibundum? gaude potius quod his malis liberatus sit. [b] Uxorem bonam aut invenisti, aut sic fecisti; si inveneris, aliam habere te posse ex hoc intelligamus: si feceris, bene speres; salvus est artifex. [c] Stulti est compedes, licet aureas, amare. [d] Hor. [e] Hor. lib. 1. Od. 24. [f] Virg. 4. Æn.

he died before his time perhaps, not yet come to the solstice of his age! yet was he not mortal? Hear that divine [a]Epictetus: *If thou covet thy wife, friends, children, should live alwayes, thou art a fool.* He was a fine child indeed, *dignus Apollineis lacrymis*, a sweet, a loving, a fair, a witty child, of great hope, another Eteoneus, whom Pindarus the poet, and Aristides the rhetorician, so much lament; but who can tell whether he would have been an honest man? He might have proved a thief, a rogue, a spendthrift, a disobedient son, vexed and galled thee more then all the world beside; he might have wrangled with thee and disagreed, or with his brothers, as Eteocles and Polynices, and broke thy heart: he is now gone to eternity, as another Ganymede in the [b]flower of his youth, *as if he had risen*, saith Plutarch, [c]*from the midst of a feast* before he was drunk; *the longer he had lived, the worse he would have been*, and *quo vita longior*, (Ambrose thinks) *culpa numerosior*, more sinful, more to answer he would have had. If he was naught, thou mayst be glad he is gone; if good, be glad thou hadst such a son. Or art thou sure he was good? It may be he was an hypocrite, as many are; and, howsoever he spake thee fair, peradventure he prayed, amongst the rest that Icaro-Menippus heard at Jupiters, whispering place in Lucian, for his fathers death, because he now kept him short, he was to inherit much goods, and many fair manors after his decease. Or put case he was very good, suppose the best, may not thy dead son expostulate with thee, as he did in the same [d]Lucian, *Why dost thou lament my death, or call me miserable that am much more happy then thy self? what misfortune is befaln me? Is it because I am not bald, crooked, old, rotten, as thou art? What have I lost? some of your good chear, gay cloths, musick, singing, dancing, kissing, merry meetings,* thalami lubentias, &c. *is that it? Is it not much better not to hunger at all then to eat: not to thirst then to drink to satisfie thirst: not to be cold then to put on cloths to drive away cold? You had more need rejoyce that I am freed from diseases, agues, cares, anxieties, livor, love, covetousness, hatred, envy, malice, that I fear no more thieves, tyrants, enemies, as you do.*

[a] Cap. 19. Si id studes ut uxor, amici, liberi perpetuo vivant, stultus es. [b] Deus, quos diligit, juvenes rapit. Menan. [c] Consol. ad Apol. Apollonius filius tuus in flore decessit, ante nos ad æternitatem digressus, tamquam e convivio abiens, priusquam in errorem aliquem e temulentiâ incideret, quales in longâ senectâ accidere solent. [d] Tom. 1. Tract. de luctu. Quid me mortuum miserum vocas, qui te sum multo felicior? aut quid acerbi mihi putas contigisse? an quia non sum calvus, senex, ut tu, facie rugosus, incurvus, &c. O demens! quid tibi videtur in vitâ boni? nimirum amicitias, cœnas, &c. Longe melius non esurire quam edere; non sitire, &c. Gaude potius quod morbos et febres effugerim, angorem animi, &c. Ejulatus quid prodest? quid lacrymæ, &c.

[a] Id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?

Do they concern us all, think you, when we are once dead? Condole not others then overmuch; wish not or fear thine own death.

[b] Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes;

'tis to no purpose.

Excessi e vitæ ærumnis facilisque lubensque,
Ne pejora ipsâ morte dehinc videam:

I left this irksome life with all mine heart,
Lest worse then death should happen to my part.

[c] Cardinal Brundusinus caused this epitaph in Rome to be inscribed on his tomb, to shew his willingness to dye, and taxe those that were so loth to depart. Weep and howl no more then; 'tis to small purpose: and, as Tully adviseth us in the like case, *non quos amisimus, sed quantum lugere par sit, cogitemus:* think what we do, not whom we have lost. So David did, 2 Sam. 22. *While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept; but, being now dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him again? I shall go to him; but he cannot return to me.* He that doth otherwise is an intemperate, a weak, a silly, and undiscreet man. Though Aristotle deny any part of intemperance to be conversant about sorrow, I am of [d] Seneca's mind—*he that is wise is temperate; and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion; and he that is such a one, is without sorrow,* as all wise men should be. The [e] Thracians wept still when a child was born, feasted and made mirth when any man was buried: and so should we rather be glad for such as die well, that they are so happily freed from the miseries of this life. When Eteoneus, that noble young Greek, was so generally lamented by his friends, Pindarus the poet faines some god saying, *Silete, homines; non enim miser est, &c.* be quiet, good folks; this young man is not so miserable as you think; he is neither gone to Styx nor Acheron, *sed gloriosus et senii expers heros,* he lives for ever in the Elysian fields; he now enjoyes that happinesse which your great kings so earnestly seek, and wears that garland for which ye contend. If our present weakness is such, we cannot moderate our passions in this behalf, we must divert them by all means, by doing something else, thinking of another subject. The Italians, most part, sleep away care and grief, if it unseasonably seise upon them; Danes, Dutchmen, Polanders,

[a] Virgil. [b] Mart. [c] Chytreus, deliciis Europæ. [d] Epist. 85.
[e] Sardus, de mor. gen.

and Bohemians drink it down; our countrymen go to playes. Doe something or other; let it not transpose thee; or, by [a] *premeditation, make such accidents familiar,* as Ulysses, that wept for his dog, but not for his wife, *quod paratus esset animo obfirmato* (*Plut. de anim. tranq.*): accustome thy self, and harden before hand, by seeing other mens calamities, and applying them to thy present estate:

Prævisum, est levius, quod fuit ante, malum.

I will conclude with [b] Epictetus, *If thou lovest a pot, remember 'tis but a pot thou lovest; and thou wilt not be troubled when 'tis broken: if thou lovest a son or wife, remember they are mortall; and thou wilt not be so impatient.* And for false fears and all other fortuite inconveniences, mischances, calamities, to resist and prepare our selves not to faint, is best:

[c] Stultum est timere quod vitari non potest;

'tis a folly to fear that which cannot be avoided, or to be discouraged at all.

[d] Nam quisquis trepidus pavet vel optat,
Abjecit clypeum, locoque motus,
Nectit, quâ valeat trahi, catenam:

for he that so faints or fears, and yeelds to his passion, flings away his own weapons, makes a cord to bind himself, and puls a beam upon his own head.

MEMB. VI.

Against Envie, Livor, Emulation, Hatred, Ambition, Self-love, and all other Affections.

AGAINST those other [e] passions and affections, there is no better remedy, then (as mariners, when they go to sea, provide all things necessary to resist a tempest) to furnish our selves with philosophicall and divine precepts, other mens examples;

[f] Periculum ex aliis facere, sibi quod ex usu siet:

to balance our hearts with love, charity, meekness, patience, and counterpoise those irregular motions of envie, livor, spleen, hatred, with their opposite vertues, as we bend a crooked

[a] Præmeditatione facilem reddere quemque casum. Plutarchus, consolatione ad Apollonium. Assuefacere nos casibus debemus. Tull. lib. 3. Tusculan. quæst.
[b] Cap. 8. Si ollam diligas, memento te ollam diligere: non perturbaberis eâ confractâ: si filium aut uxorem, memento hominem a te diligi, &c. [c] Seneca. [d] Boëth. lib. 1. pros. 4. [e] Qui invidiam ferre non potest, ferre contemptum cogitur.
[f] Ter. Heautont.

staffe another way; to oppose [a] *sufferance to labour, patience to reproach*, bountry to covetousness, fortitude to pusillanimity, meekness to anger, humility to pride; to examine our selves, for what cause we are so much disquieted, on what ground, what occasion, is it just or fained? and then either to pacifie our selves by reason, to divert by some other object, contrary passion, or premeditation. [b] *Meditari secum oportet quo pacto adversam ærumnam ferat, pericla, damna, exilia: peregre rediens semper cogitet aut filii peccatum, aut uxoris mortem, aut morbum filiæ; communia esse hæc; fieri posse; ut ne quid animo sit novum:* to make them familiar, even all kinde of calamities, that, when they happen, they may be lesse troublesome unto us (*in secundis meditare, quo pacto feras adversa*), or out of mature judgement to avoid the effect, or disannull the cause, as they do that are troubled with tooth-ach, pull them quite out.

[c] Ut vivat castor, sibi testes amputat ipse:
Tu quoque, siqua nocent, abjice, tutus eris.

The beaver bites off's stones to save the rest:
Do thou the like with that thou art opprest.

Or, as they that play at wasters, exercise themselves by a few cudgels how to avoid an enemies blows, let us arm our selves against all such violent incursions, which may invade our minds. A little experience and practice will inure us to it; *vetula vulpes*, as the proverb saith, *laqueo haud capitur*; an old fox is not so easily taken in a snare; an old souldier in the world, me thinkes, should not be disquieted, but ready to receive all fortunes, encounters, and, with that resolute captain, come what may come, to make answer,

——————[d] non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mî facies, inopinave, surgit:
Omnia percepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.

No labour comes at unawares to me;
For I have long before cast what may be.

——non hoc primum mea pectora vulnus
Senserunt; graviora tuli——

The commonwealth of [e] Venice, in their armory, have this inscription, *Happy is that citie which in time of peace thinks of war*, a fit motto for every mans private house: happy is the

[a] Epictetus, c. 14. Si labor objectus fuerit tolerantiæ, convicium patientiæ, &c. si ita consueveris, vitiis non obtemperabis. [b] Ter. Phor. [c] Alciat. Embl.
[d] Virg. Æn. [e] Nat. Chytreus, deliciis Europæ. Felix civitas, quæ tempore pacis de bello cogitat.

man that provides for a future assault. But many times we complain, repine and mutter without a cause; we give way to passions, we may resist, and will not. Socrates was bad by nature, envious, (as he confessed to Zopyrus the physiognomer, accusing him of it) froward, and lascivious: but, as he was Socrates, he did correct and amend himself. Thou art malicious, envious, covetous, impatient, no doubt, and lascivious; yet, as thou art a Christian, correct and moderate thyself. 'Tis something, I confesse, and able to move any man, to see himself contemned, obscure, neglected, disgraced, undervalued, [a] *left behind:* some cannot endure it, no not constant Lipsius, a man discreet otherwise, yet too weak and passionate in this, as his words expresse—[b] *collegas olim, quos ego sine fremitu non intueor, nuper terræ filios, nunc Mæcenates et Agrippas habeo,..... summo jam monte potitos.* But he was much to blame for it: to a wise staid man, this is nothing; we cannot all be honoured and rich, all Cæsars; if we will be content, our present state is good, and, in some men's opinion, to be preferred. Let them go on, get wealth, offices, titles, honours, preferments, and what they will themselves, by chance, fraud, imposture, simony, and indirect means, as too many do, by bribery, flattery, and parasiticall insinuation, by impudence, and time-serving: let them climb up to advancement in despite of vertue; let them *go before, crosse me on every side;* [c] *me non offendunt, modo non in oculos incurrant,* (as he said, correcting his former errour) they do not offend me, so long as they run not into mine eyes. I am inglorious and poor, *compositâ paupertate,* but I live secure and quiet: they are dignified, have great means, pompe and state; they are glorious; but what have they with it? [d] *envie, trouble, anxiety, as much labour to maintain their place with credit, as to get it at first.* I am contented with my fortunes, *spectator e longinquo,* and love

Neptunum procul e terrâ spectare furentem:

he is ambitious, and not satisfied with his: *but what* [e] *gets he by it? to have all his life laid open, his reproaches seen; not one of a thousand, but he hath done more worthy of dispraise and animadversion, then commendation; no better means to help this then to be private.* Let them run, ride, strive as so many fishes for a crum, scrape, climb, catch, snatch, cozen, collogue, tempo-

[a] Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est. Hor. [b] Lipsius, epist. quæst. lib. 1. ep. 7. [c] Lipsius, epist. lib. 1. epist. 7. [d] Gloria comitem habet invidiam: pari onere premitur retinendo ac acquirendo. [e] Quid aliud ambitiosus sibi parat, quam ut probra ejus pateant? nemo vivens qui non habet in vitâ plura vituperatione quam laude digna; his malis non melius occurritur, quam si bene latueris.

rize, and fleire, take all amongst them, wealth, honour, [a] and get what they can; it offends me not:

——— [b] me mea tellus
Lare secreto tutoque tegat,

I am well pleased with my fortunes:

[a] —Vivo et regno simul ista relinquens,

I have learned, *in what state soever I am, therewith to be contented* (Phillip l. 11.): come what can come, I am prepared:

Nave ferar magnâ an parvâ, ferar unus et idem:

I am the same. I was once so mad to bussell abroad, and seek about for preferment, tyre my self, and trouble all my friends; *sed nihil labor tantus profecit; nam dum alios amicorum mors avocat, aliis ignotus sum, his invisus; alii large promittunt; intercedunt illi mecum soliciti; hi vanâ spe lactant; dum alios ambio, hos capto, illis innotesco, ætas perit, anni defluunt, amici fatigantur, ego deseror, et jam, mundi tædus, humanæque satur infidelitatis, acquiesco.* And so I say still; although I may not deny, but that I have had some [d] bountifull patrons, and noble benefactors, *ne sim interim ingratus*, and I do thankfully acknowledge it, I have received some kindness, (*quod Deus illis beneficium rependat*) *si non pro votis, fortasse pro meritis*, more peradventure then I deserve, though not to my desire, more of them then I did expect, yet not of others to my desert; neither am I ambitious or covetous, all this while, or a Suffenus to myself; what I have said, without prejudice or alteration shall stand. And now, as a mired horse that struggles at first with all his might and main to get out, but, when he sees no remedy, that his beating will not serve, lies still, I have laboured in vain, rest satisfied, and, if I may usurpe that of [e] Prudentius,

Inveni portum. Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Nil mihi vobiscum: ludite nunc alios.

Mine haven's found: Fortune and Hope, adieu!
Mock others now: for I have done with you.

[a] Et omnes fama per urbes garrula laudet. [b] Sen. Her. Fur. [c] Hor.
[d] The right honourable lady Frances Countesse Dowager of Exeter. The Lord Berkley.
[e] Distichon ejus in militem Christianum, e Græco. Engraven on the tomb of Fr. Puccius the Florentine, in Rome. Chytreus, in deliciis.

MEMB. VII.

Against Repulse, Abuses, Injuries, Contempts, Disgraces, Contumelies, Slanders, Scoffes, &c.

I MAY not yet conclude, or think to appease passions, or quiet the minde, till such time as I have likewise removed some other of their more eminent and ordinary causes, which produce so grievous tortures and discontents. To divert all I cannot hope; to point alone at some few of the chiefest, is that which I aime at.

Repulse.] Repulse and disgrace are two main causes of discontent, but, to an understanding man, not so hardly to be taken. Cæsar himself hath been denied; [a] and when two stand equall in fortune, birth, and all other qualities alike, one of necessitie must lose. Why shouldst thou take it so grievously? It hath been a familiar thing for thee thy self to deny others. If every man might have what he would, we should all be deified, emperours, kings, princes; if whatsoever vain hope suggests, unsatiable appetite affects, our preposterous judgement thinks fit were granted, we should have another chaos in an instant, a meer confusion. It is some satisfaction to him that is repelled, that dignities, honours, offices, are not alwayes given by desert or worth, but for love, affinitie, friendship, affection, [b] great mens letters, or as commonly they are bought and sold. [c] *Honours in court are bestowed, not according to mens vertues and good conditions* (as an old courtier observes); *but, as every man hath means, or more potent friends, so he is preferred.* With us in France ([d] for so their own countrey man relates) *most part the matter is carried by favour and grace; he that can get a great man to be his mediatour, runnes away with all the preferment. Indignissimus plerumque præfertur, Vatinius Catoni, illaudatus laudatissimo:*

——————servi dominantur: aselli
Ornantur phaleris; dephalerantur equi.

An illiterate fool sits in a mans seat; and the common people

[a] Pædaretus, in 300 Lacedæmoniorum numerum non electus, risit, gratulari se dicens civitatem habere 300 cives se meliores. [b] Kissing goes by favour. [c] Æneas Syl. de miser. curial. Dantur honores in curiis, non secundum honores et virtutes; sed ut quisque ditior est atque potentior, eo magis honoratur. [d] Sesellius, lib. 2. de repub. Gallorum. Favore apud nos et gratiâ plerumque res agitur; et qui commodum aliquem nacti sunt intercessorem, aditum fere habent ad omnes præfecturas.

hold him learned, grave and wise. *One professeth* ([a] Cardan well notes) *for a thousand crownes; but he deserves not ten; when as he that deserves a thousand cannot get ten. Sálarium non dat multis salem.* As good horses draw in carts, as coaches; and oftentimes, which Machiavel seconds, [b] *principes non sunt, qui ob insignem virtutem principatu digni sunt;* he that is most worthy wants imployment; he that hath skill to be a pilot wants a ship; and he that could govern a commonwealth, a world it self, a king in conceit, wants means to exercise his worth, hath not a poor office to manage. And yet all this while he is a better man that is fit to reign, *etsi careat regno,* though he want a kingdome, [c] *than he that hath one, and knows not how to rule it.* A lion serves not alwayes his keeper, but oftentimes the keeper the lion; and, as [d] Polydore Virgil hath it, *multi reges, ut pupilli, ob inscitiam non regunt, sed reguntur.* Hieron of Syracuse was a brave king, but wanted a kingdom; Perseus of Macedon had nothing of a king but the bare name and title; for he could not govern it: so great places are often ill bestowed, worthy persons unrespected. Many times too the servants have more means then the masters whom they serve; which [e] Epictetus counts an eye-sore and inconvenient. But who can help it? It is an ordinary thing in these dayes to see a base impudent asse, illiterate, unworthy, unsufficient, to be preferred before his betters, because he can put himself forward, because he looks big, can busle in the world, hath a fair outside, can temporize, collogue, insinuate, or hath good store of friends and mony; whereas a more discreet, modest, and better deserving man shall lie hid or have a repulse. 'Twas so of old, and ever will be, and which Tiresias advised Ulysses in the [f] poet,

Accipe, quâ ratione queas ditescere, &c.

is still in use; lie, flatter and dissemble: if not, as he concludes,

Ergo pauper eris,

then go like a beggar, as thou art. Erasmus, Melancthon, Lipsius, Budæus, Cardan, liv'd and died poor. Gesner was a silly old man, *baculo innixus,* amongst all those huffing cardinals, swelling bishops, that flourished in his time, and rode on foot-clothes. It is not honesty, learning, worth, wisdom,

[a] Imperitus periti munus occupat, et sic apud vulgus habetur. Ille profitetur mille coronatis, cum nec decem mereatur; alius e diverso mille dignus, vix decem consequi potest. [b] Epist. dedic. disput. Zeubbeo Bondemontio, et Cosmo Rucelaio. [c] Quam is qui regnat, et regnandi sit imperitus. [d] Lib. 22. hist. [e] Ministri locupletiores sunt iis quibus ministratur. [f] Hor. lib. 2. Sat. 5.

that prefers men, (*the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong*) but, as the wise man said, [a] *chance*, and sometimes a ridiculous chance: [b] *casus plerumque ridiculus multos elevavit.* 'Tis fortunes doings, as they say, which made Brutus now dying exclaim, *O misera virtus! ergo nihil quam verba eras! atqui ego te tanquam rem exercebam: sed tu serviebas fortunæ.* Beleeve it hereafter, O my friends! Vertue serves fortune. Yet be not discouraged (O my well deserving spirits) with this which I have said: it may be otherwise; though seldom, I confesse, yet sometimes it is. But, to your farther content, Ile tell you a [c] tale. In Moronia pia, or Moronia felix, I know not whether, nor how long since, nor in what cathedrall church, a fat prebend fell void. The carcasse scarce cold, many sutors were up in an instant. The first had rich friends, a good purse; and he was resolved to out-bid any man before he would lose it; every man supposed he should carry it. The second was my Lord Bishops chaplain (in whose gift it was); and he thought it his due to have it. The third was nobly born; and he meant to get it by his great parents, patrons, and allies. The fourth stood upon his worth; he had newly found out strange mysteries in chymistry, and other rare inventions, which he would detect to the publike good. The fifth was a painfull preacher; and he was commended by the whole parish where he dwelt; he had all their hands to his certificate. The sixth was the prebendaries son lately deceased; his father died in debt (for it, as they say), left a wife and many poor children. The seventh stood upon fair promises, which to him and his noble friends had been formerly made for the next place in his Lordships gift. The eighth pretended great losses, and what he had suffered for the church, what pains he had taken at home and abroad; and besides he brought noble mens letters. The ninth had married a kinswoman, and he sent his wife to sue for him. The tenth was a forrain doctor, a late convert, and wanted means. The eleventh would exchange for another; he did not like the formers site, could not agree with his neighbours and fellows upon any termes; he would be gone. The twelfth and last was (a suitor in conceit) a right honest, civil, sober man, an excellent scholar, and such a one as lived private in the universitie; but he had neither means nor mony to compasse it; besides he hated all such courses; he could not speak for himself, neither had he any friends to solicite his cause, and therefore made no suit, could not expect, neither did he hope for, or look after it. The good bishop, amongst a jury of compe-

[a] Solomon, Eccles. 9. 11. [b] Sat. Menip. [c] Tale quid est apud Valent. Andream, Apolog. manip. 5. apol. 89.

titors, thus perplexed, and not yet resolved what to do, or on whom to bestow it, at the last, of his own accord, meer motion, and bountifull nature, gave it freely to the university student, altogether unknown to him but by fame; and, to be brief, the academical scholar had the prebend sent him for a present. The newes was no sooner published abroad, but all good students rejoyced, and were much cheered up with it, though some would not beleeve it; others, as men amazed, said it was a miracle; but one amongst the rest thanked God for it, and said, *Nunc juvat tandem studiosum esse, et Deo integro corde servire.* You have heard my tale; but, alas! it is but a tale, a meer fiction; 'twas never so, never like to be; and so let it rest. Well, be it so then, they have wealth and honour, fortune and preferment; every man (there's no remedy) must scramble as he may, and shift as he can; yet Cardan comforted himself with this, [a] *the star Fomahant would make him immortall,* and that [b] after his decease his books should be found in ladies studies.

[c] Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.

But why shouldst thou take thy neglect, thy canvas, so to heart? It may be thou art not fit; but, as a [d] child that puts on his fathers shoes, hat, head piece, brestplate, breeches, or holds his spear, but is neither able to wield the one or wear the other; so wouldst thou doe by such an office, place, or magistracy: thou art unfit; *and what is dignity to an unworthy man,* but (as [e] Salvianus holds) *a gold ring in a swines snowt?* Thou art a brute. Like a bad actor (so [f] Plutarch compares such men) in a tragedy, (*diadema fert, at vox non auditur*) thou wouldst play a king's part, but actest a clowne, speakest like an asse.

[g] Magna petis, Phaëthon, et quæ non viribus istis, &c.

As James and John, the sons of Zebedy, did ask they knew not what; *nescis, temerarie, nescis;* thou dost, as another Suffenus, overween thy self; thou art wise in thine own conceit, but in other mens more mature judgement altogether unfit to manage such a businesse. Or be it thou art more deserving then any of thy rank, God in his providence hath reserved thee for some other fortunes: *sic superis visum.* Thou art humble, as thou art: it may be, hadst thou been preferred, thou wouldst have forgotten God and thy self, insulted over others,

[a] Stella Fomahant immortalitatem dabit. [b] Lib. de lib. propriis. [c] Hor. [d] Qui induit thoracem aut galeam, &c. [e] Lib. 4. de guber. Dei. Quid est dignitas indigno, nisi circulus aureus in naribus suis? [f] In Lysandro. [g] Ovid. Met.

contemned thy friends, [a] been a block, a tyrant, or a demi-god; *sequiturque superbia formam:* [b] *therefore,* saith Chrysostome, *good men do not alwayes finde grace and favour, lest they should be puffed up with turgent titles, grow insolent and proud.*

Injuries, abuses, are very offensive, and so much the more in that they think, *veterem ferendo, invitant novam,* by taking one, they provoke another: but it is an erroneous opinion: for, if that were true, there would be no end of abusing each other; *lis litem generat;* 'tis much better with patience to bear, or quietly to put it up. If an asse kick me, saith Socrates, shall I strike him again? and, when [c] his wife Xantippe stroke and misused him, to some friends that would have had him strike her again, he replied that he would not make them sport, or that they should stand by and say *Eia, Socrates! eia, Xantippe!* as we do when dogs fight, animate them the more by clapping of hands. Many men spend themselves, their goods, friends, fortunes, upon small quarrels, and sometimes at other mens procurements, with much vexation of spirit and anguish of minde; all which, with good advice, or mediation of friends, might have been happily composed, or if patience had taken place. Patience, in such cases, is a most soveraign remedy, to put up, conceal, or dissemble it, to [d] forget and forgive, [e] *not seven, but seventy times seven; as often as he repents, forgive him;* Luk. 17. 3. as our Saviour enjoyns us, stroken, *to turn the other side:* as our [f] Apostle perswades us, *to recompence no man evill, but, as much as is possible, to have peace with all men: not to avenge ourselves, and we shall heap burning coales upon our adversaries head. For, if you put up wrong,* (as Chrysostome [g] comments) *you get the victorie; he that loseth his mony, loseth not the conquest in this our philosophy.* If he contend with thee, submit thy self unto him first; yeeld to him. *Durum et durum non faciunt murum,* as the diverb is; two refractory spirits will never agree; the onely means to overcome, is to relent; *obsequio vinces.* Euclide (in Plutarch), when his brother had angred him, swore he would be revenged; but he gently replied, [h] *Let me not live, if I do not make thee to love me again;* upon which meek answer he was pacified.

[i] Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus:
Frangis, si vires experiare tuas.

[a] Magistratus virum indicat. [b] Ideo boni viri aliquando gratiam non accipiunt, ne in superbiam eleventur ventositate jactantiæ, ne altitudo muneris negligentiores efficiat. [c] Ælian. [d] Injuriarum remedium est oblivio. [e] Mat. 18. 22. Mat. 5. 39. [f] Rom. 12. 17. [g] Si toleras injuriam, victor evadis; qui enim pecuniis privatus est, non est privatus victoriâ in hac philosophiâ. [h] Dispeream, nisi te ultus fuero: dispeream, nisi ut me deinceps ames effecero. [i] Joach. Camerarius, Embl. 21. cent. 1.

A branch, if easily bended, yeelds to thee:
Pul hard, it breaks: the difference you see.

The noble family of the Columni in Rome, when they were expelled the city by that furious Alexander the sixt, gave the bending branch therefore as an impresse, with this motto, *Flecti potest, frangi non potest*, to signifie that he might break them by force, but so never make them stoop; for they fled, in the midst of their hard usage, to the kingdome of Naples, and were honourably entertained by Frederick the king, according to their calling. Gentleness in this case might have done much more; and, let thine adversary be never so perverse, it may be by that means thou mayst win him; [a] *favore et benevolentiâ etiam immanis animus mansuescit;* soft words pacifie wrath, and the fiercest spirits are so soonest overcome: [b] a generous lion will not hurt a beast that lies prostrate, nor an elephant an innocuous creature, but is *infestus infestis*, a terrour and scourge alone to such as are stubborn, and make resistance. It was the symbole of Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy; and he was not mistaken in it; for

[c] Quo quisque est major, magis est placabilis iræ;
Et faciles motus mens generosa capit.

A greater man is soonest pacified,
A noble spirit quickly satisfied.

It is reported by [d] Gualter Mapes an old historiographer of ours, (who lived 400 yeers since) that king Edward senior, and Leolin prince of Wales, being at an interview neer Aust upon Severn in Glocestershire, and the prince sent for, refused to come to the king, he would needs goe over to him: which Leolin perceiving, [e] *went up to the armes in water, and imbracing his boat, would have carried him out upon his shoulders, adding that his humility and wisdom had triumphed over his pride and folly;* and thereupon was reconciled unto him, and did his homage. If thou canst not so win him, put it up; if thou beest a true Christian, a good divine, an imitator of Christ, ([f] *for he was reviled and put it up, whipped and sought no revenge*) thou wilt pray for thine enemies, [g] *and blesse them that persecute thee;* be patient, meek, humble, &c. An honest man will not offer thee injury; *probus non vult;* if he

[a] Heliodorus. [b] Reipsâ reperi nihil esse homini melius facilitate et clementiâ. Ter. Adelph. [c] Ovid. [d] Camden, in Glouc. [e] Usque ad pectus ingressus est aquam, et cymbam amplectens, sapientissime rex, ait, tua humilitas meam vicit superbiam, et sapientia triumphavit ineptiam; collum ascende quod contra te fatuus erexi, intrabis terram, quam hodie fecit tuam benignitas, &c. [f] Chrysostome. Contumeliis affectus est, et eas pertulit; opprobriis, nec ultus est; verberibus cæsus, nec vicem reddidit. [g] Rom. 12. 14.

were a brangling knave, 'tis his fashion so to do; where is least heart, is most tongue; *quo quisque stultior, eo magis insolescit*, the more sottish he is, still the more insolent. [a] *Doe not answer a fool according to his folly.* If he be thy superiour, [b] bear it by all means; grieve not at it; let him take his course. *Anytus and Melitus* [c] *may kill me, they cannot hurt me*—as that generous Socrates made answer in like case. *Mens immota manet:* though the body be torn in pieces by wild horses, broken on the wheel, pinched with fiery tongs, the soul cannot be distracted. 'Tis an ordinary thing for great men to vilifie and insult, oppress, injure, tyrannise, to take what liberty they list; and who dare speak against? *Miserum est ab eo lædi, a quo non possis queri*, a miserable thing 'tis to be injured of him, from whom is no appeal: [d] and not safe to write against him that can proscribe and punish a man at his pleasure, which Asinius Pollio was ware of, when Octavianus provoked him. 'Tis hard, I confesse, to be so injured; one of Chilo's three difficult things—[e] *to keep counsell, spend his time well, put up injuries:* but be thou patient, and leave revenge unto the Lord. [f] *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. I know, the Lord* (saith [g] David) *will avenge the afflicted, and judge the poor. No man* (as [h] Plato farther addes) *can so severely punish his adversary, as God will such as oppresse miserable men.*

[i] Iterum ille rem judicatam judicat,
Majoreque mulctâ mulctat.

If there be any religion, any God, and that God be just, it shall be so; if thou beleevest the one, beleeve the other: *erit, erit*, it shall be so. Nemesis comes after, *sero sed serio:* stay but a little; and thou shalt see Gods just judgement overtake him.

[k] Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Thou shalt perceive that verified of Samuel to Agag, 1. Sam. 15. 33: *thy sword hath made many women childlesse; so shall thy mother be childlesse amongst other women.* It shall be done to them as they have done to others. Conradinus, that brave Suevian prince, came with a well prepared army into

[a] Pro. [b] Contend not with a greater man. Pro. [c] Occidere possunt. [d] Non facile aut tutum in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere. [e] Arcana tacere, otium recte collocare, injuriam posse ferre, difficillimum. [f] Rom. 12. [g] Psa. 140. 12. [h] Nullus tam severe inimicum, suum ulcisci potest, quam deus solet miserorum oppressores. [i] Arcturus, in Plaut. [k] Hor. 3. od. 2.

the kingdom of Naples, was taken prisoner by king Charles, and put to death in the flower of his youth: a little after (*ultionem Conradini mortis*, Pandulphus Collinutius, *Hist. Neap. lib.* 5. calls it,) king Charles his own sonne, with 200 nobles, was so taken prisoner, and beheaded in like sort. Not in this only, but in all other offences, *quo quisque peccat, in eo punietur*, [a] they shall be punished in the same kinde, in the same part, like nature; eye, with or in the eye, head, with or in the head, persecution with persecution, lust with effects of lust: let them march on with ensignes displayed, let drums beat on, trumpets sound *taratantara*, let them sack cities, take the spoil of countries, murder infants, deflower virgins, destroy, burn, persecute, and tyrannize; they shall be fully rewarded at last in the same measure, they and theirs, and that to their desert.

[b] Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et siccâ morte tyranni.

Few tyrants in their beds do die,
But stab'd or maim'd to hell they hie.

Oftentimes too a base contemptible fellow is the instrument of Gods justice to punish, to torture, and vex them, as an ichneumon doth a crocodile. They shall be recompenced according to the works of their hands, as Haman was hanged on the gallowes he provided for Mordochy; *they shall have sorrow of heart, and be destroyed from under the heaven, Thre.* 3. 64, 65, 66. Only be thou patient: [c] *vincit, qui patitur*: and in the end thou shalt be crowned. Yea but 'tis a hard matter to do this; flesh and blood may not abide it; 'Tis *grave! grave!* no (Chrysostome replies) *non est grave, o homo*; 'tis not so grievous; [d] *neither had God commanded it, if it had been so difficult.* But how shall it be done? *Easily*, as he followes it, *if thou shalt look to heaven, behold the beauty of it, and what God hath promised to them that put up injuries.* But, if thou resist and go about *vim vi repellere*, as the custome of the world is, to right thy self, or hast given just cause of offence, 'tis no injury then, but a condign punishment; thou hast deserved as much; *a te principium; in te recidit crimen, quod a te fuit; peccásti; quiesce*, as Ambrose expostulates with Cain, *lib.* 3. *de Abel et Cain.* [e] Dionysius of Syracuse, in his exile, was made stand without dore; *patienter ferendum; fortasse nos tale quid fecimus, quum in honore essemus;*

[a] Wisd. 11. 6. [b] Juvenal. [c] Apud Christianos, non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam, miser est. Leo. ser. [d] Neque præcepisset deus, si grave fuisset; sed quâ ratione potero? facile, si cœlum suspexeris, et ejus pulchritudinem, et quod pollicetur Deus, &c. [e] Valer. lib. 4. cap. 5.

he wisely put it up, and laid the fault where it was, on his own pride and scorn, which in his prosperity he had formerly shewed others. 'Tis [a] Tullies axome—*ferre ea molestissime homines non debent, quæ ipsorum culpâ contracta sunt*; self do, self have, as the saying is; they may thank themselves: for he that doth wrong must look to be wronged again; *habet et musca splenem, et formicæ sua bilis inest*; the least fly hath a spleen, and a little bee a sting. [b] An asse overwhelmed a thisselwarps nest; the little bird pecked his gaul'd back in revenge; and the humble-bee in the fable flung down the eagles eggs out of Jupiters lap. Brasidas (in Plutarch) put his hand into a mouse nest, and hurt her young ones; she bit him by the finger: [c] *I see now* (saith he) *there is no creature so contemptible, that will not be revenged.* 'Tis *lex talionis*, and the nature of all things so to do. If thou wilt live quietly thyself, [d] do no wrong to others; if any be done thee, put it up, with patience endure it. For [e] *this is thankworthy*, saith our Apostle, *if a man, for conscience towards God, endure grief, and suffer wrong undeserved; for what praise is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently? but if, when you do well, ye suffer wrong, and take it patiently, there is thanks with God: for hereunto verily we are called. Qui mala non fert, ipse sibi testis est per impatientiam quod bonus non est*: he that cannot bear injuries witnesseth against himself that he is no good man, as [f] Gregory holds. *'Tis the nature of wicked men to do injuries, as it is the property of honest men patiently to bear them.*

Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio.

The wolf in the [g] emblem sucked the goat (so the shepheard would have it): [h] but he kept nevertheless a wolfs nature: a knave will be a knave. Injury is, on the other side, a good mans foot-boy, his *fidus Achates*, and, as a lackey, followes him wheresoever he goes. Besides, *misera est fortuna, quæ caret inimico*, he is in a miserable estate, that wants enemies: [i] it is a thing not to be avoided, and therefore with more patience to be endured. Cato Censorius, that upright Cato, of whom Paterculus gives that honourable elogium, *bene fecit, quod aliter facere non potuit*, was [k] 50 times endited and accused by his fellow citizens; and, as [l] Ammianus well hath it,

[a] Ep. Q. frat. [b] Camerarius, emb. 75. cen. 2. [c] Pupæ! inquit; nullum animal tam pusillum quod non cupiat ulcisci. [d] Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [e] 1. Pet. 2. [f] Siquidem malorum proprium est inferre damna, et bonorum pedissequa est injuria. [g] Alciat. emb. [h] Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret. [i] By many indignities, we come to dignities. Tibi subjicito quæ fiunt aliis, furtum, convicia, &c. et in iis in te admissis non excandesces. Epictetus. [k] Plutarch. Quinquagies Catoni dies dicta ab inimicis. [l] Lib. 18.

quis erit innocens, si clam vel palàm accusâsse sufficiat? if it be sufficient to accuse a man openly or in privat, who shall be free? If there were no other respect then that of Christianity, religion, and the like, to induce men to be long suffering and patient, yet me thinks the nature of injury it self is sufficient to keep them quiet: the tumults, uproars, miseries, discontents, anguish, losse, dangers, that attend upon it, might restrain the calamities of contention: for, as it is with ordinary gamesters, the gains go to the box, so falls it out to such as contend; the lawyers get all; and therefore, if they would consider of it, *aliena pericula cautos*, other mens misfortunes in this kind, and common experience, might detain them. [a] The more they contend, the more they are involved in a labyrinth of woes; and the catastrophe is to consume one another, like the elephant and dragons conflict in Pliny[b]; the dragon got under the elephants belly, and sucked his blood so long, till he fell down dead upon the dragon, and killed him with the fall; so both were ruin'd. 'Tis an hydra's head, contention; the more they strive, the more they may; and—as Praxiteles did by his glass, when he saw a scurvy face in it, brake it in pieces; but, for that one, he saw many more as bad in a moment—for one injury done they provoke another *cum fœnore*, and twenty enemies for one. *Noli irritare crabrones*; oppose not thyself to a multitude: but, if thou hast received a wrong, wisely consider of it; and, if thou canst possibly, compose thy self with patience to bear it. This is the safest course; and thou shalt find greatest ease to be quiet.

[c] I say the same of scoffs, slanders, contumelies, obloquies, defamations, detractions, pasquilling libels, and the like, which may tend any way to our disgrace: 'tis but opinion: if we could neglect, contemn, or with patience digest them, they would reflect disgrace on them that offered them at first. A wise citizen, I know not whence, had a scold to his wife: when she brawled, he plaid on his drum, and by that means madded her more, because she saw that he would not be moved. Diogenes in a crowd, when one called him back, and told him how the boys laughed him to scorn, *Ego, inquit, non rideor*, took no notice of it. Socrates was brought upon the stage by Aristophanes, and misused to his face: but he laughed, as if it concerned him not: and, as Ælian relates of him, whatsoever good or bad accident or fortune befel him, going in or coming out, Socrates still kept the same countenance: Even so should a

[a] Hoc scio pro certo, quod, si cum stercore certo, Vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor. [b] Lib. 8. cap. 2. [c] Obloquutus est, probrumque tibi intulit quispiam? sive vera is dixerit, sive falsa, maximam tibi coronam texueris, si mansuete convicium tuleris. [d] Chrys. in. 6. cap. ad Rom. ser. 10.

Christian souldier do, as Hierom describes him, *per infamiam et bonam famam grassari ad immortalitatem;* march on through good and bad reports to immortality, [a] not be moved: for honesty is a sufficient reward; *probitas sibi præmium;* and in our times the sole recompence to do well, is, to do well: but naughtiness will punish itself at last: [b] *Improbis ipsa nequitia supplicium,* as the diverbe is,

Qui bene fecerunt, illi sua facta sequentur:
Qui male fecerunt, facta sequentur eos.
They that do well, shall have reward at last;
But they that ill, shall suffer for that's past.

Yea, but I am ashamed, disgraced, dishonoured, degraded, exploded: my notorious crimes and villanies are come to light, (*deprendi miserum est*) my filthy lust, abominable oppression and avarice lies open; my good name's lost; my fortune's gone; I have been stigmatized, whipt at post, arraigned and condemned; I am a common obloquy; I have lost my ears; odious, execrable, abhorred of God and men. Be content; 'tis but a nine dayes wonder; and as one sorrow drives out another, one passion another, one cloud another, one rumour is expelled by another; every day almost, come new news unto our ears, as how the sun was eclipsed, meteors seen i'th' aire, monsters born, prodigies, how the Turks were overthrown in Persia, an earth-quake in Helvetia, Calabria, Japan, or China, an inundation in Holland, a great plague in Constantinople, a fire at Prage, a dearth in Germany, such a man is made a lord, a bishop, another hanged, deposed, prest to death, for some murder, treason, rape, theft, oppression; all which we do hear at first with a kind of admiration, detestation, consternation; but by and by they are buried in silence: thy father's dead, thy brother rob'd, wife runs mad, neighbour hath kild himselfe; 'tis heavy, gastly, fearful newes at first, in every mans mouth, table talk; but, after a while, who speaks or thinks of it? It will be so with thee and thine offence: it will be forgotten in an instant, be it theft, rape, sodomy, murder, incest, treason, &c. thou art not the first offender, nor shalt thou be the last; 'tis no wonder; every houre such malefactors are called in question; nothing so common,

Quocunque in populo, quocunque sub axe.

Comfort thy self; thou art not the sole man. If he that were guiltless himself should fling the first stone at thee, and he alone should accuse thee that were faultless, how many executioners,

[a] Tullius, epist. Dolabellæ: tu forti sis animo; et tua moderatio, constantia, eorum infamet injuriam. [b] Boëthius, consol. lib. 4. pros. 3.

how many accusers, wouldst thou have? If every mans sinnes were written in his fore-head, and secret faults known, how many thousands would parallel, if not exceed, thine offence? It may be, the judge that gave sentence, the jury that condemned thee, the spectators that gazed on thee, deserved much more, and were farre more guilty then thou thy self. But it is thine infelicity to be taken, to be made a public example of justice, to be a terror to the rest: yet, should every man have his desert, thou wouldest peradventure be a saint in comparison; *vexat censura columbas;* poor souls are punished; the great ones do twenty thousand times worse, and are not so much as spoken of.

Non rete accipitri tenditur, neque milvio,
Qui male faciunt nobis: illis, qui nil faciunt, tenditur.

The net's not laid for kites or birds of prey;
But for the harmless still our gins we lay.

Be not dismaid then; *humanum est errare;* we are all sinners, daily and hourely subject to temptations; the best of us is an hypocrite, a grievous offender in Gods sight, Noah, Lot, David, Peter, &c. how many mortal sins do we commit? Shall I say, be penitent, ask forgiveness, and make amends by the sequel of thy life, for that foul offence thou hast committed? recover thy credit by some noble exploit, as Themistocles did; for he was a most deboshed and vitious youth; *sed juventæ maculas præclaris factis delevit,* but made the world amends by brave exploits: at last become a new man, and seek to be reformed. He that runs away in a battle, as Demosthenes said, may fight again; and he that hath a fall may stand as upright as ever he did before:

[a] Nemo desperet meliora lapsus:

a wicked liver may be reclaimed, and prove an honest man; he that is odious in present, hissed out, an exile, may be received again with all mens favours, and singular applause; so Tully was in Rome, Alcibiades in Athens. Let thy disgrace then be what it will, *quod fit, infectum non potest esse,* that which is past cannot be recalled; trouble not thy selfe, vexe and grieve thy self no more, be it obloquy, disgrace, &c. No better way, then to neglect, contemn, or seem not to regard it, to make no reckoning of it:

Deesse robur arguit dicacitas:

If thou be guiltless, it concerns thee not:

[b] Irrita vaniloquæ quid curas spicula linguæ?
Latrantem curatne alta Diana canem?

[a] Ter. Phor. [b] Camerar. emb. 61. cent. 3.

Doth the moon care for the barking of a dog? They detract, scoffe, and raile (saith one), [a] and bark at me on every side; but I, like that Albanian dog sometimes given to Alexander for a present, *vindico me ab illis solo contemptu*; I lie still, and sleep, vindicate myself by contempt alone.

[b] Expers terroris Achilles,

armatus—as a tortoise in his shell, *virtute meâ me involvo*, [c] or an urchin round, *nil moror ictus*; [d] a lizard in camomile, I decline their fury and am safe.

Integritas virtusque, suo munimine tuta,
Non patet adversæ morsibus invidiæ.

Vertue and integrity are their own fence,
Care not for envy or what comes from thence.

Let them rail then, scoffe, and slander; *sapiens contumeliâ non afficitur*, a wise man, Seneca thinks, is not moved, because he knows, *contra sycophantæ morsum non est remedium*, there is no remedy for it: kings and princes, wise, grave, prudent, holy, good, men, divine, all are so served alike. [e] *O Jane! a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit?* Antevorta and Postvorta, Jupiters gardians, may not help in this case; they cannot protect. Moses had a Dathan, a Corath, David a Shimei; God himself is blasphemed: *nondum felix es, si te nondum turba deridet.* It is an ordinary thing so to be misused. [f] *Regium est, cum bene feceris, male audire*; the chiefest men and most understanding are so vilified; let him take his [g] course. And—as that lusty courser in Æsop, that contemned the poor asse, came by and by after with his bowels burst, a pack on his back, and was derided of the same asse—*contemnentur ab iis quos ipsi prius contempsere, et irridebuntur ab iis quos ipsi prius irrisere*; they shall be contemned and laughed to scorn of those whom they have formerly derided. Let them contemn, defame, or undervalue, insult, oppress, scoffe, slander, abuse, wrong, curse and swear, fain and lye: do thou comfort [h] thy self with a good conscience; *in sinu gaudeas*; when they have all done, *a good conscience is a continual feast*, innocency will vindicate itself. And, which the poet gave out of Hercules, *diis fruitur iratis*,

[a] Lipsius, elect. lib. 3. ult. Latrant me; jaceo ac taceo, &c. [b] Catullus. [c] The symbole of J. Kevenheder a Carinthian baron, saith Sambucus. [d] The symbole of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. [e] Pers. sat. 1. [f] Magni animi est injurias despicere. Seneca de irâ, cap. 31. [g] Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam ex insipientis sermone pendere? Tullius, 2. de finibus. [h] Tuâ te conscientiâ solare; in cubiculum ingredere, ubi secure requiescas. Minuit se quodammodo probantis conscientiæ secretum. Boëthius, l. 1. pros. 4.

enjoy thy self, though all the world be set against thee; contemn, and say with him, *Elogium mihi præ foribus*, my posie is, *not to be moved, that* [a] *my* Palladium, *my brest-plate, my buckler, with which I ward all injuries, offences, lies, slanders; I lean upon that stake of modesty, and so receive and break asunder all that foolish force of livor and spleen.* And whosoever he is that shall observe these short instructions, without all question he shall much ease and benefit himself.

In fine, if princes would do justice, judges be upright, clergie-men truly devout, and so live as they teach, if great men would not be so insolent, if souldiers would quietly defend us, the poor would be patient, rich men would be liberal and humble, citizens honest, magistrates meek, superiours would give good example, subjects peaceable, young men would stand in awe; if parents would be kind to their children, and they again obedient to their parents, brethren agree amongst themselves, enemies be reconciled, servants trusty to their masters, virgins chaste, wives modest, husbands would be loving and less jealous; if we could imitate Christ and his apostles, live after Gods laws, these mischiefs would not so frequently happen amongst us. But being most part so irreconcileable as we are, perverse, proud, insolent, factious and malicious, prone to contention, anger, and revenge, of such fiery spirits, so captious, impious, irreligious, so opposite to vertue, void of grace, how should it otherwise be? Many men are very teasty by nature, apt to mistake, apt to quarrel, apt to provoke and misinterpret to the worst, every thing that is said or done, and thereupon heap unto their selves a great deal of trouble, and disquietness to others: smatterers in other mens matters, tale-bearers, whisperers, lyers, they cannot speak in season, or hold their tongues when they should, [b] *et suam partem itidem tacere, cum aliena est oratio;* they will speak more then comes to their share, in all companies, and by those bad courses accumulate much evil to their own souls, (*qui contendit, sibi convicium facit*) their life is a perpetual braul, they snarl like so many dogs, with their wives, children, servants, neighbours, and all the rest of their friends; they can agree with no body. But to such as are judicious, meek, submiss, and quiet, these matters are easily remedied: they will forbear upon all such occasions, neglect, contemn, or take no notice of them, dissemble, or wisely turn it off. If it be a na-

[a] Ringantur licet, et maledicant; Palladium illud pectori oppono, Non moveri: consisto; modestiæ veluti sudi innitens, excipio et frango stultissimum impetum livoris. Putean. lib. 2. epist. 58. [b] Mil. glor. Act. 3. Plautus.

tural impediment, as a red nose, squint eyes, crooked legs, or any such imperfection, infirmity, disgrace, reproach, the best way is to speak of it first thy [a]self, and so thou shalt surely take away al occasions from others to jest at, or contemn, that they may perceive thee to be careless of it. Vatinius was wont to scoffe at his own deformed feet, to prevent his enemies obloquies and sarcasms in that kind; or else by prevention, as Cotys, king of Thrace, that brake a company of fine glasses presented to him, by his own hands, lest he should be overmuch moved when they were broken by chance. And sometimes again, so that it be discreetly and moderately done, it shall not be amiss to make resistance, to take down such a saucy companion: no better means to vindicate himself, to purchase final peace: for he that suffers himself to be ridden, or through pusillanimity or sottishness will let every man baffle him, shall be a common laughing stock for all to flout at. As a cur that goes through a village, if he clap his taile between his legs, and run away, every cur will insult over him: but if he brissle up himself, and stand to it, give but a counter-snarle, there's not a dog dares meddle with him: much is in a mans courage and discreet carriage of himself.

Many other grievances there are, which happen to mortals in this life, from friends, wives, children, servants, masters, companions, neighbours, our own defaults, ignorance, errours, intemperance, indiscretion, infirmities, &c. and many good remedies to mitigate and oppose them, many divine precepts to counterpoise our hearts, special antidotes both in scriptures and humane authors, which who so will observe, shall purchase much ease and quietness unto himself. I will point at a few. Those prophetical, apostolical admonitions are well known to all; what Salomon, Siracides, our Saviour Christ himself hath said tending to this purpose, as *Fear God: obey the prince: be sober and watch: pray continually: be angry, but sin not: remember thy last: fashion not your selves to this world, &c. apply your selves to the times: strive not with a mighty man: recompence good for evil: let nothing be done through contention or vain-glory, but with meekness of mind, every man esteeming of others better then himself: love one another*; or that epitome of the law and the prophets, which our Saviour inculcates, *love God above all, thy neighbour as thyself*; and, *whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, so do unto them*, which Alexander Severus writ in letters of gold, and used as a motto, and [b] Hierom commends to Ce-

[a] Bion said his father was a rogue, his mother a whore, to prevent obloquy, and to shew that nought belonged to him but goods of the mind. [b] Lib. 2. ep. 25.

lantia as an excellent way, amongst so many inticements and worldly provocations, to rectify her life. Out of humane authors take these few cautions—[a] *Know thy self.* [b] *Be contented with thy lot.* [c] *Trust not wealth, beauty, nor parasites: they will bring thee to destruction.* [d] *Have peace with all men, war with vice.* [e] *Be not idle.* [f] *Look before you leap.* [g] *Beware of "Had I wist."* [h] *Honour thy parents: speak well of friends. Be temperate in foure things,* linguâ, loculis, oculis, et poculis. *Watch thine eye.* [i] *Moderate thine expences. Hear much: speak little.* [k] Sustine et abstine. *If thou seest ought amiss in another, mend it in thyself. Keep thine own counsel; reveal not thy secrets; be silent in thine intentions.* [l] *Give not ear to tale-tellers, bablers: be not scurrilous in conversation:* [m] *jest without bitterness: give no man cause of offence. Set thine house in order.* [n] *Take heed of suretiship.* [o] Fide et diffide: *as a fox on the ice, take heed whom you trust.* [p] *Live not beyond thy means.* [q] *Give chearfully. Pay thy dues willingly. Be not a slave to thy mony.* [r] *Omit not occasion; embrace opportunity; loose no time. Be humble to thy superiors, respective to thine equals, affable to all,* [s] *but not familiar. Flatter no man.* [t] *Lie not: dissemble not. Keep thy word and promise, be constant in a good resolution. Speak truth. Be not opinative: maintain no factions. Lay no wagers: make no comparisons.* [v] *Find no faults, meddle not with other mens matters. Admire not thyself.* [w] *Be not proud or popular. Insult not.* Fortunam reverenter habe. [x] *Fear not that which cannot be avoided.* [y] *Grieve not for that which cannot be recalled.* [z] *Undervalue not thy self. Accuse no man, commend no man, rashly. Go not to law without great cause. Strive not with a greater man. Cast not off an old friend. Take heed of a reconciled enemy.* [a] *If thou come as a*

[a] Nosce teipsum. [b] Contentus abi. [c] Ne fidas opibus, neque parasitis; trahunt in præcipitium. [d] Pacem cum hominibus habe, bellum cum vitiis. Otho. 2. imperat. symb. [e] Dæmon te nunquam otiosum inveniat. Hieron. [f] Diu deliberandum, quod statuendum est semel. [g] Insipientis est dicere, non putâram. [h] Ames parentem, si æquum; aliter feras; præstes parentibus pietatem, amicis dilectionem. [i] Comprime linguam. Quid de quoque viro et cui dicas sæpe caveto. Libentius audias quam loquaris. Vive ut vivas. [k] Epictetus; optime feceris, si ea fugeris quæ in alio reprehendis. Nemini dixeris quæ nolis efferri. [l] Fuge susurrones. Percontatorem fugito, &c. [m] Sint sales sine vilitate. Sen. [n] Sponde, præsto noxa. [o] Camerar. emb. 55. cent. 2. Cave cui credas, vel nemini fidas. Epicharmus. [p] Tecum habita. [q] Bis dat, qui cito dat. [r] Post est occasio calva. [s] Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum. [t] Mendacium servile vitium. [v] Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis ullius unquam; Commissumque teges. Hor. lib. 1. ep. 19. Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprendes. Hor. ep. lib. 18. [w] Ne te quæsiveris extra. [x] Stultum est timere, quod vitari non potest. [y] De re amissâ irreparabili ne doleas. [z] Tanti eris aliis, quanti tibi fueris. Neminem cito laudes vel accuses. [a] Nullius hospitis grata est mora longa.

guest, stay not too long. Be not unthankful. Be meek, merciful, and patient. Do good to all. Be not fond of fair words. [a] *Be not a newter in a faction. Moderate thy passions.* [b] *Think no place without a witness.* [c] *Admonish thy friend in secret; commend him in publike. Keep good company.* [d] *Love others, to be beloved thy self.* Ama, tanquam osurus. Amicus tardo fias. *Provide for a tempest.* Noli irritare crabrones. *Do not prostitute thy soul for gain. Make not a fool of thy self, to make others merry. Marry not an old crony, or a fool, for mony. Be not over sollicitous or curious. Seek that which may be found. Seem not greater then thou art. Take thy pleasure soberly.* Ocymum ne terito. [e] *Live merrily as thou canst.* [f] *Take heed by other mens examples. Go as thou wouldst be met: sit as thou wouldst be found.* [g] *Yield to the time; follow the stream. Wilt thou live free from fears and cares?* [h] *Live innocently, keep thy self upright; thou needest no other keeper, &c.* Look for more in Isocrates, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, &c. and, for defect, consult with cheese-trenchers and painted cloths.

MEMB. VIII.

Against Melancholy it self.

EVERY man, saith [i] Seneca, *thinks his own burthen the heaviest*; and a melancholy man, above all others, complains most; weariness of life, abhorring all company and light, fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, bashfulness, and those other dread symptomes of body and mind, must needs aggravate this misery; yet, conferred to other maladies, they are not so hainous as they be taken. For, first, this disease is either in habit or disposition, curable or incurable. If new and in disposition, 'tis commonly pleasant, and it may be helped. If inveterate, or an habit, yet they have *lucida intervalla,* sometimes well, and sometimes ill; or if more continuate, as the [k] Vejentes were to the Romans, 'tis *hostis magis assiduus quam gravis,* a more durable enemy then dangerous; and, amongst many inconveniences, some comforts

[a] Solonis lex, apud Aristotelem. Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 12. [b] Nullum locum putes sine teste: semper adesse Deum cogita. [c] Secrete amicos admone, lauda palam. [d] Ut ameris, amabilis esto. Eros et Anteros gemelli Veneris, amatio et redamatio. Plat. [e] Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti. Seneca. [f] Id apprime in vitâ utile, ex aliis observare sibi quod ex usu siet. Ter. [g] Dum furor in cursu, currenti cede furori. Cretizandum cum Crete. Temporibus servi, nec contra flamina flato. [h] Nulla certior custodia innocentiâ: inexpugnabile munimentum munimento non egere. [i] Unicuique suum onus intolerabile videtur. [k] Livius.

are annexed to it. First, it is not catching; and, as Erasmus comforted himself, when he was grievously sick of the stone, though it was most troublesome, and an intolerable pain to him, yet it was no whit offensive to others, not lothsome to the spectators, gastly, fulsom, terrible, as plagues, apoplexies, leprosies, wounds, sores, tetters, pox, pestilent agues are, which either admit of no company, terrify or offend those that are present. In this malady, that which is, is wholly to themselves; and those symptomes not so dreadful, if they be compared to the opposite extreams. They are most part bashful, suspicious, solitary, &c, therefore no such ambitious, impudent intruders, as some are, no sharkers, no cunnicatchers, no prolers, no smel-feasts, praters, panders, parasites, bawds, drunkards, whoremasters: necessity and defect compels them to be honest; as Micio told Demea in the comedy,

> [a] Hæc si neque ego neque tu fecimus,
> Non sivit egestas facere nos:

if we be honest, 'twas poverty made us so: if we melancholy men be not as bad as he that is worst, 'tis our dame Melancholy kept us so:

> Non deerat voluntas sed facultas.

Besides they are freed in this from many other infirmities; solitariness makes them more apt to contemplate, suspition wary, which is a necessary humour in these times; [b] *nam, pol, qui maxime cavet, sæpe is cautor captus est:* he that takes most heed, is often circumvented and overtaken. Fear and sorrow keep them temperate and sober, and free them from many dissolute acts, which jollity and boldness thrust men upon; they are therefore no *sicarii*, roaring boyes, theeves, or assassinates. As they are soon dejected, so they are as soon, by soft words and good perswasions, reared. Wearisomness of life makes them they are not so besotted on the transitory vain pleasures of the world. If they dote in one thing, they are wise and well understanding in most other. If it be inveterate, they are *insensati*, most part doting, or quite mad, insensible of any wrongs, ridiculous to others, but most happy and secure to themselves. Dotage is a state which many much magnifie and commend: so is simplicity, and folly, as he said,

> [c] Hic furor, O superi, sit mihi perpetuus.

Some think fools and disards live the merriest lives, as Ajax in Sophocles; *nihil scire vita jucundissima;* 'tis the pleasantest life to know nothing; *iners malorum remedium ignorantia;* ignorance is a down-right remedy of evils. These curious arts

[a] Ter. Scen. 2. Adelph. [b] Plautus. [c] Petronius, Catal.

and laborious sciences, Galens, Tullies, Aristotles, Justinians, do but trouble the world, some think; we might live better with that illiterate Virginian simplicity, and gross ignorance; entire ideots do best; they are not macerated with cares, tormented with fears and anxiety, as other wise men are: for, as [a] he said, if folly were a pain, you should hear them houl, roar, and cry out in every house, as you go by in the street; but they are most free, jocund, and merry, and, in some [b] countries, as amongst the Turks, honoured for saints, and abundantly maintained out of the common stock. They are no dissemblers, lyers, hypocrites; for fools and mad men tell commonly truth. In a word, as they are distressed, so are they pittied; which some hold better then to be envied, better to be sad then merry, [c] better to be foolish and quiet, *quam sapere et ringi*, to be wise and still vexed; better to be miserable then happy: of two extremes it is the best.

SECT. IV.

MEMB. I. SUBSECT. I.

Of Physick which cureth with Medicines.

AFTER a long and tedious discourse of these six non-naturall things, and their severall rectifications, all which are comprehended in diet, I am come now at last to *Pharmaceutice*, or that kinde of physick which cureth by medicines, which apothecaries most part make, mingle, or sell in their shops. Many cavill at this kinde of physick, and hold it unnecessary, unprofitable to this or any other disease, because those countries which use it least, live longest, and are best in health, as [d] Hector Boëthius relates of the isles of Orcades, the people are still sound of body and minde, without any use of physick; they live commonly 120 yeers; and Ortelius, in his Itinerary, of the inhabitants of the forrest of Arden, [e] *they are very painfull, long-lived, sound, &c.* [f] Martianus Capella, speaking of the Indians of his time, saith, they were (much like our western Indians now) *bigger then ordinary men, bred coursly, very long-*

[a] Parmeno Cælestinæ, Act. 8. Si stultitia dolor esset, in nullâ non domo ejulatus audires. [b] Busbequius. Sands, lib. 1. fol. 89. [c] Quis hodie beatior, quam cui licet stultum esse, et eorundam immunitatibus frui? Sat. Menip. [d] Lib. Hist. [e] Parvo viventes, laboriosi, longævi, suo contenti, ad centum annos vivunt. [f] Lib. 6. de Nup. Philol. Ultra humanam fragilitatem prolixi, ut immature pereat qui centenarius moriatur, &c.

lived, in so much, that he that died at an hundred years of age, went before his time, &c. Damianus A-Goes, Saxo Grammaticus, Aubanus Bohemus, say the like of them that live in Norway, Lapland, Finmark, Biarmia, Corelia, all over Scandia, and those northern countries, they are most healthfull, and very long-lived; in which places there is no use at all of physick, the name of it is not once heard. Dithmarus Bleskenius, in his accurate description of Island, 1607, makes mention, amongst other matters, of the inhabitants, and their manner of living, [a] *which is dried fish in stead of bread, butter, cheese, and salt meats; most part they drink water and whey; and yet, without physick or physician, they live many of them 250 yeers.* I finde the same relation by Lerius, and some other writers, of Indians in America. [b] Paulus Jovius, in his description of Brittain, and Levinus Lemnius, observe as much of this our island, that there was of old no use of physick amongst us, and but little at this day, except it be for a few nice idle citizens, surfetting courtiers, and stall-fed gentlemen lubbers. The country people use kitchin physick; and common experience tells us, that they live freest from all manner of infirmities, that make least use of apothecaries physick. Many are overthrown by preposterous use of it, and thereby get their bane, that might otherwise have escaped: [c] some think physicians kill as many as they save: and who can tell,

[d] Quot Themison ægros autumno occiderit uno?

how many murders they make in a yeer, *quibus impune licet hominem occidere*, that may freely kill folks, and have a reward for it? and, according to the Dutch proverb, a new physician must have a new church-yard; and who daily observes it not? Many, that did ill under physicians hands, have happily escaped, when they have been given over by them, left to God and Nature, and themselves. 'Twas Plinies *dilemma* of old—[e] *Every disease is either curable or incurable, a man recovers of it, or is killed by it: both wayes physick is to be rejected: if it be deadly, it cannot be cured; if it may be helped, it requires no physician: nature will expell it of it selfe.* Plato made it a great signe of an intemperate and corrupt commonwealth, where lawyers and physicians did abound; and the Romans distasted them so much, that they were often banished out of their city,

[a] Victus eorum caseo et lacte consistit; potus aqua et serum; pisces loco panis habent; ita multos annos, sæpe 250, absque medico et medicinâ vivunt. [b] Lib. de 4. complex. [c] Per mortes agunt experimenta, et animas nostras negotiantur; et quod aliis exitiale hominem occidere, iis impunitas summa. Plinius. [d] Juven. [e] Omnis morbus lethalis aut curabilis; in vitam desinit aut in mortem. Utroque igitur modo medicina inutilis; si lethalis, curari non potest; si curabilis, non requirit medicum; natura expellet.

as Pliny and Celsus relate, for 600 yeers not admitted. It is no art at all, as some hold, no not worthy the name of a liberall science (nor law neither), as [a] Pet. And. Canonherius, a patritian of Rome and a great doctor himself, *one of their own tribe*, proves by 16 arguments, because it is mercenary, as now used, base, and as fidlers play for a reward—

Juridicis, medicis, fisco, fas vivere rapto:—

'tis a corrupt trade, no science, art, no profession; the beginning, practice, and progresse of it, all is naught, full of imposture, incertainty, and doth generally more harm then good. The divell himself was the first inventor of it: *Inventum est medicina meum*, said Apollo: and what was Apollo, but the divell? The Greeks first made an art of it; and they were all deluded by Apollo's sons, priests, oracles. If we may beleeve Varro, Pliny, Columella, most of their best medicines were derived from his oracles. Æsculapius, his son, had his temples erected to his deity, and did many famous cures; but, as Lactantius holds, he was a magician, a meer impostor; and as his successors, Phaon, Podalirius, Melampius, Menecrates (another god), by charmes, spells, and ministery of bad spirits, performed most of their cures. The first that ever wrote in physick to any purpose, was Hippocrates, and his disciple and commentator Galen, whom Scaliger cals *fimbriam Hippocratis*, but, as [b] Cardan censures them, both immethodicall and obscure, as all those old ones are, their precepts confused, their medicines obsolete, and now most part rejected. Those cures which they did, Paracelsus holds, were rather done out of their patients confidence, [c] and good opinion they had of them, then out of any skill of their's, which was very small, he saith, they themselves idiots and infants, as are all their academicall followers. The Arabians received it from the Greeks, and so the Latines, adding new precepts and medicines of their own, but so imperfect still, that, through ignorance of professors, impostors, mountebanks, empericks, disagreeing of sectaries, (which are as many almost as there be diseases) envy, covetousnesse, and the like, they doe much harme amongst us. They are so different in their consultations, prescriptions, mistaking many times the parties constitution, [d] disease, and causes of it, they give quite contrary physick. [e] *One saith this, another that*, out of singularity or opposition—as he said of Adrian, *multitudo medicorum principem interfecit*, a multitude of physicians hath killed the emperour; *Plus a medico quam a morbo peri-*

[a] In interpretationes politico-morales in 7. Aphorism. Hippoc. libros. [b] Præfat. de contrad. med. [c] Opinio facit medicos: a fair gowne, a velvet cap, the name of a doctor, is all in all. [d] Morbus alius pro alio curatur; aliud remedium pro alio. [e] Contrarias proferunt sententias. Card.

culi; more danger there is from the physician, then from the disease. Besides, there is much imposture and malice amongst them. *All arts* (saith [a] Cardan) *admit of couzening: physick amongst the rest, doth appropriate it to her selfe*; and tells a story of one Curtius, a physician in Venice; because he was a stranger, and practised among them, the rest of the physicians did still crosse him in all his precepts. If he prescribed hot medicines, they would prescribe cold; *miscentes pro calidis frigida, pro frigidis humida, pro purgantibus astringentia*, binders for purgatives, *omnia perturbabant*. If the parties miscarried, *Curtium damnabant*; Curtius killed him, that disagreed from them: if he recovered, then [b] they cured him themselves. Much emulation, imposture, malice, there is amongst them: if they be honest, and mean well, yet a knave apothecary, that administers the physick, and makes the medicine, may do infinite harm, by his old obsolete doses, adulterine druggs, bad mixtures, *quid pro quo, &c.* See Fuchsius, *lib.* 1. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 8. Cordus Dispensatory, and Brassivola's *Examen simpl. &c.* But it is their ignorance that doth more harm then rashness; their art is wholly conjecturall (if it be an art), uncertain, imperfect, and got by killing of men: they are a kind of butchers, leeches, men-slayers; chirurgeons and apothecaries especially, that are indeed the physicians hangmen, *carnifices*, and common executioners; though, to say truth, physicians themselves come not far behinde; for, according to that facete epigram of Maximilianus Urentius, what's the difference?

Chirurgus medico quo differt? scilicet isto,
Enecat hic succis; enecat ille manu.
Carnifice hoc ambo tantum differre videntur:
Tardius hi faciunt, quod facit ille cito.

But I return to their skill. Many diseases they cannot cure at all, as apoplexie, epilepsie, stone, strangury, gout,

(Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram)

quartan agues; a common ague sometimes stumbles them all; they cannot so much as ease, they know not how to judge of it. If by pulses, that doctrine some hold, is wholly superstitious; and I dare boldly say with [c] Andrew Dudeth, *that variety of pulses, described by Galen, is neither observed nor understood of any*. And for urine, that is *meretrix medicorum*,

[a] Lib. 3. de sap. Omnes artes fraudem admittunt; sola medicina sponte eam accersit. [b] Omnis ægrotus propriâ culpâ perit; sed nemo nisi medici beneficio restituitur. Agrippa. [c] Lib. 3. Crat. ep. Winceslao Raphæno. Ausim dicere, tot pulsuum differentias, quæ describuntur a Galeno, nec a quoquam intelligi, nec observari posse.

the most deceitfull thing of all, as Forestus and some other physicians have proved at large: I say nothing of critick dayes, errours in indications, &c. The most rationall of them, and skilfull, are so often deceived, that, as [a]Tholosanus infers, *I had rather beleeve and commit my selfe to a meer emperick, then to a meer doctor; and I cannot sufficiently commend that custome of the Babylonians; that have no professed physicians, but bring all their patients to the market to be cured*; which Herodotus relates of the Ægyptians; Strabo, Sardus, and Aubanus Bohemus, of many other nations. And those that prescribed physick amongst them, did not so arrogantly take upon them to cure all diseases, as our professours do, but some one, some another, as their skill and experience did serve: [b]*one cured the eyes, a second the teeth, a third the head, another the lower parts, &c.* not for gain, but in charity, to do good; they made neither art, profession, nor trade of it, which in other places was accustomed: and therefore Cambyses (in [c]Xenophon) told Cyrus, that, to his thinking, physicians *were like taylers and coblers; the one mended our sick bodies, as the other did our cloaths.* But I will urge these cavelling and contumelious arguments no farther, lest some physician should mistake me, and deny me physick when I am sick: for my part, I am well perswaded of physick: I can distinguish the abuse from the use, in this and many other arts and sciences: [d]*Aliud vinum, aliud ebrietas*; wine and drunkennesse are two distinct things. I acknowledge it a most noble and divine science, in so much that Apollo, Æsculapius, and the first founders of it, *merito pro diis habiti*, were worthily counted gods by succeeding ages, for the excellency of their invention. And whereas Apollo at Delos, Venus at Cyprus, Diana at Ephesus, and those other gods, were confined and adored alone in some peculiar places, Æsculapius had his temple and altars everywhere, in Corinth, Lacedæmon, Athens, Thebes, Epidaure, &c. (Pausanias records) for the latitude of his art, deity, worth, and necessity. With all vertuous and wise men, therefore, I honour the name and calling, as I am enjoyned *to honour the physician for necessities sake. The knowledge of the physician lifteth up his head; and in the sight of great men he shall be admired. The Lord hath created medicines of the earth; and he that is wise will not abhorre them*, Eccles. 58. 1.. But of this noble subject how

[a] Lib. 28. cap. 7. syntax. art. mirab. Mallem ego expertis credere solum, quam mere ratiocinantibus: neque satis laudare possum institutum Babylonicum, &c.
[b] Herod. Euterpe, de Ægyptiis. Apud eos singulorum morborum sunt singuli medici; alius curat oculos, alius dentes, alius caput, partes occultas alius. [c] Cyrop. lib. 1. Velut vestium fractarum resarcinatores, &c. [d] Chrys. hom.

Hop.] Lupulus, hop, is a soveraign remedy; Fuchsius (*cap.* 58. *Plant. hist.*) much extolls it; [a] *it purgeth all choler, and purifies the blood.* Matthiol. (*cap.* 140. *in* 4. *Dioscor.*) wonders the physicians of his time made no more use of it, because it rarifies and cleanseth: we use it to this purpose in our ordinary beer, which before was thick and fulsome.

Wormwood, centaury, pennyroyall, are likewise magnified, and much prescribed (as I shall after shew) especially in hypochondriake melancholy, daily to be used, sod in whey: as Ruffus Ephesius, [b] Aretæus, relate, by breaking winde, helping concoction, many melancholy men have been cured with the frequent use of them alone.

And, because the spleen and blood are often misaffected in melancholy, I may not omit endive, succory, dandelyon, fumetory, &c. which cleanse the blood; scolopendria, cuscuta, ceterache, mugwort, liverwort, ashe, tamerisk, genist, maidenhair, &c. which much help and ease the spleen.

To these I may adde roses, violets, capers, fetherfew, scordium, stœchas, rosemary, ros solis, saffron, ocyme, sweet apples, wine, tobacco, sanders, &c. that Peruvian chamico, *monstrosâ facultate, &c. Linshcosteus Datura;* and to such as are cold, the [c] decoction of guiacum, china, salsaperilla, sassafras, the flowers of carduus benedictus, which I find much used by Montanus in his consultations, Julius Alexandrinus, Lælius, Egubinus, and others. [d] Bernardus Penottus prefers his *herba solis*, or Dutch-sindaw, before all the rest in this disease, *and will admit of no herb upon the earth to be comparable to it.* It excells Homers moly, cures this, falling sickness, and almost all other infirmities. The same Penottus speaks of an excellent balm out of Aponensis, which, taken to the quantity of three drops in a cup of wine, [e] *will cause a sudden alteration, drive away dumps, and chear up the heart.* Ant. Guianerius, in his Antidotary, hath many such. [f] Jacobus de Dondis, the *Aggregator*, repeats ambergreese, nutmegs, and all spice amongst the rest. But that cannot be generall; amber and spice will make a hot brain mad, good for cold and moist. Garcias ab Horto hath many Indian plants, whose vertues he much magnifies in this disease. Lemnius (*instit. cap.* 58) admires rue, and commends it to have excellent vertue, *to* [g] *expell vain imaginations, divels, and to ease af-*

[a] Bilem atramque detrahit, sanguinem purgat. [b] Lib. 7. cap. 5. Laet, occid. Indiæ descrip. lib. 10. cap. 2. [c] Heurnius, l. 2. consil. 185. Scoltzii consil. 77. [d] Præf. denar. med. Omnes capitis dolores et phantasmata tollit; scias nullam herbam in terris huic comparandam viribus et bonitate nasci. [e] Optimum medicamentum in celeri cordis confortatione, et ad omnes qui tristantur, &c. [f] Rondoletius. Elenum quod vim habet miram ad hilaritatem, et multi pro secreto habent. Sckenkius observ. med. cen. 5. observ. 66. [g] Afflictas mentes relevat, animi imaginationes et dæmones expellit.

flicted souls. Other things are much magnified by [a] writers, as an old cock, a rams head, a wolfes heart born or eaten, which Mercurialis approves: Prosper Alpinus, the water of Nilus; Gomesius all sea water, and at seasonable times to be sea sick; goats milk, whey, &c.

SUBSECT. IV.

Pretious Stones, Metals, Minerals, Alteratives.

PRETIOUS stones are diversly censured: many explode the use of them or any minerals in physick, of whom Thomas Erastus is the chief, in his Tract against Paracelsus, and in an Epistle of his to Peter Monavius: [b] *that stones can work any wonders, let them beleeve that list: no man shall perswade me: for my part, I have found by experience, there is no vertue in them.* But Matthiolus, in his comment upon [c] Dioscorides, is as profuse on the other side in their commendation; so is Cardan, Renodeus, Alardus, Rueus, Encelius, Marbodeus, &c. [d] Matthiolus specifies in corall: and Oswaldus Crollius, (*Basil. chym.*) prefers the salt of corall. [e] Christoph. Encelius (*lib. 3. cap.* 131) will have them to be as so many severall medicines against melancholy, sorrow, fear, dulnesse, and the like. [f] Renodeus admires them, *besides they adorn kings crowns, grace the fingers, enrich our houshold stuffe, defend us from enchantments, preserve health, cure diseases, they drive away grief, cares, and exhilarate the minde.* The particulars be these.

Granatus, a pretious stone so called, because it is like the kernels of a pomegranate, an unperfect kinde of ruby: it comes from Calecut: [g] *if hung about the neck, or taken in drink, it much resisteth sorrow, and recreates the heart.* The same properties I find ascribed to the iacinth and topaze: [h] they allay anger, grief, diminish madness, much delight and exhilarate the minde. [i] *If it be either carried about, or taken in a potion,*

[a] Sckenkius, Mezaldus, Rhasis. [b] Cratonis ep. vol. 1. Credat qui vult gemmas mirabilia efficere; mihi, qui et ratione et experientiâ didici aliter rem habere, nullus facile persuadebit, falsum esse verum. [c] L. de gemmis. [d] Margaritæ et corallum ad melancholiam præcipue valent. [e] Margaritæ et gemmæ spiritus confortant et cor, melancholiam fugant. [f] Præfat. ad lap. prec. lib. 2. sec. 2. de mat. med. Regum coronas ornant, digitos illustrant, supellectilem ditant, a fascino tuentur, morbis medentur, sanitatem conservant, mentem exhilarant, tristitiam pellunt. [g] Encelius, l. 3. c. 4. Suspensus vel ebibitus tristitiæ multum resistit, et cor recreat. [h] Idem cap. 5. et cap. 6. de Hyacintho et Topazio. Iram sedat, et animi tristitiam pellit. [i] Lapis hic gestatus aut ebibitus prudentiam auget, nocturnos timores pellit; insanos hoc sanavi; et quum lapidem abjecerint, erupit iterum stultitia.

it will increase wisdome, saith Cardan, *expell fear*. He brags that he hath *cured many mad men with it, which, when they laid by the stone, were as mad again as ever they were at first*. Petrus Bayerus, (*lib. 2. cap. 13. veni mecum*) Fran. Rueus, (*cap. 19. de gemmis*), say as much of the chrysolite, [a] a friend of wisdome, an enemy to folly. Pliny (*lib. 37*), Solinus (*cap. 52*), Albertus (*de lapid.*) Cardan, Encelius (*lib. 3. cap. 66*), highly magnifies the vertue of the beryll: [b] *it much availes a good understanding, represseth vain conceits, evil thoughts, causeth mirth, &c.* In the belly of a swallow, there is a stone found, called chelidonius, [c] *which, if it be lapped in a fair cloath, and tied to the right arm, will cure lunaticks, mad men, make them amiable and merry.*

There is a kinde of onyx, called a chalcidonye, which hath the same qualities, [d] *availes much against phantastick illusions which proceed from melancholy*, preserves the vigour and good estate of the whole body.

The eban stone which goldsmiths use to sleeken their gold with, born about or given to drink, [e] hath the same properties, or not much unlike.

Lœvinus Lemnius (*Institut. ad vit. cap. 58*), amongst other jewels, makes mention of two more notable, carbuncle and corall, [f] *which drive away childish fears, divels, overcome sorrow, and, hung about the neck, repress troublesom dreams;* which properties almost Cardan gives to that green coloured [g] emmetris, if it be carried about, or worn in a ring; Rueus to the diamond.

Nicholas Cabeus a Jesuit of Ferrara, in the first book of his magnetical Philosophy, cap. 3, speaking of the vertues of a loadstone, recites many several opinions; some say, that, if it be taken in parcels inward, *si quis per frusta voret, juventutem restituet*, it will, like vipers wine, restore one to his youth; and yet, if carried about them, others will have it to cause melancholy: let experience determine.

Mercurialis admires the emerald for his vertues in pacifying all affections of the mind; others the saphyre, which is *the* [h] *fairest of all precious stones, of skye colour, and a great enemy*

[a] Inducit sapientiam, fugat stultitiam. Idem Cardanus, lunaticos juvat. [b] Confert ad bonum intellectum, comprimit malas cogitationes, &c. Alacres reddit. [c] Albertus, Encelius, cap. 44. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 37. cap. 10. Jacobus de Dondis: dextro brachio alligatus sanat lunaticos, insanos, facit amabiles, jucundos. [d] Valet contra phantasticas illusiones ex melancholiâ. [e] Amentes sanat, tristitiam pellit, iram, &c. [f] Valet ad fugandos timores et dæmones, turbulenta somnia abigit, et nocturnos puerorum timores compescit. [g] Somnia læta facit, argenteo annulo gestatus. [h] Atrebili adversatur, omnium gemmarum pulcherrima, cœli colorem refert, animum ab errore liberat, morea in melius mutat.

to black choler, frees the mind, mends manners, &c. Jacobus de Dondis, in his Catalogue of Simples, hath amber greece, *os in corde cervi,* [a] the bone in a stags heart, a monocerots horn, Bezoars stone [b] (of which elsewhere): it is found in the belly of a little beast in the East Indies, brought into Europe by Hollanders and our country-men merchants. Renodeus (*cap. 22. lib. 3. de ment. med.*) saith he saw two of these beasts alive, in the castle of the lord of Vitry at Coubert.

Lapis lazuli and armenus, because they purge, shall be mentioned in their place.

Of the rest in brief thus much I will add out of Cardan, Renodeus, *cap. 23. lib. 3.* Rondoletius, *lib. 1. de Testat. c. 15, &c.* [c] *that almost all jewels and pretious stones have excellent vertues* to pacifie the affections of the mind; for which cause rich men so much covet to have them: [d] *and those smaller unions which are found in shells amongst the Persians and Indians,* by the consent of all writers, *are very cordial,* and most part avail to the exhilaration of the heart.

Minerals.] Most men say as much of gold, and some other minerals, as these have done of pretious stones. Erastus still maintains the opposite part. *Disput. in Paracelsum, cap. 4. fol.* 196. he confesseth of gold, [e] *that it makes the heart merry, but in no other sense but as it is in a misers chest:*

——————at mihi plaudo,
.....simulac nummos contemplor in arcâ,

as he said in the poet; it so revives the spirits, and is an excellent receit against melancholy,

[f] For gold in physick is a cordial,
Therefore he loved gold in special.

Aurum potabile [g] he discommends, and inveighs against it, by reason of the corrosive waters which are used in it: which argument our Dr. Guin urgeth against D. Antonius. [h] Erastus concludes their philosophical stones, and potable gold, &c. *to be no better then poyson,* a meer imposture, a *non ens*; dig'd out of that broody hill, belike, this goodly golden stone is, *ubi nascetur ridiculus mus.* Paracelsus and his chymistical followers, as so many *Promethei,* will fetch fire from heaven, will cure all manner of diseases with minerals, accounting them

[a] Longis mœroribus feliciter medetur deliquiis, &c. [b] Sec. 5. Memb. 1. Subs. 5. [c] Gestamen lapidum et gemmarum maximum fert auxilium et juvamen; unde, qui dites sunt, gemmas secum ferre student. [d] Margaritæ et uniones, quæ a conchis et piscibus apud Persas et Indos, valde cordiales sunt, &c. [e] Aurum lætitiam generat, non in corde, sed in arcâ virorum. [f] Chaucer. [g] Aurum non aurum. Noxium ob aquas rodentes. [h] Ep. ad Monavium. Metallica omnia in universum, quovis modo parata, nec tuto nec commode intra corpus sumi.

MEMB. II. SUBSECT. I.

Purging Simples upward.

MELANAGOGA, or melancholy purging medicines, are either simple or compound, and that gently, or violently, purging upwards or downward. These following purge upward. [a] Asarum, or asrabecca, which, as Mesue saith, is hot in the second degree, and dry in the third: *it is commonly taken in wine whey*, or, as with us, the juyce of two or three leaves or more sometimes, pounded in posset drink qualified with a little liquorice, or anniseeds, to avoid the fulsomness of the taste, or as *diaserum Fernelii*. Brassivola (*in Cathart.*) reckons it up amongst those simples that only purge melancholy, and Ruellius confirms as much out of his experience, that it purgeth [b] black choler, like hellebor it self. Galen (*lib. 6. simplic.*) and [c] Matthiolus ascribe other vertues to it, and will have it purge other humors as well as this.

Laurel, by Heurnius, (*method. ad prax. lib. 2. cap. 24*) is put amongst the strong purgers of melancholy; it is hot and dry in the fourth degree. Dioscorides (*lib. 11. cap. 114*) adds [d] other effects to it. Pliny sets down 15 berries in drink for a sufficient potion: it is commonly corrected with his opposites, cold and moist, as juyce of endive, purslane, and is taken in a potion to seaven grains and a half. But this, and asrabecca, every gentlewoman in the country knows how to give: they are two common vomits.

Scilla, or sea onyon, is hot and dry in the third degree. Brassivola, (*in Cathart.*) out of Mesue, others, and his own experience, will have this simple to purge [e] melancholy alone. It is an ordinary vomit, *vinum scilliticum*, mixt with rubel in a little white wine.

White hellebor, which some call sneezing powder, a strong purger upward, which many reject, as being too violent: Mesue and Averroës will not admit of it, [f] *by reason of danger of suffocation*, [g] *great pain and trouble it puts the poor patient to*, saith Dodonæus. Yet Galen (*lib. 6. simpl. med.*) and Dioscorides (*cap. 145*) allow of it. It was indeed [h] *terrible in former times*, as Pliny notes, but now familiar, insomuch that

[a] Heurnius: datur in sero lactis, aut vino. [b] Veratri modo expurgat cerebrum, roborat memoriam. Fuchsius. [c] Crassos et biliosos humores per vomitum educit. [d] Vomitum et menses ciet: valet ad hydrop. &c. [e] Materias atras educit. [f] Ab arte ideo rejiciendum, ob periculum suffocationis. [g] Cap. 16. magnâ vi educit, et molestiâ cum summâ. [h] Quondam terribile.

many took it in those dayes, [a] *that were students, to quicken their wits;* which Persius (*Sat.* 1.) objects to Accius the poet —*Ilias Accî ebria veratro.* [b] *It helps melancholy, the falling sickness, madness, gout, &c. but not to be taken of old men, youths, such as are weaklings, nice or effeminate, troubled with headach, high coloured, or fear strangling,* saith Dioscorides. [c] Oribasius, an old physician, hath written very copiously, and approves of it, *in such affections, which can otherwise hardly be cured.* Heurnius (*lib. 2. prax. med. de vomitoriis*) will not have it used [d] *but with great caution, by reason of its strength, and then when antimony will do no good,* which caused Hermophilus to compare it to a stout captain (as Codroncus observes, *cap. 7. comment. de Helleb.*) that will see all his souldiers go before him, and come *post principia,* like the bragging souldier, last himself. [e] When other helps fail in inveterate melancholy, in a desperate case, this vomit is to be taken. And yet for all this, if it be well prepared, it may be [f] securely given at first. [g] Matthiolus brags, that he hath often, to the good of many, made use of it; and Heurnius, [h] *that he hath happily used it, prepared after his own prescript,* and with good success. Christophorus a Vega (*lib. 3. cap. 41*) is of the same opinion, that it may be lawfully given; and our country gentlewomen finde it by their common practice, that there is no such great danger in it. Dr. Turner, speaking of this plant, in his herball, telleth us, that in his time it was an ordinary receipt among good wives, to give hellebor in powder to ii[d] weight; and he is not much against it. But they do commonly exceed, (for who so bold as blinde Bayard?) and prescribe it by pennyworths, and such irrationall wayes, as I have heard my self market folks ask for it in an apothecaries shop: but, with what success, God knows: they smart often for their rash boldness and folly, break a vein, make their eyes ready to start out of their heads, or kill themselves. So that the fault is not in the physick, but in the rude and undiscreet handling of it. He that will know therefore, when to use, how to prepare it aright, and in what dose, let him read Heurnius, *lib. 2. prax. med.* Brassivola, *de Cathart.* Gode-

[a] Multi studiorum gratiâ, ad providenda acrius quæ commentabantur. [b] Medetur comitialibus, melancholicis, podagricis; vetatur senibus, pueris, mollibus, et effeminatis. [c] Collect. lib. 8. cap. 3. in affectionibus iis quæ difficulter curantur, helleborum damus. [d] Non sine summâ cautione hoc remedio utemur; est enim validissimum; et, quum vires antimonii contemnit morbus, in auxilium evocatur, modo valide vires efflorescant. [e] Aëtius, tetrab. cap. 1. ser. 2. Iis solum dari vult helleborum album, qui secus spem non habent, non iis qui syncopen timent, &c. [f] Cum salute multorum. [g] Cap. 12. de morbis cap. [h] Nos facillime utimur nostro præparato helleboro albo.

fridus Stegius the emperour Rodolphus physician, *cap.* 16. Matthiolus in Dioscor. and that excellent commentary of Baptista Codronchus (which is *instar omnium*) *de Helleb. alb.* where he shall finde great diversity of examples and receipts.

Antimony or stibium, which our chymists so much magnifie, is either taken in substance or infusion, &c. and frequently prescribed in this disease. *It helps all infirmities,* saith [a] Matthiolus, *which proceed from black choler, falling sickness, and hypochondriacall passions;* and, for farther proof of his assertion, he gives severall instances of such as have been freed with it: [b] one of Andrew Gallus, a physician of Trent, that, after many other essayes, *imputes the recovery of his health, next after God, to this remedy alone;* another of George Handshius, that, in like sort, when other medicines failed, [c] *was by this restored to his former health, and which, of his knowledge, others have likewise tried, and, by the help of this admirable medicine, been recovered;* a third of a parish priest at Prague in Bohemia, [d] *that was so far gone with melancholy, that he doted, and spake he knew not what; but, after he had taken* 12 *grains of stibium, (as I my self saw, and can witness, for I was called to see this miraculous accident) he was purged of a deal of black choler, like little gobbets of flesh, and all his excrements were as black blood* (a medicine fitter for a horse then a man): *yet it did him so much good, that the next day he was perfectly cured.* This very story of the Bohemian priest, Sckenkius relates *verbatim,* (*Exoter. experiment. ad Var. morb. cent.* 6. *observ.* 6) with great approbation of it. Hercules de Saxonia calls it a profitable medicine, if it be taken after meat to 6 or 8 grains, of such as are apt to vomit. Rodericus a Fonseca the Spaniard, and late professor of Padua in Italy, extols it to this disease (*Tom.* 2. *consul.* 85); so doth Lod. Mercatus (*de inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17), with many others. Jacobus Gervinus, a French physician, on the other side, (*lib.* 2. *de venenis confut.*) explodes all this, and saith he took three grains only upon Matthiolus and some others commendation; but it almost killed him; whereupon he concludes, [e] *antimony is rather poyson then a medicine.* Th. Erastus concurres with him in his

[a] In lib. 5. Dioscor. cap. 3. Omnibus opitulatur morbis, quos atra bilis excitavit, comitialibus, iisque præsertim qui hypochondriacas obtinent passiones. [b] Andreas Gallus, Tridentinus medicus, salutem huic medicamento post Deum debet. [c] Integræ sanitati brevi restitutus; Id quod aliis accidisse scio, qui hoc mirabili medicamento usi sunt. [d] Qui melancholicus factus plane desipiebat, multaque stulte loquebatur, huic exhibitum 12 gr. stibium, quod paullo post atram bilem ex alvo eduxit (ut ego vidi, qui vocatus tanquam ad miraculum adfui, testari possum,) et ramenta tanquam carnis dissectæ in partes: totum excrementum tanquam sanguinem nigerrimum repræsentabat. [e] Antimonium venenum, non medicamentum.

opinion, and so doth Ælian Montaltus, *cap.* 30. *de melan.* But what do I talk? 'tis the subject of whole books: I might cite a century of authors *pro* and *con.* I will conclude with [a] Zuinger, antimony is like Scanderbegs sword, which is either good or bad, strong or weak, as the party is that prescribes or useth it; *a worthy medicine, if it be rightly applied to a strong man, otherwise poyson.* For the preparing of it, look in Euonymi *thesaurus,* Quercetan, Oswaldus Crollius, Basil. Chim. Basil. Valentius, &c.

Tobacco, divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all their panaceas, potable gold, and philosophers stones, a soveraign remedy to all diseases. A good vomit, I confesse, a vertuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but, as it is commonly abused by most men, which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health, hellish, divelish and damned tobacco, the ruine and overthrow of body and soul.

SUBSECT. II.

Simples purging Melancholy downward.

POLYPODIE and epithyme are, without all exceptions, gentle purgers of melancholy, Dioscorides will have them void flegm; but Brassivola, out of his experience, averreth that they purge this humor; they are used in decoction, infusion, &c. simple, mixt, &c.

Mirabolanes, all five kinds, are happily [b] prescribed against melancholy and quartan agues, Brassivola speaks out [c] *of a thousand* experiences; he gave them in pills, decoction, &c. look for peculiar receipts in him.

Stœchas, fumitory, dodder, herb Mercury, roots of capers, genista or broom, pennyroyall, and half boiled cabbage, I finde in this catalogue of purgers of black choler, origan, fetherfew, ammoniack [d] salt, salt-peter. But these are very gentle, alypus, dragon root, centaury, ditany, colutea, which Fuchsius (*cap.* 168) and others take for sene, but most distinguish. Sene is in the middle of violent and gentle purgers downward, hot in the second degree, dry in the first. Brassivola

[a] Cratonis ep. sect. vel ad Monavium ep. In utramque partem dignissimum medicamentum, si recte utentur, secus venenum. [b] Mœrores fugant; utilissime dantur melancholicis et quaternariis. [c] Millies horum vires expertus sum. [d] Sal nitrum, sal ammoniacum, dracontii radix, dictamnum.

calls it [a] *a wonderfull herb against melancholy; it scowres the blood, illightens the spirits, shakes off sorrow; a most profitable medicine,* as [b] Dodonæus terms it, invented by the Arabians, and not heard of before. It is taken diverse wayes, in powder, infusion, but most commonly in the infusion, with ginger or some cordiall flowres added to correct it. Actuarius commends it sod in broath, with an old cock, or in whey, which is the common convayer of all such things as purge black choler; or steeped in wine, which Heurnius accounts sufficient, without any farther correction.

Aloës by most is said to purge choler; but Aurelianus (*lib. 2. c. 6. de morb. chron.*) Arculanus (*cap. 6. in 9. Rhasis*), Julius Alexandrinus (*consil.* 185), Scoltz. Crato (*consil.* 189), prescribe it to this disease, as good for the stomack and to open the hæmrods, out of Mesue, Rhasis, Serapio, Avicenna. Menardus (*ep. lib.* 1. *epist.* 1) opposeth it: aloes [c] *doth not open the veines,* or move the hæmrods; which Leonhartus Fuchsius (*parodox. lib.* 1) likewise affirmes; but Brassivola and Dodonæus defend Mesue out of their experience; let [d] Valesius end the controversie.

Lapis Armenus and lazuli are much magnified by [e] Alexander (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 16), Avicenna, Aëtius, and Actuarius, if they be well washed, that the water be no more coloured, fiftie times some say. [f] *That good Alexander* (saith Guianerus) *puts such confidence in this one medicine, that he thought all melancholy passions might be cured by it; and I, for my part, have oftentimes happily used it, and was never deceived in the operation of it.* The like may be said of lapis lazuli, though it be somewhat weaker then the other. Garcias ab Horto (*hist. lib.* 1. *cap.* 65) relates, that the [g] physicians of the Moores familiarly prescribe it to all melancholy passions; and Matthiolus (*ep. lib.* 3) [h] brags of that happy successe which he still had in the administration of it. Nicholas Meripsa puts it amongst the best remedies (*sect.* 1. *cap.* 12. *in Antidotis*); [i] *and if this will not serve,* (saith Rhasis) *then there remaines nothing but Lapis armenus, and hellebor it self.* Valescus and Jason Pratensis much commend pulvis hali, which is

[a] Calet ordine secundo, siccat primo; adversus omnia vitia atræ bilis valet; sanguinem mundat, spiritus illustrat, mœrorem discutit herba mirifica. [b] Cap. 4. lib. 2. [c] Recentiores negant ora venarum resecare. [d] An aloë aperiat ora venarum. lib. 9. cont. 3. [e] Vapores abstergit a vitalibus partibus. [f] Tract. 15. c. 6. Bonus Alexander tantam lapide Armeno confidentiam habuit, ut omnes melancholicas passiones ab eo curari posse erederet; et ego inde sæpissime usus sum, et in ejus exhibitione nunquam fraudatus fui. [g] Maurorum medici hoc lapide plerumque purgant melancholiam, &c. [h] Quo ego sæpe feliciter usus sum, et magno cum auxilio. [i] Si non hoc, nihil restat nisi helleborus, et lapis Armenus. Consil. 184. Scoltzii.

made of it. James Damascen. (2. *cap.* 12) Hercules de Saxonia, &c. speake well of it. Crato will not approve this; it, and both hellebors, he saith, are no better then poyson. Victor Trincavelius (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 14) found it, in his experience, [a] *to be very noysome, to trouble the stomack, and hurt their bodies that take it overmuch.*

Black hellebor, that most renowned plant, and famous purger of melancholy, which all antiquity so much used and admired, was first found out by Melanpodius a shepherd, (as Pliny records, *lib.* 25. *cap.* 5) [b] who, seeing it to purge his goats when they raved, practised it upon Elige and Calene, king Prœtus daughters, that ruled in Arcadia, neer the fountain Clitorius, and restored them to their former health. In Hippocrates time, it was in only request, insomuch that he writ a book of it, a fragment of which remaines yet. Theophrastus, [c] Galen, Pliny, Cœlius Aurelianus, as ancient as Galen, (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 6) Aretæus (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 5) Oribasius (*lib.* 7. *collect.*) a famous Greek, Aëtius (*ser.* 3. *cap.* 112. *et* 113) P. Ægineta, Galens ape, (*lib.* 7. *cap.* 4) Actuarius, Trallianus (*lib.* 5. *cap.* 15), Cornelius Celsus only remaining of the old Latines (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 23), extoll and admire this excellent plant; and it was generally so much esteemed of the ancients for this disease amongst the rest, that they sent all such as were crased, or that doted, to the Anticyræ, or to Phocis in Achaia, to be purged, where this plant was in abundance to be had. In Straboe's time it was an ordinary voyage: *Naviget Anticyras*; a common proverb among the Greeks and Latines, to bid a disard or a mad man go take hellebor; as, in Lucian, Menippus to Tantalus, *Tantale, desipis; helleboro epoto tibi opus est, eoque sane meraco:* thou art out of thy little wit, O Tantalus, and must needs drink hellebor, and that without mixture. Aristophanes (*in vespis*), drink hellebor, &c. and Harpax, in the [d] Comœdian, told Simo and Ballio, two doting fellows, that they had need to be purged with this plant. When that proud Menecrates ὁ Ζευς had writ an arrogant letter to Phi. of Macedon, he sent back no other answer but this, *Consulo tibi ut ad Anticyram te conferas*, noting thereby that he was crased, *atque helleboro indigere*, had much need of a good purge. Lilius Giraldus saith, that Hercules, after all his mad pranks upon his wife and children, was perfectly cured by a purge of hellebor, which an Anticyrian administered unto him. They that were sound commonly took it to quicken their wits, (as Ennius of old, [e] *Qui non nisi potus ad arma—prosiluit dicenda*, and as our poets drink

[a] Multa corpora vidi gravissime hinc agitata, et stomacho multum obfuisse. [b] Cum vidisset ab eo curari capras furentes, &c. [c] Lib. 6. simpl. med. [d] Pseudolo, act. 4. scen. ult. helleboro hisce hominibus opus est. [e] Hor.

sack to improve their inventions): I find it so registered by Agellius, *lib.* 17. *cap.* 15. Carneades the academick, when he was to write against Zeno the stoick, purged himselfe with hellebor first; which [a] Petronius puts upon Chrysippus. In such esteem it continued for many ages, till at length Mesue and some other Arabians began to reject and reprehend it; upon whose authority, for many following lusters, it was much debased and quite out of request, held to be poyson, and no medicine; and is still oppugned to this day by [b] Crato and some junior physicians. Their reasons are, because Aristotle (*l.* 1. *de plant. c.* 3) said, henbane and hellebor were poyson; and Alexander Aphrodisiæus, in the preface of his Problems, gave out, that (speaking of hellebor) [c] *Quailes fed on that which was poyson to men.* Galen (*l.* 6. *Epid. com.* 5. *Text.* 35) confirms as much: [d] Constantine the emperour, in his *Geoponicks*, attributes no other vertue to it, then to kill mice and rats, flies and mouldwarps; and so Mizaldus. Nicander of old, Gervinus, Sckenkius, and some other neotericks that have written of poysons, speak of hellebor in a chief place. [e] Nicholas Leonicus hath a story of Solon, that, besieging I know not what city, steeped hellebor in a spring of water, which by pipes was conveyed into the middle of the town, and so either poysoned, or else made them so feeble and weak by purging, that they were not able to bear arms. Notwithstanding all these cavils and objections, most of our late writers do much approve of it— [f] Gariopontus, (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 13), Codronchus (*com. de helleb.*) Falopius, *lib. de med. purg. simpl. cap.* 69. *et consil.* 15. Trincavelii, Montanus, 239. Frisemelica, *consil.* 14, Hercules de Saxoniâ, so that it be opportunely given. Jacobus de Dondis, *Agg. Amatus, Lusit. cent.* 66. Godef. Stegius, *cap.* 13. Hollerius, and all our herbalists subscribe. Fernelius (*meth. med. lib.* 5. *cap.* 16) *confesseth it to be a* [g] *terrible purge, and hard to take, yet well given to strong men, and such as have able bodies.* P. Forestus and Capivaccius forbid it to be taken in substance, but allow it in decoction or infusion, both which wayes P. Monavius approves above all others, *Epist.* 231. Scoltzii. Jacchinus (in 9 Rhasis), commends a receipt of his own preparing; Penottus another of his chymically prepared, Euonymus another. Hildesheim (*spicil.* 2. *de mel.*) hath many examples how it should be used, with diversity of receipts. Heurnius (*lib.* 7. *prax. med. cap.* 14) *calls it an* [h] *innocent*

[a] In Satyr. [c] Crato, consil. 16. l. 2. Etsi multi magni viri probent, in bonam partem accipiant medici, non probem. [g] Vescuntur veratro coturnices, quod hominibus toxicum est. [d] Lib. 23. c. 7. 12. 14. [e] De var. hist. [f] Corpus incolume reddit, et juvenile efficit. [g] Veteres non sine caussâ usi sunt. Difficilis ex helleboro purgatio, et terroris plena, sed robustis datur tamen, &c. [h] Innocens medicamentum, modo rite paretur.

medicine, howsoever if it be well prepared. The root of it is onely in use, which may be kept many yeers, and by some given in substance, as by Falopius and Brassivola amongst the rest, who [a] brags that he was the first that restored it again to his use, and he tels a story how he cured one Melatasta a mad man, that was thought to be possessed, in the duke of Ferrara's court with one purge of black hellebor in substance: the receipt is there to be seen; his excrements were like inke, [b] he perfectly healed at once: Vidus Vidius, a Dutch physician, will not admit of it in substance (to whom most subscribe), but, as before in the decoction, infusion, or, which is all in all, in the extract, which he prefers before the rest, and calls *suave medicamentum*, a sweet medicine, an easie, that may be securely given to women, children, and weaklings. Baracellus (*horto geniali*) terms it *maximæ præstantiæ medicamentum*, a medicine of great worth and note. Quercetan (in his *Spagir. Phar.*) and many others, tell wonders of the extract. Paracelsus, above all the rest, is the greatest admirer of this plant; and especially the extract: he calls it *theriacum, terrestre balsamum*, another treacle, a terrestriall bawm, *instar omnium, all in all, the* [c] *sole and last refuge to cure this malady, the gout, epilepsie, leprosie, &c.* If this will not help, no physick in the world can, but minerall: it is the upshot of all. Matthiolus laughs at those that except against it; and, though some abhor it out of the authority of Mesue, and dare not adventure to prescribe it, [d] *yet I* (saith he) *have happily used it six hundred times without offence, and communicated it to divers worthy physicians, who have given me great thanks for it.* Look for receipts, dose, preparation, and other cautions concerning this simple, in him, Brassivola, Baracellus, Codronchus, and the rest.

[a] Absit jactantia, ego primus præbere cœpi, &c. [b] In Cathart. Ex unâ solâ evacuatione furor cessavit, et quietus inde vixit. Tale exemplum apud Skenkium et apud Scoltzium, ep. 231. P. Monavius se stolidum curâsse jactat hoc epoto tribus aut quatuor vicibus. [c] Ultimum refugium, extremum medicamentum, quod cætera omnia claudit: quæcunque cæteris laxativis pelli non possunt ad hunc pertinent; si non huic, nulli cedunt. [d] Testari possum me sexcentis hominibus helleborum nigrum exhibuisse, incommodo, &c.

SUBSECT. III.

Compound Purgers.

COMPOUND medicines, which purge melancholy, are either taken in the superior or inferior parts: superior at mouth or nostrils. At the mouth, swallowed or not swallowed: if swallowed, liquid or solid: liquid, as compound wine of hellebor, scilla or sea-onyon, sena, *vinum scilliticum, helleboratum*, which, [a] Quercetan so much applauds *for melancholy and madness, either inwardly taken, or outwardly applied to the head, with little pieces of linen dipped warm in it. Oxymel scilliticum, syrupus helleboratus major* and *minor* in Quercetan, and *syrupus genistæ* for hypochondriacall melancholy in the same author, compound syrrup of succory, of fumitory, polypodie, &c. Heurnius his purging cockbroth. Some except against these syrrups, as appears by [b] Udalrinus Leonorus his epistle to Matthiolus, as most pernicious, and that out of Hippocrates, *cocta movere, et medicari, non cruda*, no raw things to be used in physick; but this in the following epistle is exploded and soundly confuted by Matthiolus; many julips, potions, receipts, are composed of these, as you shall finde in Hildesheim, *spicil.* 2, Heurnius, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 14, George Sckenkius, *Ital. med. prax.* &c.

Solid purgers are confections, electuaries, pills by themselves, or compound with others, as *de lapide lazulo, Armeno, pil. Indæ, of fumitory*, &c. *confection of Hamech*, which though most approve, Solenander (*sec.* 5. *consil.* 22) bitterly inveighs against; so doth Randoletius (*Pharmacop. officina*), Fernelius and others; *diasena, diapolypodium, diacassia, diocatholicon, Weckers electuarie de epithymo, Ptolomyes hierologadium*, of which diverse receipts are daily made.

Aëtius (22. 33) commends *hieram ruffi*. Trincavellius (*consil.* 12. *lib.* 1) approves of *hiera; non, inquit, invenio melius medicamentum;* I finde no better medicine, he saith. Heurnius adds *pil. aggregat.* pills *de epithymo. pil. Ind.* Mesue describes in the Florentine Antidotary, *pillulæ sine quibus esse nolo, pillulæ cochiæ cum helleboro, pil. Arabicæ, fœtida, de quinque generibus mirabolanorum*, &c. More proper to melancholy, not excluding, in the mean time, turbith, manna,

[a] Pharmacop. Optimum est ad maniam et omnes melancholicos affectus, tum intra assumptum, tum extra, secus capiti cum linteolis in eo madefactis tepide admotum. [b] Epist. Math. lib. 3. Tales syrupi nocentissimi, et omnibus modis extirpandi.

rubarb, agarick, elescophe, &c. which are not so proper to this humour. For, as Montaltus holds (*cap.* 30), and Montanus, *cholera etiam purganda, quod atræ sit pabulum*, choler is to be purged because it feeds the other: and some are of opinion, as Erasistratus and Asclepiades maintained of old, against whom Galen disputes, [a] *that no physick doth purge one humour alone, but all alike or what is next.* Most therefore, in their receipts and magistrals which are coined here, make a mixture of severall simples and compounds, to purge all humors in generall as well as this. Some rather use potions then pills to purge this humour, because that, as Heurnius and Crato observe, *hic succus a sicco remedio ægre trahitur*, this juyce is not so easily drawn by dry remedies; and (as Montanus adviseth, 25. *cons.*) *all* [b] *drying medicines are to be repelled, as aloë, hiera*, and all pills whatsoever, because the disease is dry of it self.

I might here insert many receipts of prescribed potions, boles, &c. the doses of these; but that they are common in every good physician, and that I am loth to incurre the censure of Forestus (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 6. *de urinis*) [c] *against those that divulge and publish medicines in their mother tongue*, and lest I should give occasion thereby to some ignorant reader to practise on himself, without the consent of a good physician.

Such as are not swallowed, but only kept in the mouth, are gargarisms used commonly after a purge, when the body is soluble and loose. Or apophlegmatisms, masticatories, to be held and chewed in the mouth, which are gentle, as hysope, origan, pennyroyall, thyme, mustard; strong, as pellitory, pepper, ginger, &c.

Such as are taken into the nostrils, *errhina*, are liquid or drie, juyce of pimpernell, onyons, &c. castor, pepper, white hellebor, &c. To these you may adde odoraments, perfumes, and suffumigations, &c.

Taken into the inferior parts are clysters strong or weak, suppositories of Castilian sope, hony boiled to a consistence; or stronger of scamony, hellebor, &c.

These are all used, and prescribed to this malady upon severall occasions, as shall be shewed in his place.

[a] Purgantia censebant medicamenta non unum humorem attrahere, sed quemcunque attigerint, in suam naturam convertere. [b] Relegantur omnes exsiccantes medicinæ, ut aloë, hiera, pilulæ quæcunque. [c] Contra eos qui linguâ vulgari et vernaculâ remedia et medicamenta præscribunt, et quibusvis communia faciunt.

MEMB. III.

Chirurgicall Remedies.

IN letting of blood three main circumstances are to be considered, [a] *who, how much, when:* that is, that it be done to such a one as may endure it, or to whom it may belong, that he be of a competent age, not too young, nor too old, overweak, fat, or lean, sore laboured, but to such as have need, are full of bad blood, noxious humors, and may be eased by it.

The quantity depends upon the parties habit of body, as he is strong or weak, full or empty, may spare more or less.

In the morning is the fittest time: some doubt whether it be best fasting, or full, whether the moons motion or aspect of planets be to be observed, some affirm, some deny, some grant in acute, but not in chronick diseases, whether before or after physick. 'Tis Heurnius aphorism, *a phlebotomiâ auspicandum esse curationem, non a pharmaciâ*; you must begin with blood-letting, and not physick; some except this peculiar malady. But what do I? Horatius Augenius, a physician of Padua, hath lately writ 17 books of this subject, Jobertus, &c.

Particular kindes of blood-letting in use [b] are three: first is that opening a vein in the arm with a sharp knife, or in the head, knees, or any other parts, as shall be thought fit.

Cupping-glasses with or without scarification; *ocyssime compescunt*, saith Fernelius, they work presently, and are applied to severall parts, to divert humours, aches, winde, &c.

Horse-leeches are much used in melancholy, applied especially to the hæmrods. Horatius Augenius (*lib.* 10. *cap.* 10), Platerus (*de mentis alienat. cap.* 3), Altomarus, Piso, and many others, prefer them before any evacuations in this kinde.

[c] Cauteries or searing with hot irons, combustions, borings, launcings; which because they are terrible, *dropax* and *sinapismus* are invented, by plaisters to raise blisters, and eating medicines of pitch, mustard-seed, and the like.

Issues still to be kept open, made as the former, and applyed in and to severall parts, have their use here on diverse occasions, as shall be shewed.

[a] Quis, quantum, quando. [b] Fernelius, lib. 2. cap. 19. [c] Renodeus, lib. 5. cap. 21. de his Mercurialis, lib. 3. de composit. med. cap. 24. Heurnius, lib. 1. prax. med. Wecker, &c.

SECT. V.

MEMB. I. SUBSECT. I.

Particular cure of the three severall kindes; of head Melancholy.

THE generall cures thus briefly examined and discussed, it remains now to apply these medicines to the three particular species or kindes, that, according to the severall parts affected, each man may tell in some sort how to help or ease himself. I will treat of head melancholy first, in which, as in all other good cures, we must begin with diet, as a matter of most moment, able oftentimes of itself to work this effect. I have read, saith Laurentius, *cap.* 8. *de Melanch.* that, in old diseases which have gotten the upper hand or an habit, the manner of living is to more purpose, then whatsoever can be drawn out of the most pretious boxes of the apothecaries. This diet, as I have said, is not only in choice of meat and drink, but of all those other non-naturall things. Let air be clear and moist most part: diet moistning, of good juyce, easie of digestion, and not windie: drink clear, and well brewed, not too strong nor too small. *Make a melancholy man fat,* as [a] Rhasis saith; *and thou hast finished the cure.* Exercise not too remisse, nor too violent. Sleep a little more than ordinary. [b] Excrements daily to be avoided by art or nature; and (which Fernelius enjoins his patient, *consil.* 44), above the rest, to avoid all passions and perturbations of the mind. Let him not be alone or idle (in any kind of melancholy), but still accompanied with such friends and familiars he most affects, neatly dressed, washed, and combed, according to his ability at least, in clean sweet linen, spruce, handsome, decent, and good apparell; for nothing sooner dejects a man than want, squalor, and nastiness, foul, or old cloaths out of fashion. Concerning the medicinal part, he that will satisfie himself at large (in this precedent of diet), and see all at once the whole cure and manner of it in every distinct species, let him consult with Gordonius, Valescus, with Prosper Calenus, *lib. de atrâ bile ad Card. Cæsium,* Laurentius, *cap.* 8. *et* 9. *de mela.* Ælian Montaltus, *de mel. cap.* 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. Donat. ab Altomari, *cap.* 7. *artis med.* Hercules de Saxoniâ, *in Panth. cap.* 7.

[a] Cont. lib. 1. c. 9. festines ad impinguationem; et cum impinguantur, removetur malum. [b] Beneficium ventris.

by the help of God this alone shall do it; and 'tis a crowned medicine, which must be kept in secret.

℞ Epithymi semunc. lapidis lazuli, agarici, ana ʒ ij,
Scammonii, ʒ j, caryophillorum numero 20.
Pulverizentur omnia; et ipsius pulveris scrup. 4 singulis septimanis assumat.

To these I may adde *Arnoldi vinum buglossatum*, or borage wine, before mentioned, which [a] Mizaldus calls *vinum mirabile*, a wonderful wine, and Stockerus vouchsafes to repeat *verbatim* amongst other receipts; Rubeus his [b] compound water, out of Savanarola; Pinetus his balm; Cardans *pulvis hyacinthi*, with which, in his book *de curis admirandis*, he boasts that he had cured many melancholy persons in eight dayes, which [c] Sckenkius puts amongst his observable medicines; Altomarus his syrup, with which, [d] he calls God so solemnly to witness, he hath in his kinde done many excellent cures, and which Sckenkius (*cent.* 7. *observ.* 80) mentioneth, Daniel Sennertus (*lib.* 1. *part.* 2. *cap.* 12) so much commends; Rulandus admirable water for melancholy, which (*cent.* 2. *cap.* 96) he names *spiritum vitæ aureum panaceam*, what not? and his absolute medicine of fifty egges, (*curat. empir. cent.* 1. *cur.* 5) to be taken three in a morning, with a powder of his. [e] Faventinus (*prac. Emper.*) doubles this number of egges, and will have 101 to be taken by three and three in like sort, (which Salust Salvian approves, *de re med. lib.* 2. *c.* 1) with some of the same powder, till all be spent, a most excellent remedy for all melancholy and mad-men.

℞ Epithymi, thymi, ana, drachmas duas; sacchari albi unciam unam; croci grana tria; cinnamomi drachmam unam. Misce: fiat pulvis.

All these yet are nothing to those [f] chymical preparatives of *aqua Chelidonia*, quintessence of hellebor, salts, extracts, distillations, oyles, *aurum potabile*, &c. Dr. Anthony, in his book *de auro potab. edit.* 1600, is all in all for it. [g] *And though all the school of Galenists, with a wicked and unthankful pride and*

[a] Lib. de artif. med. [b] Sect. 3. Optimum remedium aqua composita Savanarolæ. [c] Sckenkius, observ. 31. [d] Donatus ab Altomari, cap. 7. Testor Deum, me multos melancholicos hujus solius syrupi usu curâsse, factâ prius purgatione. [e] Centum ova et unum: quolibet mane sumant tria ova sorbilia, cum sequenti pulvere supra ovum aspasâ, et contineant quousque assumpserint centum et unum; maniacis et melancholicis utilissimum remedium. [f] Quercetan, cap. 4. Phar. Oswaldus Crollius. [g] Cap. 1. Licet tota Galenistarum schola mineralia non sine impio et ingrato fastu a suâ practicâ detestentur; tamen in gravioribus morbis, omni vegetabilium derelicto subsidio, ad mineralia confugiunt, licet ea temere, ignaviter, et inutiliter usurpent. Ad finem libri.

scorn, detest it in their practice, yet, in more grievous diseases, when their vegetals will do no good, they are compelled to seek the help of minerals, though they *use them rashly, unprofitably, slackly, and to no purpose.* Rhenanus, a Dutch chymist, in his book *de Sole e puteo emergente,* takes upon him to apologize for Anthony; and sets light by all that speak against him. But what do I meddle with this great controversie, which is the subject of many volumes? let Paracelsus, Quercetan, Crollius, and the brethren of the *rosy crosse* defend themselves as they may. Crato, Erastus, and the Galenists, oppugn Paracelsus: he brags on the other side, he did more famous cures by this means, then all the Galenists in Europe, and calls himself a monarch; Galen, Hippocrates, infants, illiterate, &c. As Thessalus of old railed against those ancient Asclepiadean writers, [a] *he condemns others, insults, triumphs, overcomes all antiquity* (saith Galen, *as if he spake to him*) *declares himself a conquerour, and crowns his own doings.* [b] *One drop of their chymical preparatives shall do more good then all their fulsome potions.* Erastus, and the rest of the Galenists, vilifie them on the other side, as hereticks in physick: [c] *Paracelsus did that in physick, which Luther in divinity. A drunken rogue he was, a base fellow, a magician; he had the divel for his master, divels his familiar companions; and what he did, was done by the help of the divel.* Thus they contend and raile, and, every mart, write books *pro* and *con; et adhuc sub judice lis est.* Let them agree as they will:—I proceed.

SUBSECT. IV.

Averters.

AVERTERS and purgers must go together, as tending all to the same purpose, to divert this rebellious humour, and turn it another way. In this range, clysters and suppositories challenge a chief place, to draw this humour from the brain and heart, to the more ignoble parts. Some would have them still used a few dayes between, and those to be made with the boyled seeds of anise, fennel, and bastard saffron, hops, thyme, epithyme, mallows, fumitory, bugloss, polypody, sene, diasene, hameeh, cassia, diacatholicon, hierologodium, oyl of violets, sweet almonds, &c. For, without question, a clyster, oppor-

[a] Veteres maledictis incessit, vincit, et contra omnem antiquitatem coronatur, ipseque a se victor declaratur. Gal. lib. 1. meth. c. 2. [b] Codronchus, de sale absynthii. [c] Idem Paracelsus in medicinâ, quod Lutherus in theologiâ. Disput. in eundem, parte 1. Magus ebrius, illiteratus, dæmonem præceptorem habuit, dæmones familiares, &c.

SUBSECT. V.

Alteratives and Cordials, corroborating, resolving the reliques, and mending the Temperament.

BECAUSE this humor is so maligne of itself, and so hard to be removed, the reliques are to be cleansed, by alteratives, cordials, and such means. The temper is to be altered and amended, with such things as fortifie and strengthen the heart and brain, [a] *which are commonly both affected in this malady, and do mutually misaffect one another;* which are still to be given every other day, or some few dayes inserted after a purge, or like physick, as occasion serves, and are of such force, that many times they help alone, and, as [b] Arnoldus holds in his Aphorismes, are to be *preferred before all other medicines, in what kind soever.*

Amongst this number of cordials and alteratives, I do not find a more present remedy, then a cup of wine or strong drink, if it be soberly and opportunely used. It makes a man bold, hardy, couragious, [c] *whetteth the wit,* if moderately taken, and, as [d] Plutarch saith, (*Symp.* 7. *quæst.* 12) *it makes those which are otherwise dull, to exhale and evaporate like frankincense,* or quickens (Xenophon adds) [e] as oyl doth fire. [f] *A famous cordial Matthiolus in Dioscoridem calls it, an excellent nutriment to refresh the body: it makes a good colour, a flourishing age, helps concoction, fortifies the stomack, takes away obstructions, provokes urine, drives out excrements, procures sleep, cleers the blood, expels wind and cold poysons, attenuates, concocts, dissipates all thick vapours, and fuliginous humours:* and, that which is all in all to my purpose, it takes away feare and sorrow.

[g] **Curas edaces dissipat Evius.**

It glads the heart of man, Psal. 104. 15; *hilaritatis dulce seminarium.* Helenas boule, the sole nectar of the Gods, or that true nepenthes in [h] Homer, which puts away care and grief (as Oribasius 5. *Collect. cap.* 7. and some others will)

[a] Cordis ratio semper habenda, quod cerebro compatitur, et sese invicem officiunt. [b] Aphor. 38. Medicina theriacalis præ cæteris eligenda. [c] Galen. de temp. lib. 3. c. 3. moderate vinum sumptum, acuit ingenium. [d] Tardos aliter et tristes thuris in modum exhalare facit. [e] Hilaritatem, ut oleum flammam excitat. [f] Viribus retinendis cardiacum eximium, nutriendo corpori alimentum optimum, ætatem floridam facit, calorem innatum fovet, concoctionem juvat, stomachum roborat, excrementis viam parat, urinam movet, somnum conciliat; venena, frigidos flatus dissipat, crassos humores attenuat, coquit, discutit, &c. [g] Hor. lib. 2. Od. 11. [h] Odyss. A.

was naught else but a cup of good wine. *It makes the mind of the king and of the fatherless both one, of the bond and freeman, poor and rich; it turneth all his thoughts to joy and mirth, makes him remember no sorrow or debt, but enricheth his heart, and makes him speak by talents,* Esdras 3. 19, 20, 21. It gives life it self, spirits, wit, &c. For which cause the ancients called Bacchus, *Liber pater, a liberando,* and [a] sacrificed to Bacchus and Pallas still upon an altar. [b] *Wine, measurably drunk, and in time, brings gladness and chearfulness of mind; it cheareth God and men,* Judges, 9. 12: *lætitiæ Bacchus dator:* it makes an old wife dance, and such as are in misery, to forget evil, and be [c] merry.

Bacchus et afflictis requiem mortalibus affert,
Crura licet duro compede vincta forent.

Wine makes a troubled soul to rest,
Though feet with fetters be opprest.

Demetrius (in Plutarch), when he fell into Seleucus hands, and was prisoner in Syria, [d] *spent his time with dice and drink, that he might so ease his discontented mind, and avoid those continual cogitations of his present condition wherewith he was tormented.* Therefore Solomon (Prov. 31. 6) *bids wine be given to him that is ready to* [e] *perish, and to him that hath grief of heart: let him drink, that he forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more. Solicitis animis onus eximit:* it easeth a burdened soule; nothing speedier, nothing better; which the prophet Zachary perceived, when he said, *that, in the time of Messias, they of Ephraim should be glad, and their heart should rejoyce, as through wine:* all which makes me very well approve of that pretty description of a feast in [f] Bartholomæus Anglicus, when grace was said, their hands washed, and the guests sufficiently exhilarated, with good discourse, sweet musick, dainty fare, *exhilarationis gratiâ, pocula iterum atque iterum offeruntur;* as a corollary to conclude the feast, and continue their mirth, a grace cup came in to cheer their hearts, and they drank healths to one another again and again: which (as J. Fredericus Matenesius, *Crit. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 5, 6, et 7*) was an old custome in all ages in every commonwealth, so as they be

[a] Pausanias. [b] Syracides, 31. 28. [c] Legitur et prisci Catonis Sæpe mero caluisse virtus. [d] In pocula et aleam se præcipitavit, et iis fere tempus traduxit, ut ægram crapulâ mentem levaret, et conditionis præsentis cogitationes, quibus agitabatur sobrius, vitaret. [e] So did the Athenians of old, as Suidas relates; and so do the Germans at this day. [f] Lib. 6. cap. 23. et 24. de rerum proprietat.

not enforced *bibere per violentiam*, but, as in that royal feast of [a] Assuerus which lasted 180 dayes, *without compulsion they drank by order in golden vessels*, when and what they would themselves. This of drink is a most easie and parable remedy, a common, a cheap, still ready against fear, sorrow, and such troublesome thoughts, that molest the mind; as brimstone with fire, the spirits on a sudden are enlightned by it. *No better physick*, (saith [b] Rhasis) *for a melancholy man: and he that can keep company, and carouse, needs no other medicines*; 'tis enough. His country man Avicenna (3. *doct.* 2. *cap.* 8) proceeds farther yet, and will have him that is troubled in minde, or melancholy, not to drink only, but now and then to be drunk: excellent good physick it is for this and many other diseases. Magninus (*Reg. san. part.* 3. *c.* 31) will have them to be so once a month at least, and gives his reasons for it, [c] *because it scoures the body by vomit, urine, sweat, of all manner of superfluities, and keeps it clean.* Of the same mind is Seneca the philosopher, in his book *de tranquil. lib.* 1. *c.* 15: *nonnunquam, ut in aliis morbis, ad ebrietatem usque veniendum: curas deprimit; tristitiæ medetur*; it is good sometimes to be drunk: it helps sorrow, depresseth cares; and so concludes his tract with a cup of wine: *habes, serene charissime, quæ ad tranquillitatem animæ pertinent.* But these are epicureall tenents, tending to looseness of life, luxury, and atheism, maintained alone by some heathens, dissolute Arabians, prophane Christians, and are exploded by Rabbi Moses (*Tract.* 4), Guliel. Placentius (*lib* 1. *cap.* 8) Valescus de Taranta, and most accurately ventilated by Jo. Sylvaticus, a late writer and physician of Millan, *med. cont. cap.* 14, where you shall finde this tenent copiously confuted.

Howsoever you say, if this be true, that wine and strong drink have such vertue to expell fear and sorrow, and to exhilarate the minde, ever hereafter lets drink and be merry.

> ——— [d] Prome reconditum,
> Lyde strenua, Cæcubum.....
> Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos,
> Et Chia vina aut Lesbia.
>
> Come, lusty Lyda, fill's a cup of sack;
> And, sirrah drawer, bigger pots we lack,
> And *Scio* wines that have so good a smack.

[a] Hester. 18. [b] Tract. 1. cont. l. 1. Non est res laudabilior eo, vel cura melior; qui melancholicus, utatur societate hominum et biberiâ; et qui potest sustinere usum vini, non indiget aliâ medicinâ, quod eo sunt omnia ad usum necessaria hujus passionis. [c] Tum quod sequatur inde sudor, vomitio, urina, a quibus superfluitates a corpore removentur, et remanet corpus mundum. [d] Hor.

I say with him in [a] A. Gellius, *let us maintain the vigor of our souls with a moderate cup of wine,* [b] Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis, *and drink to refresh our minde: if there be any cold sorrow in it, or torpid bashfulness, lets wash it all away——Nunc vino pellite curas:* so saith [c] Horace; so saith Anacreon,

Μεθυοντα γαρ με κεισθαι
Πολυ κρεισσον, η θανοντα.

Let's drive down care with a cup of wine: and so say I too (though I drink none my self); for all this may be done, so that it be modestly, soberly, opportunely used; so that, *they be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess;* which our [d] Apostle forewarns; for, as Chrysostome well comments on that place, *ad lætitiam datum est vinum, non ad ebrietatem;* 'tis for mirth wine, but not for madness: and will you know where, when, and how that is to be understood? *Vis discere ubi bonum sit vinum? Audi quid dicat Scriptura;* hear the Scriptures; *give wine to them that are in sorrow,* or, as Paul bid Timothy drink wine for his stomack sake, for concoction, health, or some such honest occasion. Otherwise, as [e] Pliny telleth us, if singular moderation be not had, *nothing so pernicious; 'tis meer vinegar, blandus dæmon, poyson it self.* But hear a more fearfull doom, Habac. 2. 15. and 16. *Wo be to him that makes his neighbour drunk! shamefull spewing shall be upon his glory.* Let not good fellows triumph therefore, (saith Matthiolus) that I have so much commended wine; if it be immoderately taken, *in stead of making glad, it confounds both body and soul; it makes a giddy head, a sorrowfull heart.* And 'twas well said of the poet of old, [f] *Wine causeth mirth and grief;* [g] nothing so good for some, so bad for others, especially, as [h] one observes, *qui a caussâ calidâ male habent,* that are hot or inflamed. And so of spices, they alone, as I have shewed, cause head-melancholy themselves; they must not use wine as an [i] ordinary drink, or in their diet. But to determine with Laurentius (*c.* 8. *de melan.*), wine is bad for mad men, and such as are troubled with heat in their inner parts or brains; but to melancholy, which is cold (as most is), wine, soberly used, may be very good.

[a] Lib. 15. 2. noct. Att. Vigorem animi moderato vini usu tueamur: et calefacto simul, refotoque animo, si quid in eo vel frigidæ tristitiæ, vel torpentis verecundiæ fuerit, diluamus. [b] Hor. l. 1. Od. 27. [c] Od. 7. lib. 1. 31. Nam præstat ebrium me, quam mortuum, jacere. [d] Ephes. 5. 18. ser. 19. in cap. 5. [e] Lib. 14. 5. Nihil pernitiosius viribus, si modus absit; venenum. [f] Theocritus, idyl. 13. vino dari lætitiam et dolorem. [g] Renodeus. [h] Mercurialis, consil. 25. Vinum frigidis optimum, et pessimum ferinâ melancholiâ. [i] Fernelius, (consil. 44. et 45) vinum prohibet assiduum, et aromata.

I may say the same of the decoction of china roots, sassafrass, sarsaparilla, guaiacum. China, saith Manardus, makes a good colour in the face, takes away melancholy, and all infirmities proceeding from cold; even so sarsaparilla provokes sweat mightily; guaiacum dries. Claudinus (*consult.* 89. *et* 46) Montanus, Capivaccius (*consult.* 188. *Scoltzii*), make frequent and good use of guaiacum, and china, [a] *so that the liver be not incensed*, good for such as are cold, as most melancholy men are, but by no means to be mentioned in hot.

The Turks have a drink called *coffa* (for they use no wine), so named of a berry as black as soot, and as bitter, (like that black drink which was in use amongst the Lacedæmonians, and perhaps the same) which they sip still of, and sup as warm as they can suffer; they spend much time in those coffa-houses, which are some what like our ale-houses or taverns; and there they sit chatting and drinking to drive away the time, and to be merry together, because they finde by experience that kinde of drink so used helpeth digestion, and procureth alacrity. Some of them take opium to this purpose.

Borage, bawme, saffron, gold, I have spoken of; Montaltus (*c.* 23) commends scorzonera roots condite. Garcias ab Horto (*plant. hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 25) makes mention of an hearb called *datura*, [b] *which, if it be eaten, for* 24 *hours following, takes away all sense of grief, makes them incline to laughter and mirth:* and another called bauge, like in effect to opium, *which puts them for a time into a kinde of extasis*, and makes them gently to laugh. One of the Roman emperours had a seed, which he did ordinarily eat to exhilarate himself. [c] Christophorus Ayrerus prefers bezoars stone, and the confection of alkermes, before other cordials, and amber in some cases. [d] *Alkermes comforts the inner parts*; and bezoar stone hath an especiall vertue against all melancholy affections; [e] *it refresheth the heart, and corroborates the whole body.* [f] Amber provokes urine, helps the body, breaks winde, &c. After a purge, 3 or 4 gr. of bezoar stone, and 3 gr. of amber greece, drunk, or taken in borage or bugloss water, in which gold hot hath been quenched, will do much good; and the purge shall diminish less (the heart so refreshed) of the strength and substance of the body.

℞. confect. Alkermes ʒ ; ß lap. Bezoar, ϑ j.
Succini albi subtiliss. pulverisat. ϑ jj. cum
Syrup. de cort. citri. Fiat electuarium.

[a] Modo jecur non incendatur. [b] Per 24 horas sensum doloris omnem tollit, et ridere facit. [c] Hildesheim, spicil. 2. [d] Alkermes omnia vitalia viscera mire confortat. [e] Contra omnes melancholicos affectus confert; ac certum est ipsius usu omnes cordis et corporis vires mirum in modum refici. [f] Succinum vero albissimum confortat ventriculum, flatum discutit, urinam movet, &c.

To bezoars stone most subscribe, Manardus, and [a] many others; *it takes away sadness, and makes him merry that useth it: I have seen some, that have been much diseased with faintness, swouning, and melancholy, that, taking the weight of three grains of this stone in the water of oxtongue, have been cured.* Garcias ab Horto brags how many desperate cures he hath done upon melancholy men by this alone, when all physicians had forsaken them. But alkermes many except against; in some cases it may help, if it be good, and of the best, such as that of Montpelier in France, which [b] Jodocus Sincerus (*Itinerario Galliæ*) so much magnifies, and would have no traveller omit to see it made. But it is not so generall a medicine as the other. Fernelius (*consil.* 49) suspects alkermes, by reason of its heat; [c] *nothing* (saith he) *sooner exasperates this disease, then the use of hot working meats and medicines, and would have them for that cause warily taken.* I conclude therefore of this and all other medicines, as Thucydides of the plague at Athens: no remedy could be prescribed for it; *nam quod uni profuit, hoc aliis erat exitio:* there is no catholike medicine to be had: that which helps one, is pernicious to another.

Diamargaritum frigidum, diambra, diaboraginatum, electuarium lætificans Galeni et Rhasis, de gemmis, dianthos, diamoschum dulce et amarum, electuarium conciliatoris, syrup. cidoniorum de pomis, conserves of roses, violets, fumitory, enula campana, satyrion, limmons, orange-pills condite, &c. have their good use.

[d] ℞ Diamoschi dulcis et amari, ana, ʒ ij.
Diabuglossati, diaboraginati, sacchari violacei,
ana, ʒj. Misce cum syrupo de pomis.

Every physician is full of such receipts: one only I will add for the rareness of it, which I finde recorded by many learned authors, as an approved medicine against dotage, head-melancholy, and such diseases of the brain. Take a [e] rams head,

[a] Garcias ab Horto, aromatum lib. 1. cap. 15. adversus omnes morbos melancholicos conducit, et venenum. Ego (inquit) utor in morbis melancholicis, &c. et deploratos hujus usu ad pristinam sanitatem restitui. See more in Bauhinus book de lap. bezoar, c. 45. [b] Edit. 1617. Monspelii electuarium fit pretiosissimum alkerm. &c. [c] Nihil morbum hunc æque exasperat, ac alimentorum vel medicamentorum calidiorum usus. Alkermes ideo suspectus; et quod semel moneam, caute adhibenda calida medicamenta. [d] Sckenkius, l. 1. Observat. de Maniâ; ad mentis alienationem, et desipientiam vitio cerebri obortam, in manuscripto codice Germanico, tale medicamentum reperi. [e] Caput arietis nondum experti venerem, uno ictu amputatum, cornibus tantum demotis, integrum cum lanâ et pelle bene elixabis; tum aperto cerebrum eximes, et addens aromata, &c.

that never medled with an ewe, cut off at a blow, and the horns only taken away; boyl it well, skin and wooll together; after it is well sod, take out the brains, and put these spices to it, cinnamome, ginger, nutmeg, mace, cloves, *ana* ℥ ss; mingle the powder of these spices with it, and heat them in a platter upon a chafing-dish of coals together, stirring them well, that they do not burn; take heed it be not overmuch dried, or dryer then a calves brains ready to be eaten. Keep it so prepared; and for three daies give it the patient fasting, so that he fast two hours after it. It may be eaten with bread, in an egg or broath, or any way, so it be taken. For 14 daies let him use this diet, drink no wine, &c. Gesner (*hist. animal. lib.* 1. *pag.* 917), Caricterius (*pract. cap.* 13. *in Nich. de metri pag.* 129. *Iatro:* Witenberg. *edit. Tubing. pag.* 62), mention this medicine, though with some variation: he that list may try it, [a] and many such.

Odoraments to smell to, of rose water, violet flowers, bawme, rosecakes, vineger, &c. do much recreate the brains and spirits: according to Solomon, (*Prov.* 27. 9), *they rejoyce the heart*, and, as some say, nourish: 'tis a question commonly controverted in our schools, *an odores nutriant:* let Ficinus (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 18) decide it: [b] many arguments he brings to prove it; as of Democritus, that lived by the smel of bread alone, applyed to his nostrils, for some few daies, when for old age he could eat no meat. Ferrerius (*lib.* 2. *meth.*) speaks of an excellent confection of his making, of wine, saffron, &c. which he prescribed to dull, weak, feeble, and dying men to smell to, and by it to have done very much good; *æque fere profuisse olfactu et potu*, as if he had given them drink. Our noble and learned lord [c] Verulam, in his book *de vitâ et morte*, commends therefore all such cold smels as any way serve to refrigerate the spirits. Montanus (*consil.* 31) prescribes a form, which he would have his melancholy patient never to have out of his hands. If you will have them spagirically prepared, look in Oswaldus Crollius, *basil. Chymica.*

Irrigations of the head shaven, [d] *of the flowers of water lillies, lettuce, violets, camomile, wild mallows, wethers head, &c.* must be used many mornings together. Montan. (*consil.* 31) would have the head so washed once a week. Lælius a fonte Eugubinus, *consult.* 44, for an Italian Count troubled with head melancholy, repeats many medicines which he tried,

[a] Cinis testudinis ustus, et vino potus, melancholiam curat; et rasura cornu rhinocerotis, &c. Sckenkius. [b] Instat in matrice, quod sursùm et deorsum ad odoris sensum præcipitatur. [c] Vicount S. Albans. [d] Ex decocto florum nymphææ, lactucæ, violarum, chamomilæ, alibeæ, capitis vervecum, &c.

[a] *but two alone which did the cure; use of whey made of goats milk, with the extract of hellebor, and irrigations of the head with water-lillies, lettuce, violets, camomile, &c. upon the suture of the crown.* Piso commends a rams lungs applied hot to the fore part of the head, [b] or a young lamb divided in the back, exenterated, &c. All acknowledge the chief cure to consist in moistning throughout. Some, saith Laurentius, use powders and caps to the brain: but, forasmuch as such aromatical things are hot and dry, they must be sparingly administred.

Unto the heart we may do well to apply bags, epithemes, oyntments, of which Laurentius (*c. 9. de melan.*) gives examples. Bruel prescribes an epitheme for the heart, of bugloss, borage, water-lilly, violet waters, sweet wine, bawme leaves, nutmegs, cloves, &c.

For the belly, make a fomentation of oyle, [c] in which *the seeds of cummin, rue, carrets, dill, have been boyled.*

Baths are of wonderfull great force in this malady, much admired by [d] Galen, [e] Aëtius, Rhasis, &c. of sweet water, in which is boyled the leaves of mallows, roses, violets, water-lillies, wethers head, flowers of bugloss, camomile, melilot, &c. Guianer. (*cap.* 8. *tract.* 15) would have them used twice a day, and when they come forth of the baths, their back bones to be anointed with oyle of almonds, violets, nymphæa, fresh capon grease, &c.

Amulets and things to be born about, I finde prescribed, taxed by some, approved by Renodeus, Platerus, (*amuleta, inquit, non negligenda*) and others; look for them in Mizaldus, Porta, Albertus, &c. Bassardus Visontinus (*ant. philos.*) commends hypericon, or S[t]. Johns wort gathered on a [f] Friday in the hour of Jupiter, *when it comes to his effectual operation (that is, about the full moon in July): so gathered and born, or hung about the neck, it mightily helps this affection, and drives away all phantasticall spirits.* [g] Philes, a Greek author that flourished in the time of Michael Palæologus, writes that a sheep or kids skin, whom a wolf worried,

[h] Hœdus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi,

[a] Inter auxilia multa adhibita, duo visa sunt remedium adferre, usus seri caprini, cum extracto hellebori, et irrigatio ex lacte nymphææ, violarum, &c. suturæ coronali adhibita; his remediis sanitatem pristinam adeptus est. [b] Confert et pulmo arietis, calidus agnus per dorsum divisus, exenteratus, admotus sincipiti. [c] Semina cumini, rutæ, dauci, anethi cocta. [d] Lib. 3. de locis affect. [e] Tetrab. 2. ser. 1. cap. 10. [f] Cap. de mel. collectum die Vener. horâ Jovis, cum ad energiam venit. c. 1. ad plenilunium Julii; inde gesta et collo appensa hunc affectum apprime juvat, et fanaticos spiritus expellit. [g] L. de proprietat. animal. ovis a lupo correptæ pellem non esse pro indumento corporis usurpandam; cordis enim palpitationem excitat, &c. [h] Mart.

ought not at all to be worn about man, *because it causeth palpitation of the heart*, not for any fear, but a secret vertue which amulets have. A ring, made of the hoofe of an asses right fore-foot, carried about, &c. I say with [a] Renodeus, they are not altogether to be rejected. Piony doth cure epilepsie; pretious stones most diseases; [b] a wolfs dung, born with one, helps the colick; [c] a spider an ague, &c. Being in the country in the vacation time not many years since, at Lindly in Lecestershire, my fathers house, I first observed this amulet of a spider in a nut-shell lapped in silke, &c. so applied for an ague by [d] my mother: whom although I knew to have excellent skill in chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, &c. and such experimentall medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help—yet, among all other experiments, this, me thought, was most absurd and ridiculous: I could see no warrant for it. *Quid araneæ cum febre?* For what antipathy? till at length, rambling amongst authors (as often I do), I found this very medicine in Dioscorides, approved by Matthiolus, repeated by Aldrovandus *cap. de Araneâ, lib. de insectis.* I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience. Such medicines are to be exploded, that consist of words, characters, spels, and charms, which can do no good at all, but out of a strong conceipt, as Pomponatius proves; or the divels policy, who is the first founder and teacher of them.

SUBSECT. VI.

Correctors of Accidents to procure Sleep. Against fearfull Dreams, Redness, &c.

WHEN you have used all good means and helps of alteratives, averters, diminutives, yet there will be still certain accidents to be corrected and amended, as waking, fearfull dreams, flushing in the face to some, to some ruddiness, &c.

Waking, by reason of their continuall cares, fears, sorrows, dry brains, is a symptome that much crucifies melancholy men, and must therefore be speedily helped, and sleep by all means procured; which sometimes is a sufficient [e] remedy of it

[a] Phar. lib. 1. cap. 12. [b] Aëtius cap. 31. Tet. 3. ser. 4. [c] Dioscorides, Ulysses Aldrovandus de araneâ. [d] Mistress Dorothy Burton: she died, 1629.
[e] Solo somno curata est citra medici auxilium, fol. 154.

self without any other physick. Sckenkius, in his observations, hath an example of a woman that was so cured. The means to procure it are inward or outward. Inwardly taken, are simples, or compounds; simples, as poppy, nymphæa, violets, roses, lettuce, mandrake, henbane, nightshade or solanum, saffron, hempseed, nutmegs, willows, with their seeds, juyce, decoctions, distilled waters, &c. Compounds are syrrups, or opiats, syrrup of poppy, violets, verbasco, which are commonly taken with distilled waters.

℞. diacodii ʒ j; diascordii ʒ ß; aquæ lactucæ ʒ iij ß.
Mista fiat potio, ad horam somni sumenda.

Requies Nicholai, Philonium Romanum, triphera magna, pilulæ de cynoglossa, dioscordium, laudanum Paracelsi, opium, are in use, &c. Country folks commonly make a posset of hemp-seed, which Fuchsius in his herball so much discommends: yet I have seen the good effect; and it may be used where better medicines are not to be had.

Laudanum Paracelsi is prescribed in two or three grains, with a dram of *dioscordium*, which Oswald. Crollius commends. Opium it self is most part used outwardly, to smell to in a ball, though commonly so taken by the Turks to the same quantity [a] for a cordiall, and at Goa in the Indies; the dose 40 or 50 grains.

Rulandus calls *requiem Nicholai, ultimatum refugium*, the last refuge; but of this and the rest, look for peculiar receipts in Victorius Faventinus, *cap. de phrenesi;* Heurnius, *cap. de Maniâ;* Hildesheim, *spicil. 4. de somno et vigil. &c.* Outwardly used, as oyl of nutmegs by extraction or expression, with rosewater, to annoint the temples, oyls of poppy, nenuphar, mandrake, purslan, violets, all to the same purpose.

Montan. (*consil.* 24. & 25) much commends odoraments of opium, vineger, and rosewater. Laurentius (*cap.* 9) prescribes pomanders and nodules; see the receipts in him; Codronchius, [b] wormwood to smell to.

Unguentum Alabastritum, populeum, are used to anoint the temples, nostrils; or, if they be too weak, they mix saffron and opium. Take a grain or two of opium, and dissolve it with three or four drops of rosewater in a spoon, and after mingle with it as much *unguentum populeum* as a nut: use it as before: or else take half a dram of opium, *unguentum populeum*, oyl of nenuphar, rose-water, rose-vineger, of each half an ounce, with

[a] Bellonius, observat. l. 3. c. 15. lassitudinem et labores animi tollunt; inde Garcias ab horto, lib. 1. cap. 4. simp. med. [b] Absynthium somnos allicit olfactu.

THE

THIRD PARTITION.

LOVE-MELANCHOLY.

THE FIRST { SECTION. / MEMBER. / SUBSECTION.

The Preface.

THERE will not be wanting, I presume, one or other that will much discommend some part of this Treatise of Love-Melancholy, and object (which [a]Erasmus, in his preface to Sr. Thomas Moore, suspects of his) *that it is too light for a divine, too commical a subject* to speak of love-symptomes, too phantastical, and fit alone for a wanton poet, a feeling young love-sick gallant, an effeminate courtier, or some such idle person. And tis true they say: for, by the naughtiness of men, it is so come to pass, as [b]Caussinus observes, *ut castis auribus vox amoris suspecta sit, et invisa*, the very name of love is odious to chaster ears: and therefore some again out of an affected gravity, will dislike all for the names sake, before they read a word; dissembling with him in [c]Petronius, and seem to be angry that their ears are violated with such obscene speeches, that so they may be admired for grave philosophers, and staid carriage. They cannot abide to hear talk of love toyes, or amorous discourses,—*vultu, gestu, oculis*, in their outward actions averse; and yet, in their cogitations, they are all out as bad, if not worse then others.

[d]Erubuit, posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
Sed coram Bruto, Brute, recede; leget.

[a] Encom. Moriæ: leviores esse nugas quam ut theologum deceant. [b] Lib. 8. Eloquent. cap. 14. de affectibus: mortalium vitio fit, qui præclara quæque in pravos usus vertunt. [c] Quoties de amatoriis mentio facta est, tam vehementer excandui; tam severâ tristitiâ violari aures meas obsceno sermone nolui, ut me tanquam unam ex philosophis intuerentur. [d] Martial.

But let these cavillers and counterfeit Catos know, that, as the lord John answered the queen (in that Italian [a]Guazzo), an old, a grave, discreet man is fittest to discourse of love matters, because he hath likely more experience, observed more, hath a more staid judgement, can better discern, resolve, discusse, advise, give better cautions, and more solid precepts, better inform his auditors in such a subject, and, by reason of his riper years, sooner divert. Besides, *nihil in hâc amoris voce subtimendum,* there is nothing here to be excepted at: love is a species of melancholy, and a necessary part of this my treatise, which I may not omit; *operi suscepto inserviendum fuit;* so Jacobus Micyllus pleadeth for himself in his translation of Lucian's dialogues; and so do I; I must and will perform my task. And that short excuse of Mercerus, for his edition of Aristænetus, shall be mine; [b]*If I have spent my time ill to write, let not them be so idle as to read.* But I am perswaded it is not so ill spent; I ought not to excuse or repent my self of this subject, on which many grave and worthy men have written whole volumes, Plato, Plutarch, Plotinus, Maximus Tyrius, Alcinoüs, Avicenna, Leon, Hebreus in three large dialogues, Xenophon, *sympos.* Theophrastus, if we may believe Athenæus *lib.* 13. *cap.* 9. Picus Mirandula, Marius Æquicola, both in Italian, Kornmannus, *de lineâ Amoris, lib.* 3. Petrus Godefridus hath handled in three books, P. Hædus, and which almost every physician, as Arnoldus, Villanovanus, Valleriola (*observat. med. lib.* 2. *observ.* 7.) Ælian Montaltus, and Laurentius in their Treatises of Melancholy, Jason Pratensis, *de morb. cap.* Valescus de Taranta, Gordonius, Hercules de Saxoniâ, Savanarola, Langius, &c. have treated of apart, and in their works. I excuse my self therefore with Peter Godefridus, Valleriola, Ficinus, and in [c]Langius words—Cadmus Milesius writ fourteen books of love; *and why should I be ashamed to write an epistle, in favour of young men, of this subject?* a company of stern readers dislike the second of the Æneads, and Virgil's gravity, for inserting such amorous passions in an heroical subject: but [d]Servius, his commentator, justly vindicates the poets worth, wisdome, and discretion in doing as he did. Castalio would not have young men read the [e]Canticles, because, to his thinking, it was too light and amorous a tract, a ballade of ballades, as our old English translation hath it. He might as well forbid the reading of Genesis,

[a] Lib. 4. of civil conversation. [b] Si male locata est opera scribendo, ne ipsi locent in legendo. [c] Med. epist. l. 1. ep. 14. Cadmus Milesius, teste Suida, de hoc erotico amore 14 libros scripsit; nec me pigebit, in gratiam adolescentum, hanc scribere epistolam. [d] Comment. in 2. Æneid. [e] Meros amores, meram impudicitiam sonare videtur, nisi, &c.

× I could relate here a story or two about old women - Old men are innocents - old women are heredesses in these matters. Old men let them pass with half attention but (not inspecting

because of the loves of Jacob and Rachel, the stories of Sichem and Dinah, Judah and Thamar; reject the book of Numbers, for the fornications of the people of Israel with the Moabites; that of Judges for Sampson and Dalilah's embracings; that of the Kings, for David and Bathsheba's adulteries, the incest of Amnon and Thamar, Solomon's concubines, &c. the stories of Esther, Judith, Susanna, and many such. Dicæarchus, and some other, carp at Plato's majesty, that he would vouchsafe to indite such love toyes; amongst the rest, for that dalliance with Agatho,

> Suavia dans Agathoni, animam ipse in labra tenebam;
> Ægra etenim properans tanquam abitura fuit.

For my part, saith [a]Maximus Tyrius, a great Platonist himself, *me non tantum admiratio habet, sed etiam stupor*, I do not only admire, but stand amazed to read that Plato and Socrates both should expel Homer from their city, because he writ of such light and wanton subjects, *Quod Junonem cum Jove in Ida concumbentes inducit, ab immortali nube contectos*, Vulcan's net, Mars and Venus fopperies before all the gods, because Apollo fled, when he was persecuted by Achilles, the [b]gods were wounded and ran whining away, as Mars that roared lowder than Stentor, and covered nine akers of ground with his fall; Vulcan was a summers day falling down from heaven, and in Lemnos ile brake his leg, &c. with such ridiculous passages; when as both Socrates and Plato, by his testimony, writ lighter themselves: *quid enim tam distat* (as he follows it) *quam amans a temperante, formarum admirator a demente?* what can be more absurd then for grave philosophers to treat of such fooleries, to admire Antilochus, Alcibiades, for their beauties as they did, to run after, to gaze, to dote on fair Phædrus, delicate Agatho, young Lysis, fine Charmides? *hæccine philosophum decent?* Doth this become grave philosophers? Thus peradventure Callias, Thrasymachus, Polus, Aristophanes, or some of his adversaries and æmulators might object; but neither they nor [c]Anytus and Melitus his bitter enemies, that condemned him for teaching Critias to tyrannize, his impiety for swearing by dogs and plane trees, for his jugling sophistry, &c. never so much as upbraided him with impure love, writing or speaking of that subject; and therefore without question, as he concludes, both Socrates and Plato in this are justly to be excused. But suppose they

[a] Ser. 8. [b] Quod risum et eorum amores commemoret. [c] Quum multa ei objecissent, quod Critiam tyrannidem docuisset, quod Platonem juraret loquacem sophistam, &c. accusationem amoris nullam fecerunt. Ideoque honestus amor, &c.

I say if old women like many say use these stories and ponder them in their hearts.

had been a little overseen, should divine Plato be defamed? no, rather as he said of Cato's drunkenness, if Cato were drunk, it should be no vice at all to be drunk. They reprove Plato then, but without cause (as [a]Ficinus pleads); *for all love is honest and good; and they are worthy to be loved that speak well of love.* Being to speak of this admirable affection of love, (saith [b]Valleriola) *there lyes open a vast and philosophical field to my discourse, by which many lovers become mad: let me leave my more serious meditations, wander in these philosophical fields, and look into those pleasant groves of the Muses, where, with unspeakable variety of flowers, we may make garlands to our selves, not to adorn us only, but with their pleasant smell and juyce to nourish our souls, and fill our minds desirous of knowledge, &c.* After an harsh and unpleasing discourse of melancholy, which hath hitherto molested your patience, and tired the author, give him leave, with [c]Godefridus the lawyer, and Laurentius (*cap.* 5), to recreate himself in this kind after his laborious studies, *since so many grave divines and worthy men have, without offence to manners, to help themselves and others, voluntarily written of it.* Heliodorus, a bishop, penned a love story of Theagenes and Chariclea; and, when some Catos of his time reprehended him for it, chose rather, saith [d]Nicephorus, to leave his bishoprick then his book. Æneas Sylvius, an ancient divine, and past 40 years of age, (as [e]he confesseth himself, after Pope Pius Secundus) endited that wanton history of Euryalus and Lucretia. And how many superintendents of learning could I reckon up, that have written of light phantastical subjects? Beroaldus, Erasmus, Alpheratius, twenty foure times printed in Spanish, &c. Give me leave then (to refresh my Muse a little, and my weary readers), to expatiate in this delightsome field, *hoc deliciarum campo*, as Fonseca terms it, to [f]season a surly discourse, with a more pleasing aspersion of love matters. *Edulcare vitam convenit*, as the poet invites us, *curas nugis*, &c. 'tis good to sweeten our life with some pleasing toyes to rellish it, and as Pliny tells us, *magna pars stu-*

[a] Carpunt alii Platonicam majestatem, quod amori nimium indulserit. Dicæarchus et alii; sed male. Omnis amor honestus et bonus; et amore digni, qui bene dicunt de amore. [b] Med. obser. lib. 2. cap. 7. de admirando amoris affectu dicturus; ingens patet campus et philosophicus, quo sæpe homines ducuntur ad insaniam; libeat modo vagari, &c. Quæ non ornent modo, sed fragrantiâ et succulentiâ jucundâ plenius alant, &c. [c] Lib. 1. præfat. de amoribus agens, relaxandi animi caussâ laboriosissimis studiis fatigati; quando et theologi se his juvari et juvare illæsis moribus volunt. [d] Hist. lib. 12. cap. 34. [e] Præfat. quid quadragenario convenit cum amore? Ego vero agnosco amatorium scriptum mihi non convenire; qui jam meridiem prætergressus in vesperem feror. Æneas Silvius, præfat. [f] Ut severiora studia iis amœnitatibus lector condire possit. Accius.

diosorum amœnitates quærimus, most of our students love such pleasant [a] subjects; though Macrobius teach us otherwise, [b] *that those old sages banished all such light tracts from their studies, to nurses cradles, to please only the ear*; yet, out of Apuleius, I will oppose as honourable patrons, Solon, Plato, [c] Xenophon, Adrian, &c. that as highly approve of these treatises. On the other side me thinks they are not to be disliked, they are not so unfit. I will not peremptorily say, as one did, [d] *tam suavia dicam facinora, ut male sit ei qui talibus non delectetur*. I will tell you such pretty stories, that foul befall him that is not pleased with them; *neque dicam ea quæ vobis usui sit audivisse, et voluptati meminisse*, with that confidence, as Beroaldus doth his enarrations on Propertius. I will not expect or hope for that approbation, which Lipsius gives to his Epictetus; *pluris facio quum relego, semper ut novum, et, quum repetivi, repetendum*, the more I read, the more shall I covet to read. I will not presse you with my pamphlets, or beg attention; but if you like them, you may. Pliny holds it expedient, and most fit, *severitatem jucunditate etiam in scriptis condire*, to season our works with some pleasant discourse; Synesius approves it; *licet in ludicris ludere*; the [e] poet admires it:

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci:

And there be those, without question, that are more willing to read such toyes, then [f] I am to write. Let me not live, saith Aretine's Antonia, *if I had not rather hear thy discourse*, [g] *then see a play!* no doubt but there be more of her minde, ever have been, ever will be, as [h] Hierome bears me witnesse. *A far greater part had rather read Apuleius then Plato*: Tully himself confesseth he could not understand Plato's Timæus, and therefore cared lesse for it, but every school-boy hath that famous testament of Grunnius Corocotta Porcellus at his fingers ends. The comicall poet,

——Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas——

made this his onely care and sole study to please the people, tickle the ear, and to delight; but mine earnest intent is as much to profit as to please; *non tam ut populo placerem*,

[a] Discum quam philosophum audire malunt. [b] In Som. Scip. e sacrario suo tum ad cunas nutricum sapientes eliminârunt, solas aurium delicias profitentes. [c] Babylonius et Ephesius, qui de amore scripserunt, uterque amores Myrrhæ, Cyrenes, et Adonidis. Suidas. [d] Pet. Aretine, dial. Ital. [e] Hor. [f] Legendi cupidiores, quam ego scribendi, saith Lucian. [g] Plus capio voluptatis inde, quam spectandis in theatro ludis. [h] Procemio in Isaiam. Multo major pars Milesias fabulas revolventium quam Platonis libros.

quam ut populum juvarem; and these my writings, I hope, shall take like guilded pills, which are so composed as well to tempt the appetite, and deceive the palat, as to help and medicinally work upon the whole body; my lines shall not only recreate, but rectifie the minde. I think I have said enough: if not, let him that is otherwise minded, remember that of [a]Madaurensis, *he was in his life a philosopher* (as Ausonius apologizeth for him;) *in his epigrams a lover, in his precepts most severe; in his epistle to Cærellia, a wanton.* Annianus, Sulpitius, Euenus, Menander, and many old poets besides, did *in scriptis prurire*, write Fescennines, Attellanes, and lascivious songs; *lætam materiam*; yet they had *in moribus censuram et severitatem*, they were chast, severe, and upright livers.

—Castum esse decet pium poëtam
Ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,
Qui tum denique habent salem et leporem.

I am of Catullus opinion, and make the same apologie in mine own behalf: *hoc etiam, quod scribo, pendet plerumque ex aliorum sententiâ et auctoritate; nec ipse forsan insanio, sed insanientes sequor. Atqui detur hoc insanire me: semel insanivimus omnes, et tute ipse opinor insanis aliquando, et is, et ille, et ego scilicet.*

Homo sum: humani a me nihil alienum puto:

and, which he urgeth for himself, accused of the like fault, I as justly plead,

[b]Lasciva est nobis pagina; vita proba est;

howsoever my lines erre, my life is honest,

[c]Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa, mihi.

But I presume I need no such apologies; I need not, as Socrates in Plato, cover his face when he spake of love, or blush and hide mine eyes, as Pallas did in her hood, when she was consulted by Jupiter about Mercuries marriage, *quod super nuptiis virgo consulitur:* it is no such lascivious, obscene or wanton discourse; I have not offended your chaster ears with any thing that is here written, as many French and Italian authors in their modern language of late have done, nay some of our Latine pontificiall writers, Zanches, Asorius, Abulensis, Burchardus, &c. whom [d]Rivet accuseth to be more lascivious

[a] In vitâ philosophus, in Epigram. amator, in epistolis petulans, in preceptis severus. [b] Mart. [c] Ovid. [d] Isago. ad sac. scrip. cap. 13.

then Virgil in Priapeiis, Petronius in Catalectis, Aristophanes in Lysistrata, Martialis, or any other pagan prophane writer, *qui tam atrociter* ([a] one notes) *hoc genere peccárunt, ut multa ingeniosissime scripta obscœnitatum gratiâ castæ mentes abhorreant.* Tis not scurrile this, but chast, honest, most part serious, and even of religion it self. [b] *Incensed* (as he said) *with the love of finding love, we have sought it, and found it.* More yet, I have augmented and added something to this light treatise (if light), which was not in the former editions: I am not ashamed to confess it, with a good [c] author, *quod extendi et locupletari hoc subjectum plerique postulabant, et eorum importunitate victus, animum, utcunque renitentem, eo adegi, ut jam sextâ vice calamum in manum sumerem, scriptionique longe et a studiis et professione meâ alienæ me accingerem, horas aliquas a seriis meis occupationibus interim suffuratus, easque veluti ludo cuidam ac recreationi destinans;*

[d] Cogor . . . . . retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Olim relictos. . . . . .

et si non ignorarem novos fortasse detractores novis hisce interpolationibus meis minime defuturos.

And thus much I have thought good to say by way of preface, lest any man (which [e] Godefridus feared in his book) should blame in me lightness, wantonness, rashness, in speaking of loves causes, entisements, symptomes, remedies, lawfull and unlawfull loves, and lust it self. [f] *I speak it, only to tax and deter others from it; not to teach, but to* shew the [g] vanities and fopperies of this heroicall or Herculean love, and to *apply remedies unto it.* I will treat of this with like liberty as of the rest.

[h] Sed dicam vobis: vos porro dicite multis
Millibus; et facite hæc charta loquatur anus.

Condemn me not, good reader, then, or censure me hardly, if some part of this Treatise, to thy thinking, as yet be too light;

[a] Barthius, notis in Cœlestinam, ludum Hisp. [b] Ficinus, Comment. c. 17. Amore incensi inveniendi amoris, amorem quæsivimus et invenimus. [c] Auctor Cœlestinæ, Barth. interprete. [d] Hor. lib. 1. Ode 34. [e] Hæc prædixi, ne quis temere nos putaret scripsisse de amorum lenociniis, de praxi, fornicationibus, adulteriis, &c. [f] Taxando et ab his deterrendo humanam lasciviam et insaniam, sed et remedia docendo: non igitur candidus lector nobis succenseat, &c. Commonitio erit juvenibus hæc, hisce ut abstineant magis, et omissâ lasciviâ quæ homines reddit insanos, virtutis incumbant studiis (Æneas Silv.): et curam amoris si quis nescit, hinc poterit scire. [g] Martianus Capella, lib. 1. de nupt. philol. virginali suffusa rubore, oculos peplo obnubens, &c. [h] Catullus.

but consider better of it. *Omnia munda mundis:* [a] a naked man, to a modest woman, is no otherwise then a picture, as Augusta Livia truly said; and [b] *mala mens, malus animus*; 'tis as 'tis taken. If in thy censure it be too light, I advise thee, as Lipsius did his reader for some places of Plautus, *istos quasi Sirenum scopulos prætervehare*; if they like thee not, let them pass; or oppose that which is good to that which is bad, and reject not therefore all. For, to invert that verse of Martial, and, with Hierom Wolfius, to apply it to my present purpose,

Sunt mala, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt bona plura;

some is good, some bad, some is indifferent. I say farther with him yet, I have inserted ([c] *levicula quædam et ridicula ascribere non sum gravatus, circumforaneu quædam e theatris, e plateis, etiam e popinis*) some things more homely, light, or comicall, *litans Gratiis*, &c. which I would request every man to interpret to the best: and, as Julius Cæsar Scaliger besought Cardan, (*si quid urbaniuscule lusum a nobis, per deos immortales te oro, Hieronyme Cardane, ne me male capias*) I beseech thee, good reader, not to mistake me, or misconstrue what is here written; *Per Musas et Charites, et omnia poëtarum numina, benigne lector, oro te, ne me male capias.* 'Tis a comicall subject; in sober sadness I crave pardon of what is amiss, and desire thee to suspend thy judgement, wink at small faults, or to be silent at least: but, if thou likest, speak well of it, and wish me good success.

Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.

I am resolved, howsoever, *velis, nolis, audacter stadium intrare*, in the Olympicks, with those Æliensian wrestlers in Philostratus, boldly to shew my self in this common stage, and in this trage-comedy of love, to act severall parts, some satyrically, some comically, some in a mixt tone, as the subject I have in hand gives occasion, and present scene shall require, or offer it self.

[a] Viros nudos castæ feminæ nihil a statuis distare. [b] Hony soyt qui mal y pense. [c] Præf. Suid.

SUBSECT. II.

Loves Beginning, Object, Definition, Division.

LOVES limits are ample and great; and a spatious walk it hath, beset with thorns, and for that cause, (which [a] Scaliger reprehends in Cardan), *not lightly to be passed over.* Least I incur the same censure, I will examine all the kinds of love, his nature, beginning, difference, objects, how it is honest or dishonest, a vertue or vice, a naturall passion or a disease, his power and effects, how far it extends: of which although something hath been said in the first partition, in those sections of perturbations ([b] *for love and hatred are the first and most common passions, from which all the rest arise, and are attendant,* as Picolomineus holds, or as Nich. Caussinus, the *primum mobile* of all other affections, which carry them all about them) I will now more copiously dilate, through all his parts and severall branches, that so it may better appear what love is, and how it varies with the objects, how in defect, or (which is most ordinary and common) immoderate, and in excess, causeth melancholy.

Love, universally taken, is defined to be *desire,* as a word of more ample signification: and though Leon. Hebreus the most copious writer of this subject, in his third dialogue make no difference, yet in his first he distinguisheth them again, and defines love by desire. [c] *Love is a voluntary affection, and desire to enjoy that which is good.* [d] *Desire wisheth; love enjoyes; the end of the one is the beginning of the other: that which we love is present; that which we desire is absent.* [e] *It is worth the labour,* saith Plotinus, to consider well of *love, whether it be a god or a divell, or passion of the minde, or partly god, partly divell, partly passion.* He concludes love to participate of all three, to arise from a desire of that which is beautiful and fair, and defines it to be *an action of the minde, desiring that which is good.* [f] Plato calls it the great divell, for its vehemency, and soveraignty over

[a] Exerc. 301. Campus amoris maximus et spinis obsitus, nec levissimo pede transvolandus. [b] Grad. 1. cap. 29. Ex Platone: primæ et communissimæ perturbationes, ex quibus ceteræ oriuntur, et earum sunt pedissequæ. [c] Amor est voluntarius affectus et desiderium re bonâ fruendi. [d] Desiderium optantis; amor eorum quibus fruimur; amoris principium, desiderii finis; amatum adest. [e] Principio l. de amore. Operæ pretium est de amore considerare, utrum Deus, an Dæmon, an passio quædam animæ, an partim Deus, partim Dæmon, passio partim, &c. Amor est actus animi bonum desiderans. [f] Magnus Dæmon. Convivio.

mental cause, as our poets in their symbols, impresses, [a] emblemes of rings, squares, &c. shadow unto us,

> Si rerum quæris fuerit quis finis et ortus,
> Desine; nam caussa est unica solus amor.
>
> If first and last of any thing you wit,
> Cease; love's the sole and only cause of it.

Love, saith [b] Leo, made the world; and afterwards in redeeming of it, *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son for it, John* 3. 16. *Behold what love the Father hath shewed on us, that we should be called the sons of God.* 1 *John* 3. 1. Or by his sweet providence, in protecting of it; either all in generall, or his saints elect and church in particular, whom he keeps as the apple of his eye, whom he loves freely (as Hosea, 14. 4. speaks), and dearly respects. [c] *Carior est ipsis homo, quam sibi:* not that we are fair, nor for any merit or grace of ours; for we are most vile and base; but out of his incomparable love and goodness, out of his divine nature. And this is that Homer's golden chain, which reacheth down from heaven to earth, by which every creature is annexed, and depends on his Creator. He made all, saith [d] Moses; *and it was good;* and he loves it, as good.

The love of angels and living souls is mutuall amongst themselves, towards us militant in the church, and all such as love God; as the sun beams irradiate the earth from those celestiall thrones, they by their well wishes reflect on us, [e] *in salute hominum promovendâ alacres, et constantes administri;* there is joy in heaven for every sinner that repenteth; they pray for us, are solicitous for our good, [f] *casti genii.*

> Ubi regnat caritas, suave desiderium,
> Lætitiaque et amor Deo conjunctus.

Love proper to mortall men is the third member of this sub-division, and the subject of my following discourse.

[a] Camerarius, Emb. 100. cen. 2. [b] Dial. 3. [c] Juven. [d] Gen. 1. [e] Caussinus. [f] Theodoret. e Plotino.

Here is the old plague spot; the pestilence, the raw scrofula - I mean that there is nothing disgraces me in my own eyes so much as being one of a race of eyes nose and mouth beings in a planet called the earth who all from Plato to Westby have always mingled goatish heiningish lustful love with the abstract adoration of the deity - I do no understand greek - ~~does~~ is the love of God and

MEMB. II. SUBSECT. I.

Love of men, which varies as his objects, profitable, pleasant, honest.

VALESIUS (*lib.* 3. *contr.* 13) defines this love, which is in men, *to be* [a] *an affection of both powers, appetite, and reason.* The rational resides in the brain, the other in the liver (as before hath been said out of Plato and others). The heart is diversly affected of both, and carried a thousand waies by consent. The sensitive faculty most part over-rules reason; the soul is carried hood-winkt, and the understanding captive like a beast. [b] *The heart is variously inclined; sometimes they are merry, sometimes sad; and from love arise hope and fear, jealousie, fury, desperation.* Now this love of men is diverse, and varies, as the object varies, by which they are entised, as vertue, wisdome, eloquence, profit, wealth, money, fame, honour, or comeliness of person, &c. Leon. Hebreus, in his first dialogue, reduceth them all to these three, *utile, jucundum, honestum*, profitable, pleasant, honest (out of Aristotle, belike, 8. *moral.*) of which he discourseth at large; and whatsoever is beautifull and fair, is referred to them, or any way to be desired. [c] *To profitable, is ascribed health, wealth, honour, &c. which is rather ambition, desire, covetousness, then love.* Friends, children, love of women, [d] all delightfull and pleasant objects, are referred to the second. The love of honest things consists in vertue and wisdome, and is preferred before that which is profitable and pleasant; intellectuall, about that which is honest. [e] S[t]. Austin calls *profitable, worldly; pleasant, carnal; honest, spirituall.* [f] *Of and from all three, result charity, friendship, and true love, which respects God and our neighbour.* Of each of these I will briefly dilate, and shew in what sort they cause melancholy.

Amongst all these fair entising objects, which procure love, and bewitch the soul of man, there is none so moving, so forcible as profit; and that which carrieth with it a shew of commodity. Health indeed is a pretious thing, to recover and preserve which, we will undergo any misery, drink bitter potions, freely give our goods: restore a man to his health, his purse lies

[a] Affectus nunc appetivæ potentiæ, nunc rationalis; alter cerebro residet, alter hepate, corde, &c. [b] Cor varie inclinatur, nunc gaudens, nunc mœrens; statim ex timore nascitur zelotypia, furor, spes, desperatio. [c] Ad utile sanitas refertur; utilium est ambitio, cupido, desiderium, potius quam amor, excessus, avaritia. [d] Picolom. grad. 7. cap. 1. [e] Lib. de amicit. utile mundanum, carnale jucundum, spirituale honestum. [f] Ex singulis tribus fit caritas et amicitia, quæ respicit deum et proximum.

open to thee; bountifull he is, thankfull and beholding to thee; but give him wealth and honour, give him gold, or what shall be for his advantage and preferment, and thou shalt command his affections, oblige him eternally to thee, heart, hand, life, and all, is at thy service; thou art his dear and loving friend, good and gracious lord and master, his Mæcenas; he is thy slave, thy vassall, most devote, affectioned, and bound in all duty. Tell him good tydings in this kinde, there spoke an angel, a blessed hour that brings in gain; he is thy creature, and thou his creator; he hugges and admires thee; he is thine for ever. No loadstone so attractive as that of profit; none so fair an object as this of gold: [a] nothing wins a man sooner then a good turn; bounty and liberality command body and soul.

> Munera (crede mihi) placant hominesque deosque:
> Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis.
>
> Good turns do pacifie both God and men,
> And Jupiter himself is won by them.

Gold, of all other, is a most delitious object; a sweet light, a goodly lustre it hath; *gratius aurum quam solem intuemur*, saith Austin, and we had rather see it then the sun. Sweet and pleasant in getting, in keeping, it seasons all our labours: intolerable pains we take for it, base imployments, endure bitter flouts and taunts, long journeys, heavy burdens; all are made light and easie by this hope of gain.

> At mihi plaudo
> Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.

The sight of gold refresheth our spirits, and ravisheth our hearts, as that Babylonian garment and [b] golden wedge did Achan in the camp; the very sight and hearing sets on fire his soul with desire of it. It will make a man run to the Antipodes, or tarry at home and turn parasite, lye, flatter, prostitute himself, swear and bear false witness; he will venture his body, kill a king, murther his father, and damn his soul to come at it. *Formosior auri massa*, as [c] he well observed, the mass of gold is fairer then all your Græcian pictures, that Apelles, Phidias, or any doting painter, could ever make: we are enamoured with it,

> [d] Prima fere vota, et cunctis notissima templis,
> Divitiæ ut crescant.———

All our labours, studies, endeavours, vows, prayers and wishes, are to get it, how to compass it.

[a] Benefactores præcipue amamus, Vives, 3. de animâ. [b] Jos. 7. [c] Petronius Arbiter. [d] Juvenalis,

[a] Hæc est illa cui famulatur maximus orbis,
Diva potens rerum, domitrixque pecunia fati.

This is the great goddess we adore and worship; this is the sole object of our desire. If we have it, as we think, we are made for ever thrice happy, princes, lords, &c. If we lose it, we are dull, heavy, dejected, discontent, miserable, desperate, and mad. Our estate and *bene esse* ebbs and flows with our commodity; and as we are endowed or enriched, so are we beloved and esteemed: it lasts no longer then our wealth; when that is gone, and the object removed, farewell friendship: as long as bounty, good cheer, and rewards, were to be hoped, friends enough; they were tied to thee by the teeth, and would follow thee as crows do a carcass: but, when thy goods are gone and spent, the lamp of their love is out; and thou shalt be contemned, scorned, hated, injured. [b] Lucian's Timon, when he lived in prosperity, was the sole spectacle of Greece, onely admired; who but Timon? Every body loved, honoured, applauded him; each man offered him his service, and sought to be kin to him: but, when his gold was spent, his fair possessions gone, farewell Timon; none so ugly, none so deformed, so odious an abject as Timon; no man so ridiculous on a sudden: they gave him a penny to buy a rope; no man would know him.

'Tis the generall humour of the world; commodity steers our affections throughout; we love those that are fortunate and rich, that thrive, or by whom we may receive mutuall kindness, hope for like curtesies, get any good, gain or profit; hate those, and abhor, on the other side, which are poor and miserable, or by whom we may sustain loss or inconvenience. And even those that were now familiar and dear unto us, our loving and long friends, neighbours, kinsmen, allies, with whom we have conversed and lived as so many Geryons for some years past, striving still to give one another all good content and entertainment, with mutual invitations, feastings, disports, offices, for whom we would ride, run, spend our selves, and of whom we have so freely and honourably spoken, to whom we have given all those turgent titles, and magnificent elogiums, most excellent and most noble, worthy, wise, grave, learned, valiant, &c. and magnified beyond measure—if any controversie arise betwixt us, some trespass, injury, abuse, some part of our goods be detained, a peece of land come to be litigious, if they cross us in our suit, or touch the string of our commodity, we detest and depress them upon a sudden:

[a] Joh. Secund. lib. sylvarum. [b] Lucianus, Timon.

neither affinity, consanguinity, or old acquaintance can contain us, but [a]*rupto jecore exierit caprificus.* A golden apple sets altogether by the ears, as if a marrow bone or hony comb were flung amongst bears: father and son, brother and sister, kinsmen are at odds: and look, what malice, deadly hatred, can invent, that shall be done,

Terribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum:

mutuall injuries, desire of revenge, and how to hurt them, him and his, are all our studies. If our pleasures be interrupt, we can tolerate it; our bodies hurt, we can put it up and be reconciled: but touch our commodities, we are most impatient: fair becomes foul, the Graces are turned to Harpyes, friendly salutations to bitter imprecations, mutuall feastings to plotting villanies, minings and counterminings; good words to satyres and invectives; we revile *e contra*; nought but his imperfections are in our eyes; he is a base knave, a divel, a monster, a caterpiller, a viper, an hog-rubber, &c.

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne:

This scene is altered on a sudden; love is turned to hate, mirth to melancholy: so furiously are we most part bent, our affections fixed upon this object of commodity, and upon money, the desire of which in excess is covetousness. Ambition tyrannizeth over our souls, as [b]I have shewed, and in defect crucifies as much; as, if a man by negligence, ill husbandry, improvidence, prodigality, waste and consume his goods and fortunes, beggery follows, and melancholy; he becomes an abject, [c]odious, and *worse then an infidel, in not providing for his family.*

SUBSECT. II.

Pleasant Objects of Love.

PLEASANT objects are infinite, whether they be such as have life, or be without life. Inanimate are countries, provinces, towers, towns, cities, as he said, [d]*Pulcherrimam insulam videmus, etiam cum non videmus;* we see a fair island by description, when we see it not. The [e]sun never saw a fairer city, *Thessala Tempe*, orchards, gardens, pleasant walks, groves, fountains, &c. The heaven it self is

[a] Pers. [b] Part. 1. sect. 2. memb. 3. sub. 12. [c] 1 Tim. 5. 8. [d] Lips. epist. Camdeno. [e] Leland of St. Edmondsbury.

said to be [a] fair or foul; fair buildings, [b] fair pictures, all artificiall, elaborate, and curious works, clothes, give an admirable lustre: we admire, and gaze upon them, *ut pueri Junonis avem*, as children do on a peacock. A fair dog, a fair horse and hawk, &c. ([c] *Thessalus amat equum pullinum, bucu-lum Ægyptius, Lacedæmonius Catulum, &c.*) such things we love, are most gracious in our sight, acceptable unto us, and whatsoever else may cause this passion, if it be superfluous or immoderately loved, as Guianerius observes. These things in themselves are pleasing and good, singular ornaments, necessary, comely, and fit to be had; but when we fix an immoderate eye, and dote on them over much, this pleasure may turn to pain, bring much sorrow and discontent unto us, work our finall overthrow, and cause melancholy in the end. Many are carried away with those bewitching sports of gaming, hawking, hunting, and such vain pleasures, [d] as I have said: some with immoderate desire of fame, to be crowned in the Olympicks, knighted in the field, &c. and by these means ruinate themselves. The lascivious dotes on his fair mistress, the glutton on his dishes, which are infinitely varied to please the palate, the epicure on his severall pleasures, the superstitious on his idol, and fats himself with future joys, as Turks feed themselves with an imaginary perswasion of a sensuall paradise: so severall pleasant objects, diversely affect divers men. But the fairest objects and entisings proceed from men themselves, which most frequently captivate, allure, and make them dote beyond all measure upon one another, and that for many respects: first, as some suppose, by that secret force of stars, (*quod me tibi temperat astrum?*) they do singularly dote on such a man, hate such again, and can give no reason for it. [e] *Non amo te, Sabidi, &c.* Alexander admired Hephæstion, Adrian Antinoüs, Nero Sporus, &c. The physicians refer this to their temperament; astrologers to trine and sextile aspects, or opposite to their severall ascendents, lords of their genitures, love and hatred of planets; [f] Cicogna, to concord and discord of spirits; but most to outward graces. A merry companion is welcome and acceptable to all men; and therefore, saith [g] Gomesius, princes and great men entertain jesters and players commonly in their courts. But [h] *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur;* tis that [i] similitude of manners, which ties most men in an inseparable link, as, if they be addicted to the

[a] Cœlum serenum, cœlum visu fœdum. Polyd. lib. 1. de Anglià. [b] Credo equidem, vivos ducent e marmore vultus. [c] Max. Tyrius, ser. 9. [d] Part. 1. Sec. 2. memb. 3. [e] Mart. [f] Omnif. mag. lib. 12. cap. 3. [g] De sale geniali, l. 3. c. 15. [h] Theod. Prodromus amor. lib. 3. [i] Similitudo morum parit amicitiam.

same studies or disports, they delight in one anothers companies; *birds of a feather will gather together*; if they be of divers inclinations, or opposite in manners, they can seldome agree. Secondly, [a] affability, custome, and familiarity, may convert nature many times, though they be different in manners, as, if they be country-men, fellow-students, colleagues, or have been fellow-souldiers, [b] brethren in affliction, ([c] *acerba calamitatum societas diversi etiam ingenii homines conjungit*) affinity, or some such accidentall occasion: though they cannot agree amongst themselves, they will stick together like burrs, and hold against a third: so, after some discontinuance, or death, enmity ceaseth; or in a forrain place.

> Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit:
> Et cecidêre odia, et tristes mors obruit iras.

A third cause of love and hate may be mutuall offices, *acceptum beneficium*; [d] commend him, use him kindly, take his part in a quarrell, relieve him in his misery; thou winnest him forever: do the opposite, and be sure of a perpetuall enemy. Praise and dispraise of each other do as much, though unknown, as [e] Schoppius by Scaliger and Casaubonus: *mulus mulum scabit*; who but Scaliger with him? what encomions, epithetes, elogiums? *Antistes sapientiæ, perpetuus dictator, literarum ornamentum, Europæ miraculum*, noble Scaliger, *incredibilis ingenii præstantia, &c. diis potius quam hominibus per omnia comparandus: scripta ejus aurea, ancilia de cælo delapsa, poplitibus veneramur flexis, &c.* But, when they began to vary, none so absurd as Scaliger, so vile and base, as his books *de Burdonum familiâ* and other satyricall invectives, may witness. Ovid, *in Ibin*, Archilochus himself, was not so bitter. Another great tye or cause of love, is consanguinity; parents are dear to their children, children to their parents, brothers and sisters, cosens of all sorts, as an hen and chickens, all of a knot: every crow thinks her own bird fairest. Many memorable examples are in this kinde; and 'tis *portenti simile*, if they do not: [f] *a mother cannot forget her child*; Salomon so found out the true owner: love of parents may not be concealed: 'tis naturall, descends; and they that are inhumane

[a] Vives, 3. de Animâ. [b] Qui simul fecere naufragium, aut una pertulere vincula vel consilii conjurationisve societate junguntur, invicem amant: Brutium et Cassium invicem infensos Cæsarianus dominatus conciliavit. Æmilius Lepidus et Julius Flaccus, quum essent inimicissimi, censores renunciati, simultates illico deposuere. Scultet. cap. 4. de causâ Amor. [c] Papinius. [d] Isocrates Demonico præcipit, ut, quum alicujus amicitiam vellet, illum laudet, quod laus initium amoris sit, vituperatio simultatum. [e] Suspect. lect. lib. 1. cap. 2. [f] Isay, 49.

in this kinde, are unworthy of that air they breath, and of the four elements; yet many unnaturall examples we have in this rank, of hard-hearted parents, disobedient children, of [a] disagreeing brothers; nothing so common. The love of kinsmen is grown cold: *many kinsmen* (as the saying is) *few friends.* If thine estate be good, and thou be able *par pari referre*, to requite their kindness, there will be mutuall correspondence; otherwise thou art a burden, most odious to them above all others. The last object that tyes man and man, is comeliness of person, and beauty alone, as men love women with a wanton eye; which κατ' ἐξοχην is termed *heroicall*, or Love-Melancholy. Other loves (saith [b] Picolomineus) are so called with some contraction, as the love of wine, gold, &c. but this of women is predominant in an higher strain, whose part affected is the liver; and this love deserves a longer explication, and shall be dilated apart in the next section.

SUBSECT. III.

Honest objects of Love.

BEAUTY is the common object of all love; [c] *as jet draws a straw, so doth beauty love:* vertue and honesty are great motives, and give as fair a lustre as the rest, especially if they be sincere and right, not fucate, but proceeding from true form, and an incorrupt judgement. Those two Venus twins, Eros and Anteros, are then most firm and fast. For many times otherwise men are deceived by their flattering Gnathoes, dissembling camelions, outsides, hypocrites, that make a shew of great love, learning, pretend honesty, vertue, zeal, modesty, with affected looks and counterfeit gestures: fained protestations often steal away the hearts and favours of men, and deceive them, *specie virtutis et umbrâ*, when as, *reverâ* and indeed, there is no worth or honesty at all in them, no truth, but meer hypocrisie, subtilty, knavery, and the like. As true friends they are, as he that Cœlius Secundus met by the high way side; and hard it is, in this temporising age, to distinguish such companions, or to finde them out. Such Gnathoes as these for the most part belong to great men, and by this glozing flattery, affability, and such like philters, so dive and insinuate into their favours, that they are taken for men of excellent worth, wisdome, learning, demi-gods, and so screw themselves into dignities, honours,

[a] Rara est concordia fratrum. [b] Grad. 1. cap. 22. [c] Vives, 3. de Animâ, ut paleam succinum, sic formam amor trahit.

it, [a] *there is nothing so amiable and fair as vertue. I* [b] *do mightily love Calvisinus,* (so Pliny writes to Sossius) *a most industrious, eloquent, upright man; which is all in all with me.* The affection came from his good parts. And, as S[t]. Austin comments on the 84 Psalm, [c] *there is a peculiar beauty of justice,* and inward beauty, *which we see with the eyes of our hearts, love, and are enamoured with, as in martyrs: though their bodies be torn in pieces with wild beasts, yet this beauty shines, and we love their vertues.* [d] The Stoicks are of opinion that a wise man is only fair; and Cato (in Tully, 3, *de Finibus*) contends the same, that the lineaments of the minde are far fairer than those of the body, incomparably beyond them: wisdom and valour, according to [e] Xenophon, especially deserve the name of beauty, and denominate one fair; *et incomparabiliter pulchrior est* (as Austin holds) *veritas Christianorum quam Helena Græcorum. Wine is strong; the king is strong; women are strong; but truth overcometh all things* (1 Esd. 3. 10, 11, 12). *Blessed is the man that findeth wisdom, and getteth understanding; for the merchandise thereof is better then silver, and the gain thereof better then gold; it is more precious then pearls; and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared to her* (Prov. 3. 13, 14, 15). A wise, true, just, upright, and good man, I say it again, is onely fair. [f] It is reported of Magdalen Queen of France, and wife to Lewis 11th, a Scottish woman by birth, that, walking forth in an evening with her ladies, she spied M. Alanus, one of the kings chaplains, a silly, old, [g] hard-favoured man, fast asleep in a bower, and kissed him sweetly; when the yong ladies laughed at her for it, she replied, that it was not his person that she did embrace and reverence, but, with a Platonick love, the divine beauty of [h] his soul. Thus, in all ages, vertue hath been adored, admired; a singular lustre hath proceeded from it; and the more vertuous he is, the more gratious, the more admired. No man so much followed upon earth as Christ himself; and, as the Psalmist saith (45. 2), *he was fairer then the sons of men.* Chrysostome (*Hom.* 8. *in Mat.*) Bernard (*Ser.* 1. *de omnibus sanctis*), Austin Cassiodore, *Hier.* (*in* 9 *Mat.*) interpret it of

[a] Ardentes amores excitaret, si simulacrum ejus ad oculos penetraret. Plato, Phædone. [b] Epist. lib. 4. Validissime diligo virum rectum, disertum, quod apud me potentissimum est. [c] Est quædam pulchritudo justitiæ, quam videmus oculis cordis, amamus, et exardescimus, ut in martyribus, quum eorum membra bestiæ lacerarent, etsi alias deformes, &c. [d] Lipsius manuduc. ad Phys. Stoic. lib. 3. diff. 17. solus sapiens pulcher. [e] Fortitudo et prudentia pulchritudinis laudem præcipue merentur. [f] Franc. Belforist. in hist. An. 1430. [g] Erat autem fœde deformis, et eâ formâ, quâ citius pueri terreri possent, quam invitari ad osculum puellæ. [h] Deformis iste etsi videatur senex, divinum animum habet.

the [a] beauty of his person; there was a divine majestie in his looks; it shined like lightning, and drew all men to it: but Basil, Cyril (*lib. 6. super. 55. Esay*), Theodoret, Arnobius, &c. of the beauty of his divinity, justice, grace, eloquence, &c. Thomas (in Psal. 44) of both; and so doth Baradius, and Peter Morales (*lib. de pulchritud. Iesu et Mariæ*), adding as much of Joseph and the Virgin Mary,

——————— hæc alios formâ præcesserit omnes,

according to that prediction of Sibylla Cumæa. Be they present or absent, near us, or afar off, this beauty shines, and will attract men many miles to come and visite it. Plato and Pythagoras left their countrey, to see those wise Ægyptian priests: Apollonius travelled into Æthiopia, Persia, to consult with the Magi, Brachmanni, Gymnosophists. The queen of Sheba came to visit Solomon; and many, saith [b] Hierom, went out of Spain and remote places a thousand miles, to behold that eloquent Livy; [c] *Multi Romam, non ut urbem pulcherrimam, aut urbis et orbis dominum Octavianum, sed ut hunc unum inviserent audirentque, a Gadibus profecti sunt.* No beauty leaves such an impression, strikes so deep, [d] or links the souls of men closer then vertue.

[e] Non, per deos, aut pictor posset,
Aut statuarius ullus, fingere
Talem pulchritudinem, qualem virtus habet:

no painter, no graver, no carver, can express vertues lustre, or those admirable rayes that come from it, those enchanting rayes that enamour posterity, those everlasting rayes that continue to the worlds end. Many, saith Phavorinus, that loved and admired Alcibiades in his youth, knew not, cared not for Alcibiades a man; *nunc intuentes quærebant Alcibiadem*: but the beauty of Socrates is still the same; [f] vertues lustre never fades, is ever fresh and green, *semper viva* to all succeeding ages, and a most attractive loadstone, to draw and combine such as are present. For that reason, belike, Homer feigns the three Graces to be linked and tied hand in hand, because the hearts of men are so firmly united with such graces. [g] *O sweet bands*, (Seneca exclaims) *which so happily combine, that those which are bound by them love their binders,*

[a] Fulgebat vultu suo fulgor, et divina majestas homines ad se trahens. [b] Præfat. bib. vulgar. [c] Pars inscrip. Tit. Livii statuæ Patavii. [d] A true loves knot. [e] Stobæus, e Græco. [f] Solinus: pulchri nulla est facies. [g] O dulcissimi laquei, qui tam feliciter devinciunt, ut etiam a vinctis diligantur! qui a Gratiis vincti sunt, cupiunt arctius deligari, et in unum redigi.

desiring, withall, much more harder to be bound, and, as so many Geryons, to be united into one. For the nature of true friendship is to combine, to be like affected, of one minde,

> [a] Velle et nolle ambobus idem, satiataque toto
> Mens ævo ——

as the Poet saith, still to continue one and the same. And where this love takes place, there is peace and quietness, a true correspondence, perfect amity, a diapason of vowes and wishes, the same opinions, as betwixt [b] David and Jonathan, Damon and Pythias, Pylades and Orestes, [c] Nisus and Euryalus, Theseus and Pirithous: [d] they will live and die together, and prosecute one another with good turns, ([e] *nam vinci in amore turpissimum putant*) not only living, but, when their friends are dead, with tombs and monuments, nænias, epitaphs, elegies, inscriptions, pyramids, obelisks, statues, images, pictures, histories, poems, annals, feasts, anniversaries, many ages after (as Plato's schollers did) they will *parentare still,* omit no good office that may tend to the preservation of their names, honours, and eternal memory. [f] *Illum coloribus, illum cerâ, illum ære,* &c. *He did express his friends in colours, in wax, in brass, in ivory, marble, gold and silver,* (as Pliny reports of a citizen in Rome) *and in a great auditory, not long since, recited a just volume of his life.* In another place, [g] speaking of an epigram which Martial had composed in praise of him, *He gave me as much as he might, and would have done more if he could: though what can a man give more then honour, glory, and eternity? But that which he wrote, peradventure, will not continue; yet he wrote it to continue.* 'Tis all the recompence a poor scholler can make his well-deserving patron, Mæcenas, friend, to mention him in his works, to dedicate a book to his name, to write his life, &c. as all our poets, orators, historiographers, have ever done; and the greatest revenge such men take of their adversaries, to persecute them with satyrs, invectives, &c. [h] and 'tis both wayes of great moment, as [i] Plato gives us to understand.

[a] Statius. [b] He loved him, as he loved his own soul, 1 Sam. 15. 1. Beyond the love of women. [c] Virg. 9. Æn. Qui super exanimem sese conjecit amicum Confossus. [d] Amicus animæ dimidium, Austin. confes. 4. cap. 6. Quod de Virgilio Horatius, Et serves animæ dimidium meæ. [e] Plinius. [f] Illum argento et auro, illum ebore, marmore effingit; et nuper, ingenti adhibito auditorio, ingentem de vitâ ejus librum recitavit. epist. lib. 4. epist. 68. [g] Lib. 4. ep. 61. Prisco suo: Dedit mihi quantum potuit maximum, daturus amplius, si potuisset. Tametsi quid homini dari potest majus quam gloria, laus, et æternitas? At non erunt fortasse quæ scripsit. Ille tamen scripsit, tamquam essent futura. [h] For genus irritabile vatum. [i] Lib. 13. de Legibus. Magnam enim vim habent, &c.

Paulus Jovius, in the fourth book of the life and deeds of Pope Leo Decimus, his noble patron, concludes in these words: [a] *Because I cannot honour him as other rich men do, with like endeavour, affection, and piety, I have undertaken to write his life; since my fortunes will not give me leave to make a more sumptuous monument, I will perform those rites to his sacred ashes, which a small, perhaps, but a liberal wit can afford.* But I rove. Where this true love is wanting, there can be no firm peace, friendship from teeth outward, counterfeit, or for some by respects, so long dissembled, till they have satisfied their own ends, which, upon every small occasion, breaks out into enmity, open war, defiance, heart-burnings, whispering, calumnies, contentions, and all manner of bitter melancholy discontents. And those men which have no other object of their love, then greatness, wealth, authority, &c. are rather feared then beloved; *nec amant quemquam, nec amantur ab ullo:* and, howsoever born with for a time, yet, for their tyranny and oppression, griping, covetousness, currish hardness, folly, intemperance, imprudence, and such like vices, they are generally odious, abhorred of all, both God and men.

> Non uxor salvum te vult, non filius: omnes
> Vicini oderunt:

wife and children, friends, neighbours, all the world forsakes them, would fain be rid of them, and are compelled many times to lay violent hands on them: or else Gods judgements overtake them: instead of Graces, come Furies. So, when fair [b] Abigail, a woman of singular wisdome, was acceptable to David, Nabal was churlish and evil-conditioned; and therefore [c] Mardochy was received, when Haman was executed, Haman the favorite, *that had his seat above the other princes, to whom all the Kings servants, that stood in the gates, bowed their knees, and reverenced.* Though they flourish many times, such hypocrites, such temporizing foxes, and blear the worlds eyes by flattery, bribery, dissembling their natures, or other mens weakness, that cannot so soon apprehend their tricks, yet in the end they will be discerned, and precipitated in a moment: *Surely*, saith David, *thou hast set them in slippery places* (Psa. 73. 18): as so many Sejani, they will come down to the Gemonian scales; and, as Eusebius in [d] Ammianus, that was in such authority, *ad jubendum*

[a] Pari tamen studio et pietate conscribendæ vitæ ejus munus suscepi; et postquam sumptuosa condere pro fortunâ non licuit, exiguo sed eo forte liberalis ingenii monumento justa sanctissimo cineri solventur. [b] 1 Sam. 25. 3. [c] Esther, 3. 2.
[d] Amm. Marcellinus, l. 14.

imperatorem, be cast down headlong on a sudden, Or put case they escape, and rest unmasked to their lives end, yet, after their death, their memory stinks as a snuffe of a candle put out; and those that durst not so much as mutter against them in their lives, will prosecute their name with satyrs, libels, and bitter imprecations: they shall *male audire* in all succeeding ages, and be odious to the worlds end.

MEMB. III.

Charity composed of all three kinds, Pleasant, Profitable, Honest.

BESIDES this love that comes from profit, pleasure, honesty, (for one good turn asks another in equity) that which proceeds from the law of nature, or from discipline and philosophy, there is yet another love compounded of all these three, which is *charity*, and includes piety, dilection, benevolence, friendship, even all those vertuous habits; for love is the circle equant of all other affections (of which Aristotle dilates at large in his Ethicks), and is commanded by God, which no man can well perform, but he that is a Christian, and a true regenerate man. This is [a] *To love God above all, and our neighbour as our self*; for this love is *lychnus accendens et accensus*, a communicating light, apt to illuminate it self as well as others. All other objects are fair, and very beautiful, I confess; kindred, alliance, friendship, the love that we owe to our country, nature, wealth, pleasure, honour, and such moral respects, &c. of which read [b] copious Aristotle in his Morals: a man is beloved of a man, in that he is a man; but all these are far more eminent and great, when they shall proceed from a sanctified spirit, that hath a true touch of religion, and a reference to God. Nature binds all creatures to love their young ones: an hen, to preserve her brood, will run upon a lion; an hinde will fight with a bull, a sow with a bear, a silly sheep with a fox. So the same nature urgeth a man to love his parents, ([c] *dii me, pater, omnes oderint, ni te magis quam oculos amem meos!*) and this love cannot be dissolved, as Tully holds, [d] *without detestable offence*: but much more God's commandment, which injoyns a filial love,

[a] Ut mundus duobus polis sustentatur, ita lex Dei, amore Dei et proximi; duobus his fundamentis vincitur; machina mundi corruit, si una de polis turbatur; lex perit divina, si una ex his. [b] 8 et 9. libro. [c] Ter. Adelph. 4. 5. [d] De amicit. Caritas parentum dilui nisi detestabili scelere non potest.

and an obedience in this kind. [a] *The love of brethren is great, and like an arch of stones, where if one be displaced, all comes down:* no love so forcible and strong, honest, to the combination of which, nature, fortune, vertue, happily concur; yet this love comes short of it.

Dulce et decorum pro patriâ mori:

[b] *it cannot be expressed, what a deal of charity that one name of country contains.*

Amor laudis et patriæ pro stipendio est.

The Decii did *se devovere*, Horatii, Curii, Scævola, Regulus, Codrus, sacrifice themselves for their countries peace and good.

[c] Una dies Fabios ad bellum miserat omnes:
Ad bellum missos perdidit una dies.

One day the Fabii stoutly warred,
One day the Fabii were destroyed.

Fifty thousand Englishmen lost their lives willingly neer Battle Abby, in defence of their country. [d] P. Æmilius (l. 6.) speaks of six senators of Calice, that came with halters in their hands to the king of England, to die for the rest. This love makes so many writers take such pains, so many historiographers, physicians, &c. or at least as they pretend, for common safety, and their countries benefit. [e] *Sanctum nomen amicitiæ, sociorum communio sacra:* friendship is an holy name, and a sacred communion of friends. [f] *As the sun is in the firmament, so is friendship in the world,* a most divine and heavenly band. As nuptial love makes, this perfects mankind, and is to be preferred (if you will stand to the judgement of [g] Cornelius Nepos), before affinity, or consanguinity; *plus in amicitiâ valet similitudo morum, quam affinitas, &c.* the cords of love bind faster than any other wreath whatsoever. Take this away, and take all pleasure, joy, comfort, happiness, and true content, out of the world; 'tis the greatest tye, the surest indenture, strongest band, and, as our modern Maro decides it, is much to be preferred before the rest.

[h] Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deem,
When all three kinds of love together meet,
And do dispart the heart with power extream,

[a] Fraternitas lapidum fornicibus simillima, casura, nisi se invicem sustentaret. Seneca. [b] Dii immortales! dici non potest quantum caritatis nomen illud habet. [c] Ovid. Fast. [d] Anno 1347. Jacob Mayer. Annal. Fland. lib. 12. [e] Tully. [f] Lucianus, Toxari. Amicitia ut sol in mundo, &c. [g] Vit. Pompon. Attici. [h] Spencer, Fairy Queen, lib. 5. cant. 9. staff. 1. 2.

(Phil. 2. 2), *of one judgement; be humble, meek, long suffering,* (Colos. 3), *forbear, forget, and forgive,* (12. 13. 23): and what he doth, shall be heartily done to God, and not to men; *be pittiful and courteous* (1 Pet. 3), *seek peace and follow it.* He will love his brother, not in word and tongue, but in deed and truth (1 Joh. 3. 18): *and he that loves God, Christ will love him that is begotten of him* (1 Joh. 5. 1. &c.) Thus should we willingly do, if we had a true touch of this charity, of this divine love, if we would perform this which we are enjoyned, forget and forgive, and compose ourselves to those christian laws of love.

[a] O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos amor,
Quo cœlum regitur, regat!

Angelical souls, how blessed, how happy should we be, so loving, how might we triumph over the divel, and, have another heaven upon earth!

But this we cannot do; and, which is the cause of all our woes, miseries, discontent, melancholy, [b] want of this charity. We do *invicem angariare*, contemn, insult, vex, torture, molest, and hold one anothers noses to the grindstone hard, provoke, rail, scoffe, calumniate, challenge, hate, abuse (hard-hearted, implacable, malicious, peevish, inexorable as we are) to satisfie our lust or private spleen, for [c] toyes, trifles, and impertinent occasions, spend our selves, goods, friends, fortunes, to be revenged on our adversary, to ruin him and his. 'Tis all our study, practice and business, how to plot mischief, mine, countermine, defend and offend, ward our selves, injure others, hurt all; as if we were born to do mischief, and that with such eagerness and bitterness, with such rancor, malice, rage, and fury, we prosecute our intended designs, that neither affinity or consanguinity, love or fear of God or men, can contain us: no satisfaction, no composition, will be accepted, no offices will serve, no submission; though he shall, upon his knees, as Sarpedon did to Glaucus in Homer, acknowledging his error, yield himself with tears in his eys, beg his pardon, we will not relent, forgive, or forget, till we have confounded him and his, *made dice of his bones*, as they say, see him rot in prison, banish his friends, followers, *et omne invisum genus*, rooted him out, and all his posterity. Monsters of men as we are, dogs, wolves, [d] tygers, fiends, incarnate divels, we do not

[a] Boëthius, lib. 2. met. 8.

[b] Deliquium patitur caritas: odium ejus loco succedit. Basil. l. ser. de instit. mon.

[c] Nodum in scirpo quærentes.

[d] Hircanæque admôrunt ubera tigres.

only contend, oppress, and tyrannize our selves, but, as so many fire-brands, we set on, and animate others: our whole life is a perpetual combate, a conflict, a set battle, a snarling fit: *Eris dea* is setled in our tents: [a] *Omnia de lite*, opposing wit to wit, wealth to wealth, strength to strength, fortunes to fortunes, friends to friends, as at a sea-fight, we turn our broad sides, or two milstones with continual attrition, we fire ourselves, or break anothers backs, and both are ruined and consumed in the end. Miserable wretches! to fat and inrich our selves, we care not how we get it: *Quocunque modo rem:* how many thousands we undo, whom we oppress, by whose ruin and downfall we arise, whom we injure, fatherless children, widdows, common societies, to satisfie our own private lust. Though we have myriads, abundance of wealth and treasure, (pittiless, merciless, remorseless, and uncharitable in the highest degree) and our poor brother in need, sickness, in great extremity, and now ready to be starved for want of food, we had rather, as the fox told the ape, his tail should sweep the ground still, then cover his buttocks; rather spend it idly, consume it with dogs, hawks, hounds, unnecessary buildings, in riotous apparel, ingurgitate, or let it be lost, then he should have part of it; [b] rather take from him that little which he hath, then relieve him.

Like the dog in the manger, we neither use it our selves, let others make use of, or enjoy it; part with nothing while we live, and, for want of disposing our houshold, and setting things in order, set all the world together by the ears after our death. Poor Lazarus lies howling at his gates for a few crums; he only seeks chippings, offals; let him roar and howl, famish, and eat his own flesh; he respects him not. A poor decayed kinsman of his sets upon him by the way in all his jollity, and runs begging bareheaded by him, conjuring by those former bonds of friendship, alliance, consanguinity, &c. unkle, cosen, brother, father,

> ——Per ego has lacrymas, dextramque tuam, te,
> Si quidquam de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam
> Dulce meum, miserere mei.

Shew some pitty, for Christ's sake; pitty a sick man, an old man, &c. he cares not, ride on: pretend sickness, inevitable loss of limbs, goods, plead suretiship, or shipwrack, fires, common calamities, shew thy wants and imperfections,

[a] Heraclitus. [b] Si in gehennam abit, pauperem qui non alat: quid de eo fiet qui pauperem denudat? Austin.

Et si per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim,
Credite, non ludo: crudeles, tollite claudum:

Swear, protest, take God and all his angels to witness,—*quære peregrinum*; thou art a counterfeit crank, a cheater; he is not touched with it: *pauper ubique jacet*; ride on, he takes no notice of it. Put up a supplication to him in the name of a thousand orphans, an hospital, a spittle, a prison; as he goes by, they cry out to him for ayd; ride on; *surdo narras*; he cares not; let them eat stones, devour themselves with vermine, rot in their own dung; he cares not. Shew him a decayed haven, a bridge, a school, a fortification, &c. or some publick work; ride on; good your worship, your honour, for God's sake, your countrie's sake; ride on. But shew him a role wherein his name shall be registred in golden letters, and commended to all posterity, his arms set up, with his devises to be seen, then peradventure he will stay and contribute; or if thou canst thunder upon him, as Papists do, with satisfactory and meritorious works, or perswade him by this means he shall save his soul out of hell, and free it from purgatory (if he be of any religion), then in all likelihood he will listen and stay; or that he have no children, no neer kinsman, heir, he cares for at least, or cannot well tell otherwise how or where to bestow his possessions (for carry them with him he cannot) it may be then he will build some school or hospitall in his life, or be induced to give liberally to pious uses after his death. For I dare boldly say, vain glory, that opinion of merit, and this enforced necessity, when they know not otherwise how to leave, or what better to do with them, is the main cause of most of our good works. I will not urge this to derogate from any man's charitable devotion, or bounty in this kinde, to censure any good work; no doubt there be many sanctified, heroical, and worthy minded men, that in true zeal, and for vertue's sake (divine spirits) that out of commiseration and pitty, extend their liberality, and, as much as in them lies, do good to all men, cloath the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the sick and needy, relieve all, forget and forgive injuries, as true charity requires; yet most part there is *simulatum quid*, a deal of hypocrisie in this kinde, much default and defect. [a]Cosmus Medices, that rich citizen of Florence, ingenuously confessed to a neer friend of his, that would know of him why he built so many publike and magnificent palaces, and bestowed so liberally on scholars, not that he loved learning more then others, *but to* [b]*eternize his own name, to be immortall by*

[a] Jovius, vitâ ejus. [b] Immortalitatem, beneficio literarum immortali, gloriosâ quadam cupiditate concupivit. Quod cives quibus benefecisset perituri, mœnia ruitura, etsi regio sumptu ædificata, non libri.

the benefit of scholars; for, when his friends were dead, walls decayed, and all inscriptions *gone, books would remain to the world's end.* The lanthorn in [a]Athens was built by Xenocles, the theater by Pericles, the famous port Pyræeus by Musicles, Pallas Palladium by Phidias, the Pantheon by Callicratidas; but these brave monuments are decayed all, and ruined long since, their builders names alone flourish by mediation of writers. And, as [b]he said of that Marian oke, now cut down and dead, *nullius agricolæ manu culta stirps tam diuturna, quam quæ poëtæ versu seminari potest*, no plant can grow so long as that which is *ingenio sata*, set and manured by those ever-living wits. [c]Allon Backuth, that weeping oke, under which Deborah, Rebecchaes nurse died, and was buried, may not survive the memory of such everlasting monuments. Vainglory and emulation (as to most men) was the cause efficient, and to be a trumpeter of his own fame, Cosmus sole intent, so to do good, that all the world might take notice of it. Such, for the most part, is the charity of our times, such our benefactors, Mæcenates and patrons. Shew me, amongst so many myriads, a truly devout, a right, honest, upright, meek, humble, a patient, innocuous, innocent, a mercifull, a loving, a charitable man!

[d]Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit?

Shew me a Caleb or a Joshua!

Dic mihi, Musa, virum——

shew a vertuous woman, a constant wife, a good neighbour, a trusty servant, an obedient child, a true friend, &c. Crows in Africk are not so scant. He that shall examine this [e]iron age wherein we live, where love is cold, *et jam terras Astræa reliquit*, Justice fled with her assistants, vertue expelled,

——————Justitiæ soror,
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,

all goodness gone, where vice abounds, the Divel is loose, and see one man vilify and insult over his brother, as if he were an innocent, or a block, oppress, tyrannise, prey upon, torture him, vex, gaule, torment and crucify him, starve him, where is charity? He that shall see men [f]swear and forswear, lye and bear false witness, to advantage themselves, prejudice others, hazard goods, lives, fortunes, credit, all, to be revenged on their enemies, men so unspeakable in their lusts, unnaturall in malice, such bloody

[a] Plutarch. Pericle. [b] Tullius, lib. 1. de legibus. [c] Gen. 35. 8.
[d] Hor. [e] Durum genus sumus. [f] Tull. pro Rosc. Mentiri vis caussâ meâ? ego vero cupide et libenter mentiar tuâ caussâ; et si quando me vis pejerare, ut paullulum tu compendii facias, paratum fore scito.

designements, Italian blaspheming, Spanish renouncing, &c. may well aske where is charity? He that shall observe so many lawsuits, such endless contentions, such plotting, undermining, so much mony spent with such eagerness and fury, every man for himself, his own ends, the Divel for all; so many distressed souls, such lamentable complaints, so many factions, conspiracies, seditions, oppressions, abuses, injuries, such grudging, repining, discontent, so much emulation, envy, so many brawles, quarrels, monomachies, &c. may well require what is become of charity? when we see and read of such cruell wars, tumults, uproares, bloudy battels, so many [a] men slain, so many cities ruinated, &c. (for what else is the subject of all our stories almost, but bills, bowes, and gunns?) so many murders and massacres, &c. where is charity? Or see men wholly devote to God, churchmen, professed divines, holy men, [b] *to make the trumpet of the Gospel the trumpet of war*, a company of hell-born Jesuits, and fiery-spirited friers, *facem præferre* to all seditions; as so many firebrands set all the world by the ears (I say nothing of their contentious and rayling books, whose ages spent in writing one against another, and that with such virulency and bitterness, *Bionæis sermonibus et sale nigro*), and by their bloody inquisitions, that in thirty years, Bale saith, consumed 39 princes, 148 earls, 235 barons, 14755 commons; worse then those ten persecutions, may justly doubt where is charity? *Obsecro vos, quales hi demum Christiani!* Are these Christians? I beseech you tell me. He that shall observe and see these things, may say to them as Cato to Cæsar, *credo, quæ de inferis dicuntur, falsa existimas;* sure I think thou art of opinion there is neither heaven nor hell. Let them pretend religion, zeal, make what shewes they will, give almes, peace-makers, frequent sermons; if we may guess at the tree by the fruit, they are no better then hypocrites, epicures, atheists; with the [c] *fool, in their hearts they say there is no God.* 'Tis no marvel then, if being so uncharitable, hard-hearted as we are, we have so frequent and so many discontents, such melancholy fits, so many bitter pangs, mutuall discords, all in a combustion, often complaints, so common grievances, generall mischiefes, *si tantæ in terris tragœdiæ, quibus labefactatur et misere laceratur humanum genus*, so many pestilences, wars, uproares, losses, deluges, fires, inundations, God's vengeance and all the plagues of Egypt, come not upon us, since we are so currish one towards another, so respectless of God, and our neighbours, and by our crying sinnes pull these miseries upon our own heads. Nay more, 'tis justly to be

[a] Gallienus, in Treb. Pollio, lacera, occide, meâ mente irascere. Rabie jecur incendente feruntur Præcipites. Vopiscus, of Aurelian. Tantum fudit sanguinis, quantum quis vini potavit. [b] Evangelii tubam belli tubam faciunt; in pulpitis pacem, in colloquiis bellum suadent. [c] Psal. 14. 1.

y o that he had gone though all the nations.

feared, which [a] Josephus once said of his countrymen Jewes, *If the Romans had not come, when they did, to sack their city, surely it had been swallowed up with some earthquake, deluge, or fired from heaven, as Sodome and Gomorrah: their desperate malice, wickedness and peevishness was such.* 'Tis to be suspected, if we continue these wretched waies, we may look for the like heavy visitations to come upon us. If we had any sense or feeling of these things, surely we should not go on as we do, in such irregular courses, practise all manner of impieties; our whole carriage would not be so averse from God. If a man would but consider, when he is in the midst and full career of such prodigious and uncharitable actions, how displeasing they are in Gods sight, how noxious to himself, as Salomon told Joab (1 King. 2); *the Lord shall bring this bloud upon their heads* (Prov. 1. 27): *sudden desolation and destruction shall come, like a whirlwinde, upon them: affliction, anguish, the reward of his hand shall be given him* (Isa. 3. 11, &c.): *they shall fall into the pit they have digged for others:* and when they are scraping, tyrannizing, getting, wallowing in their wealth,—*this night, O fool, I will take away thy soul*—what a severe account they must make; and how [b] gratious on the other side a charitable man is in Gods eys; *haurit sibi gratiam:* (Matth. 5. 7.) *blessed are the mercifull; for they shall obtain mercy:* he that lendeth to the *poor, gives to God;* and how it shall be restored to them again; *how, by their patience and long suffering, they shall heap coals on their enemies heads* (Rom. 12); *and he that followeth after righteousness and mercy, shall finde righteousness and glory;*—surely they would check their desires, curb in their unnaturall, inordinate affections, agree amongst themselves, abstain from doing evill, amend their lives, and learn to do well. *Behold, how comely and good a thing it is for brethren to live together in* [c] *union: it is like the pretious ointment,* &c. How odious to contend one with the other! [d] *Miseri quid luctatiunculis hisce volumus? ecce mors supra caput est, et supremum illud tribunal, ubi et dicta et facta nostra examinanda sunt. Sapiamus!* Why do we contend and vex one another? behold, death is over our heads; and we must shortly give an account of all our uncharitable words and actions: think upon it; and be wise!

[a] De bello Judaïco, lib. 6. c. 16. Puto, si Romani contra nos venire tardâssent, aut hiatu terræ devorandam fuisse civitatem, aut diluvio perituram, aut fulmina, ut Sodoma, cum incendio passuram, ob desperatum populi, &c. [b] Benefacit animæ suæ vir misericors. [c] Concordiâ magnæ res crescunt; discordiâ maximæ dilabuntur. [d] Lipsius.

to be no better then a fool or an idiot, that doth not acknowledge Love to be a great god.

[a] Cui in manu sit quem esse dementem velit
Quem sapere, quem in morbum injici, &c.

that can make sick and cure whom he list. Homer and Stesichorus were both made blind, if you will believe [b] Leon Hebræus, for speaking against his godhead: and though Aristophanes degrade him, and say that he was [c] scornefully rejected from the councell of the gods, had his wings clipped besides, that he might come no more amongst them, and, to his farther disgrace, banished heaven for ever, and confined to dwell on earth, yet he is of that [d] power, majesty, omnipotency, and dominion, that no creature can withstand him.

[e] Imperat Cupido etiam diis pro arbitrio,
Et ipsum arcere ne armipotens potest Jupiter.

He is more then quarter master with the gods,

——— Tenet
Thetide æquor, umbras Æaco, cœlum Jove:

and hath not so much possession, as dominion. Jupiter himself was turned into a satyre, shepheard, a bull, a swan, a golden showre, and what not, for love; that, as [f] Lucian's Juno right well objected to him, *ludus amoris tu es*, thou art Cupids wherlegigg: how did he insult over all the other gods, Mars, Neptune, Pan, Mercury, Bacchus, and the rest? [g] Lucian brings in Jupiter complaining of Cupid, that he could not be quiet for him; and the Moon lamenting that she was so impotently besotted on Endymion; even Venus her self confessing as much, how rudely and in what sort her own son Cupid had used her, being his [h] mother, *now drawing her to mount Ida, for the love of that Trojan Anchises, now to Libanus for that Assyrian youths sake. And, although she threatned to break his bow and arrowes, to clip his wings,* [i] *and whipped him besides on the bare buttocks with her pantophle, yet all would not serve; he was too headstrong and unruly.* That monster conquering Hercules was tamed by him:

Quem non mille feræ, quem non Stheneleïus hostis,
Nec potuit Juno vincere, vicit Amor.

[a] Selden. proleg. 3. cap. de diis Syris. [b] Dial. 3. [c] A concilio Deorum rejectus, et, ad majorem ejus ignominiam, &c. [d] Fulmine concitatior. [e] Sophocles. [f] Tom. 4. [g] Dial. deorum, Tom. 3. [h] Quippe matrem ipsius quibus modis me afficit, nunc in Idam adigens Anchisæ caussâ, &c. [i] Jampridem et plagas ipsi in nates incussi sandalio.

Whom neither beasts nor enemies could tame,
Nor Juno's might subdue, Love quell'd the same.

Your bravest souldiers and most generous spirits are enervated with it, [a]*ubi muliebribus blanditiis permittunt se, et inquinantur amplexibus.* Apollo, that took upon him to cure all diseases, [b]could not help himself of this; and therefore [c]Socrates calls Love a tyrant, and brings him triumphing in a chariot, whom Petrarche imitates in his triumph of Love, and Fracastorius in an elegant poem expresseth at large, Cupid riding, Mars and Apollo following his chariot, Psyche weeping, &c.

In vegetall creatures what soveraignty Love hath, by many pregnant proofs and familiar examples may be proved, especially of palm trees, which are both he and she, and express not a sympathy but a love-passion, as by many observations hath been confirmed.

[d]Vivunt in venerem frondes, omnisque vicissim
Felix arbor amat, nutant et mutua palmæ
Fœdera, populeo suspirat populus ictu,
Et Platano Platanus, alnoque assibilat alnus.

Constantine de Agric. *lib.* 10. *cap.* 4. gives an instance out of Florentius his Georgicks, of a palm tree that loved most fervently, [e]*and would not be comforted untill such time her love applied himself unto her; you might see the two trees bend, and of their own accords stretch out their boughs to embrace and kiss each other: they will give manifest signs of mutuall love.* Ammianus Marcellinus *lib.* 24. reports that they marry one another, and fall in love if they grow in sight; and when the winde brings the smell to them, they are marvelously affected. Philostratus *in Imaginibus*, observes as much, and Galen *lib.* 6. *de locis affectis cap.* 5. they will be sick for love, ready to dye and pine away; which the husbandmen perceiving, saith [f]Constantine, *stroke many palms that grow together, and so stroking again the palm that is enamoured, they carry kisses from the one to the other:* or tying the leaves and branches of the one to the stem of the other, will make them both flourish and prosper a great deal better: [g]*which are enamoured, they can perceive by the bending of boughs, and inclination of their bodies.* If any man think

[a] Altopilus. fol. 79. [b] Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis. [c] Plutarch. in Amatorio. Dictator quo creato cessant reliqui magistratus. [d] Claudian. descrip. vener. aulæ. [e] Neque prius in iis desiderium cessat dum dejectus consoletur; videre enim est ipsam arborem incurvatam, ultro ramis ab utrisque vicissim ad osculum exporrectis. Manifesta dant mutui desiderii signa. [f] Multas palmas contingens quæ simul crescunt, rursusque ad amantem regrediens, eamque manu attingens, quasi osculum mutuo ministrare videtur, et expediti concubitus gratiam facit. [g] Quam vero ipsa desideret, affectu ramorum significat, et ad illam respicit; amantur, &c.

this which I say, to be a tale, let him read that story of two palm trees in Italy, the male growing at Brundusium, the female at Otranto (related by Jovianus Pontanus in an excellent poem, sometimes tutor to Alphonsus junior, king of Naples, his secretary of state, and a great philosopher), *which were barren, and so continued a long time,* till they came to see one another growing up higher, though many stadiums asunder. Pierius in his Hierogliphicks, and Melchior Guilandinus *Memb.* 3. *tract. de papyro,* cites this story of Pontanus for a truth. See more in Salmuth *Comment. in Pancirol. de Nova repert. Tit.* 1. *de novo orbe,* Mizaldus Arcanorum *lib.* 2. Sands Voyages, *lib.* 2. *fol.* 103. &c.

If such fury be in vegetalls, what shall we think of sensible creatures, how much more violent and apparent shall it be in them.

> [a] Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,
> Et genus æquoreum, pecudes, pictæque volucres
> In furias ignemque ruunt; amor omnibus idem.
>
> All kinde of creatures in the earth,
> And fishes of the sea,
> And painted birds do rage alike;
> This love bears equal sway.
>
> [b] Hic Deus et terras et maria alta domat.

Common experience and our sense will inform us, how violently brute beasts are carried away with this passion, horses above the rest,

> ——furor est insignis equarum.

[c] *Cupid, in* Lucian, *bids Venus his mother be of good cheer, for he was now familiar with lions, and oftentimes did get on their backs, hold them by the mane, and ride them about like horses, and they would fawn upon him with their tails.* Bulls, bears and boars are so furious in this kinde, they kill one another: but especially cocks, [d] lions, and harts, which are so fierce, that you may hear them fight half a mile off, saith [e] Turbervile, and many times kill each other, or compell them to abandon the rut, that they may remain masters in their places; *and when one hath driven his corrivall away, he raiseth his nose up into the ayr, and looks aloft, as though he gave thanks to nature,* which affords him such great delight. How birds

[a] Virg. 3. Georg. [b] Propertius. [c] Dial. deorum. Confide, mater, leonibus ipsis familiaris jam factus sum, et sæpe conscendi eorum terga et apprehendi jubas; equorum more insidens eos agito, et illi mihi caudis adblandiuntur. [d] Leones præ amore furunt. Plin. l. 8. c. 16. Arist. l. 6. hist. animal. [e] Cap. 17. of his book of hunting.

are affected in this kind, appears out of Aristotle; he will have them to sing *ob futuram venerem*, for joy, or in hope, of their venery which is to come.

> [a] Aeriæ primum volucres te, Diva, tuumque
> Significant initum, perculsæ corda tuâ vi.

Fishes pine away for love and wax lean, if [b] Gomesius's authority may be taken, and are rampant too, some of them: Peter Gellius, *lib.* 10. *de hist. animal.* tells wonders of a triton in Epirus: there was a well not far from the shore, where the country wenches fetched water, they, [c] tritons, *stupri causâ* would set upon them, and carry them to sea, and there drown them, if they would not yeeld; so love tyrannizeth in dumb creatures. Yet this is naturall, for one beast to dote upon another of the same kinde: but what strange fury is that, when a beast shall dote upon a man? Saxo Grammaticus *lib.* 10. *Dav. hist.* hath a story of a bear that loved a woman, kept her in his den a long time, and begot a son of her, out of whose loynes proceeded many northern kings: this is the originall, belike, of that common tale of Valentine and Orson: Ælian, Pliny, Peter Gellius are full of such relations. A peacock in Lucadia loved a maid, and when she died, the peacock pined. [d] *A dolphin loved a boy called Hernias, and when he died, the fish came upon land, and so perished.* The like addes Gellius *lib.* 10. *cap.* 22. out of Appion, *Ægypt. lib.* 15. a dolphin at Puteoli loved a child, would come often to him, let him get on his back, and carry him about, [e] *and when by sickness the child was taken away, the dolphin died.* [f] Every book is full (saith Busbequius, the emperors orator with the grand senior, not long since, *ep.* 3. *legat. Turc.*) *and yields such instances, to believe which I was alwaies afraid, least I should be thought to give credit to fables, untill I saw a lynx which I had from Assyria, so affected towards one of my men that it cannot be denied, but that he was in love with him. When my man was present, the beast would use many notable entisements, and pleasant motions, and when he was going, hold him back, and look after him when he was gone, very sad in his absence, but most jocund when he returned: and when my man went from me, the*

[a] Lucretius.
[b] De sale lib. 1. c. 21. Pisces ob amorem marcescunt, pallescunt, &c.
[c] Hauriendæ aquæ causa venientes ex insidiis a tritone comprehensæ, &c.
[d] Plin. l. 10. c. 5. quumque oborta tempestate periisset Hernias, in sicco piscis expiravit.
[e] Postquam puer morbo abiit, et ipse delphinus periit.
[f] Pleni sunt libri quibus feræ in homines inflammatæ fuerunt, in quibus ego quidem semper assensum sustinui, veritus ne fabulosa crederem; Donec vidi lyncem quem habui ab Assyria, sic affectum erga unum de meis hominibus, &c.

beast expressed his love with continuall sickness, and after he had pined away some few daies, died. Such another story he hath, of a crane of Majorca, that loved a Spaniard, that would walk any way with him, and in his absence seek about for him, make a noise that he might hear her, and knock at his dore, [a] *and when he took his last farewell, famished herself.* Such pretty prankes can love play with birds, fishes, beasts:

([b] Cœlestis ætheris, ponti, terræ claves habet Venus,
Solaque istorum omnium imperium obtinet.)

and if all be certain, that is credibly reported, with the spirits of the air, and divells of hell themselves, who are as much inamored and dote (if I may use that word) as any other creatures whatsoever. For if those stories be true, that are written of incubus and succubus, of nymphes, lascivious faunes, satyrs, and those heathen gods which were divels; those lascivious *telchines*, of whom the Platonists tell so many fables; or those familiar meetings in our daies, and company of witches and divels, there is some probability for it. I know that Biarmannus, Wierus *lib.* 3. *cap.* 19. *et* 24. and some others, stoutly deny it, that the divel hath any carnall copulation with women; that the divel takes no pleasure in such facts; they be meer phantasies, all such relations of incubi, succubi, lyes and tales; but Austin, *lib.* 15. *de civit. Dei* doth acknowledge it; Erastus de Lamiis, Jacobus Sprenger and his colleagues, &c. [c] Zanchius *cap.* 16. *lib.* 4. *de oper. Dei.* Dandinus in Arist. *de Animâ lib.* 2. *Text.* 29. *com.* 30. Bodin *lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. and Paracelsus (a great champion of this tenet amongst the rest), which give sundry peculiar instances, by many testimonies, proofs and confessions evince it. Hector Boethius in his Scottish history, hath three or four such examples, which Cardan confirmes out of him, *lib.* 16. *cap.* 43. of such as have had familiar company many years with them, and that in the habit of men and women. Philostratus, in his fourth book *de vita Apollonii*, hath a memorable instance in this kinde, which I may not omit, of one Menippus Lycius, a young man 25 years of age, that going betwixt Cenchreas and Corinth, met such a phantasm in the habit of a fair gentlewoman, which taking him by the hand, carried him home to her house, in the suburbs of Corinth, and told him she was a Phœnician by birth, and if he would tarry with her, [d] *he should hear her sing*

Keats' Lamia.

[a] Desiderium suum testatus post inediam aliquot dierum interiit. [b] Orpheus hymno Ven. [c] Qui hæc in atræ bilis aut imaginationis vim referre conati sunt, nihil faciunt. [d] Cantantem audies et vinum bibes, quale antea nunquam bibisti; te rivalis turbabit nullus; pulchra autem pulchro contente vivam, et moriar.

and play, and drink such wine as never any drank, and no man should molest him; but she being fair and lovely, would live and die with him, that was fair and lovely to behold. The yong man, a philosopher, otherwise staid and discreet, able to moderate his passions, though not this of love, tarried with her a while to his great content, and at last married her, to whose wedding, amongst other guests, came Apollonius; who, by some probable conjectures, found her out to be a serpent, a lamia; and that all her furniture was like Tantalus gold, described by Homer, no substance, but meer illusions. When she saw herself descried, she wept, and desired Apollonius to be silent, but he would not be moved, and thereupon she, plate, house, and all that was in it, vanished in an instant: [a] *many thousands took notice of this fact, for it was done in the midst of Greece.* Sabine, in his comment on the 10th of Ovids Metamorphosis, at the tale of Orpheus, telleth us of a gentleman of Bavaria, that, for many months together, bewailed the loss of his dear wife; at length the divel in her habit came and comforted him; and told him, because he was so importunate for her, that she would come and live with him again, on that condition he would be new married, never swear and blaspheme as he used formerly to do; for if he did, she should be gone: [b] *he vowed it, married, and lived with her; she brought him children, and governed his house, but was still pale and sad, and so continued, till one day falling out with him, he fell a swearing; she vanished thereupon, and was never after seen.* [c] *This I have heard,* saith Sabine, *from persons of good credit, which told me, that the duke of Bavaria did tell it for a certainty, to the duke of Saxony.* One more I will relate out of Florilegus, *ad annum* 1058. an honest historian of our nation; because he telleth it so confidently, as a thing, in those daies talked of, all over Europe: A yong gentleman of Rome, the same day that he was married, after dinner with the bride and his friends, went a walking into the fields; and towards evening, to the tennis-court to recreate himself; whilst he played, he put his ring upon the finger of *Venus statua,* which was thereby, made in brass; after he had sufficiently played, and now made an end of his sport, he came to fetch his ring, but Venus had bowed her finger in, and he could not get it off. Whereupon loath to make his company tarry at present, there left it, intending to fetch it the next day, or at some more convenient time, went thence to supper, and so to bed. In the night, when he should

[a] Multi factum hoc cognovêre, quod in media Græcia gestum sit. [b] Rem curans domesticam, ut ante, peperit aliquot liberos, semper tamen tristis et pallida. [c] Hæc audivi a multis fide dignis, qui asseverabant ducem Bavariæ eadem retulisse duci Saxoniæ pro veris.

come to perform those nuptial rites, Venus steps between him and his wife, (unseen or felt of her) and told him that she was his wife, that he had betrothed himself unto her by that ring, which he put upon her finger: she troubled him for some following nights. He not knowing how to help himself, made his moan to one Palumbus, a learned magician in those daies, who gave him a letter, and bid him at such a time of the night, in such a cross way, at the towns end, where old Saturn would pass by, with his associates, in procession, as commonly he did, deliver that script, with his own hands to Saturn himself: the yong man of a bold spirit, accordingly did it; and when the old fiend had read it, he called Venus to him, who rode before him, and commanded her to deliver his ring, which forthwith she did; and so the gentleman was freed. Many such stories I finde in severall [a] authors, to confirm this which I have said; as that more notable amongst the rest, of Philinium and Machates in [b] Phlegon's Tract *de rebus mirabilibus;* and though many be against it, yet I, for my part, will subscribe to Lactantius *lib.* 14. *cap.* 15. [c] *God sent angels to the tuition of men; but whilest they lived amongst us, that mischievous all-commander of the earth, and hot in lust, enticed them by little and little, to this vice, and defiled them with the company of women:* and Anaxagoras *de resurrect.* [d] *Many of those spiritual bodies, overcome by the love of maids, and lust, failed, of whom those were born, we call gyants.* Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Sulpitius Severus, Eusebius, &c. to this sense, make a twofold fall of angels, one from the beginning of the world; another a little before the deluge, as Moses teacheth us, [e] openly professing, that these genii can beget, and have carnal copulation with women. At Japan in the East Indies, at this present (if we may believe the relation of [f] travellers) there is an idol called Teuchedy, to whom, one of the fairest virgins in the country, is monthly brought, and left in a private room, in the *fotoqui*, or church, where she sits alone to be defloured. At certain times, [g] the Teuchedy (which is thought to be the divel) appears to her, and knoweth her carnally. Every month, a fair virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, no man can tell. In that goodly temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon, there was a fair chappel, [h] saith Herodotus, an eye-witness of it, in which was *splendide stratus lectus et apposita*

[a] Fabula Damarati et Aristonis in Herodoto lib. 6. Erato. [b] Interpret. Mercur. [c] Deus Angelos misit ad tutelam cultumque generis humani; sed illos cum hominibus commorantes, dominator ille terræ salacissimus paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit. [d] Quidam ex illo capti sunt amore virginum, et libidine victi defecerunt, ex quibus gigantes qui vocantur, nati sunt. [e] Pererius in Gen. lib. 8. c. 6. ver. 1. Zanc. &c. [f] Purchas Hackl. posth. par. 1. lib. 4. cap. 1. S. 7. [g] In Clio. [h] Deus ipse hoc cubili requiescens.

mensa aurea, a brave bed, a table of gold, &c. into which no creature came but one only woman, which their god made choice of, as the Chaldean priests told him; and that their god lay with her himself, as at Thebes in Ægypt was the like done of old. So that you see this is no news, the divels themselves, or their jugling priests, have plaid such pranks in all ages. Many divines stifly contradict this; but I will conclude with [a] Lipsius, that since *examples, testimonies and confessions of those unhappy women are so manifest on the other side, and many, even in this our town of Lovan, that it is likely to be so.* [b] *One thing I will add, that I suppose, that in no age past, (I know not by what destiny of this unhappy time) have there ever appeared, or shewed themselves, so many lecherous divels, satyrs, and genii, as in this of ours, as appears by the daily narrations, and judicial sentences upon record.* Read more of this question in Plutarch *vit. Numæ,* Austin *de civ. Dei. lib.* 15. Wierus *lib.* 3. *de præstig. Dæm.* Giraldus Cambrensis *itinerar. Camb. lib.* 1. Malleus *malefic. quæst.* 5. *part.* 1. Jacobus Reussus *lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. *fol.* 54. Godelman. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. Erastus, Valesius *de sacra philo. cap.* 40. John Nider Fornicar. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. Stroz. Cicogna. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. Delrio, Lipsius Bodine *dæmonol. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. Pererius *in Gen. lib.* 8. *in* 6. *cap. ver.* 2. King James, &c.

SUBSECT. II.

How love tyrannizeth over men. Love, or Heroicall Melancholy, his definition; part affected.

YOU have heard how this tyrant love rageth with brute beasts and spirits; now let us consider what passions it causeth amongst men.

[c] *Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* How it tickles the hearts of mortal men.

Horresco referens,———

I am almost afraid to relate, amazed, [d] and ashamed, it hath wrought such stupend and prodigious effects; such foul offences. Love indeed (I may not deny) first united provinces, built cities, and by a perpetual generation makes and preserves

[a] Physiologiæ Stoicorum l. 1. cap. 20. Si spiritus unde, semen iis, &c. at exempla turbant nos; mulierum quotidianæ confessiones de mistione omnes asserunt, et sunt in hac urbe Lovanio exempla. [b] Unum dixero, non opinari me ullo retro ævo tantam copiam Satyrorum, et salacium istorum Geniorum se osstendisse, quantum nunc quotidianæ narrationes, et judiciales sententiæ proferunt. [c] Virg.

[d] For it is a shame to speak of those things which are done of them in secret, Eph. 5. 12.

mankind, propagates the church; but if it rage, it is no more love, but burning lust; a disease, phrensie, madness, hell. [a] *Est orcus ille, vis est immedicabilis, est rabies insana;* 'tis no vertuous habit this, but a vehement perturbation of the mind, a monster of nature, wit, and art, as Alexis in [b] Athenæus sets it out, *viriliter audax, muliebriter timidum, furore præceps, labore infractum, mel felleum, blanda percussio,* &c. It subverts kingdoms, overthrows cities, towns, families: mars, corrupts, and makes a massacre of men; thunder and lightning, wars, fires, plagues, have not done that mischief to mankind, as this burning lust, this brutish passion. Let Sodome and Gomorrah, Troy, (which Dares Phrygius, and Dictis Cretensis will make good) and I know not how many cities bear record,——*et fuit ante Helenam,* &c. all succeeding ages will subscribe: Ione of Naples in Italy, Fredegunde and Brunhalt in France, all histories are full of these basilisks. Besides those daily monomachies, murders, effusion of blood, rapes, riot and immoderate expence, to satisfie their lusts; beggery, shame, loss, torture, punishment, disgrace, loathsome diseases that proceed from thence, worse then calentures and pestilent feavers; those often gouts, pox, *arthritis,* palsies, cramps, *sciatica,* convulsions, aches, combustions, &c. which torment the body; that feral melancholy which crucifies the soul in this life, and everlastingly torments in the world to come.

Notwithstanding they know these, and many such miseries, threats, tortures will surely come upon them; rewards, exhortations, *e contra;* yet either out of their own weakness, a depraved nature, or loves tyranny, which so furiously rageth, they suffer themselves to be led like an oxe to the slaughter; *(facilis descensus averni)* they go down headlong to their own perdition; they will commit folly with beasts, men *leaving the natural use of women,* as [c] Paul saith, *burned in lust one towards another, and man with man wrought filthiness.*

Semiramis equo, Pasiphae tauro, Aristo Ephesius asinæ se commiscuit; Fulvius equæ, alii canibus, capris, &c. *unde monstra nascuntur aliquando, centauri, sylvani, et ad terrorem hominum prodigiosa spectra: nec cum brutis, sed ipsis hominibus rem habent, quod peccatum Sodomiæ vulgo dicitur; et frequens olim vitium apud Orientales illos fuit, Græcos nimirum, Italos, Afros, Asianos:* [d] *Hercules Hylam habuit, Polycletum, Dionem, Perithoonta, Abderum et Phryga; alii et Euristium ab Hercule amatum tradunt. Socrates*

[a] Plutarch. amator. lib. [b] Lib. 13. [c] Rom. 1. 27. [d] Lilius Giraldus, vita ejus.

pulchrorum adolescentum causa frequens gymnasium adibat, flagitiosoque spectaculo pascebat oculos, quod et Philebus et Phædon rivales, Charmides et [a] *reliqui Platonis Dialogi, satis superque testatum faciunt: quod vero Alcibiades de eodem Socrate loquatur, lubens conticesco, sed et abhorreo; tantum incitamentum præbet libidini. At hunc perstrinxit Theodoretus lib. de curat. græc. affect. cap. ultimo. Quin et ipse Plato suum demiratur Agathonem, Xenophon Cliniam, Virgilius Alexin, Anacreon Bathyllum; Quod autem de Nerone, Claudio, cæterorumque portentosâ libidine memoriæ proditum, mallem, a Petronio, Suetonio, cæterisque petatis, quando omnem fidem excedat, quam a me expectetis; sed vetera querimur.* [b] *Apud Asianos, Turcas, Italos, nunquam frequentius hoc quam hodierno die vitium; Diana Romanorum Sodomia; officinæ horum alicubi apud Turcas,*

——qui saxis semina mandant——

arenas arantes; et frequentes querelæ, etiam inter ipsos conjuges hac de re, quæ virorum concubitum illicitum calceo in oppositam partem verso magistratui indicant; *nullum apud Italos familiare magis peccatum, qui et post* [c] *Lucianum et* [d] *Tatium, scriptis voluminibus defendunt. Johannes de la Casa, Beventinus Episcopus, divinum opus vocat, suave scelus, adeoque jactat se non aliâ usum venere. Nihil usitatius apud monachos, Cardinales, sacrificulos, etiam* [e] *furor hic ad mortem, ad insaniam.* [f] *Angelus Politianus, ob pueri amorem, violentas sibi manus injecit. Et horrendum sane dictu, quantum apud nos patrum memoriâ, scelus detestandum hoc sævierit! Quum enim* Anno 1538. prudentissimus Rex Henricus Octavus cucullatorum cœnobia, et sacrificorum collegia, votariorum, per venerabiles legum Doctores Thomam Leum, Richardum Laytonum visitari fecerat, &c. tanto numero reperti sunt apud eos scortatores, cinædi, ganeones, pædicones, puerarii, pæderastæ, Sodomitæ, ([g] *Balei verbis utor*) Ganimedes, &c. ut in unoquoque eorum novam credideris Gomorrham. *Sed vide, si lubet, eorundem catalogum apud eundem* Baleum; Puellæ (inquit) in lectis dormire non poterant ob fratres necromanticos. *Hæc si apud votarios, monachos, sanctos scilicet homunciones, quid in foro, quid in aulâ factum suspiceris? quid apud nobiles, quid inter fornices, quam non fœditatem, quam non spurcitiem? Sileo interim*

[a] Pueros amare solis Philosophis relinquendum vult Lucianus dial. Amorum. [b] Busbequius. [c] Lucianus Charidemo. [d] Achilles Tatius lib. 2. [e] Non est hæc mentula demens. Mart. [f] Jovius Musc. [g] Præfat. lectori lib. de vitis pontif.

As Seneca lived with his Paulina, Abraham and Sara, Orpheus and Euridice, Arria and Pœtus, Artemisia and Mausolus, Rubenius Celer, that would needs have it ingraven on his tomb, he had led his life with Ennea his dear wife, forty three years eight moneths, and never fell out. There is no pleasure in this world comparable to it; 'tis *summum mortalitatis bonum* ——[a] *hominum divúmque voluptas, Alma Venus*——*latet enim in muliere aliquid majus potentiusque omnibus aliis humanis voluptatibus*, as [b] one holds, there's something in a woman beyond all humane delight; a magnetique vertue, a charming quality, an occult and powerful motive. The husband rules her as head, but she again commands his heart, he is her servant, she his onely joy and content: no happiness is like unto it, no love so great as this of man and wife, no such comfort, as [c] *placens uxor*, a sweet wife:

[d] Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major.

when they love at last, as fresh as they did at first,

[e] Charaque charo consenescit conjugi,

as Homer brings Paris kissing Helena, after they had been married ten years, protesting withall, that he loved her as dear, as he did the first hour he was betrothed. And in their old age, when they make much of one another, saying as he did to his wife in the poet,

[f] Uxor vivamus quod viximus, et moriamur,
Servantes nomen sumpsimus in thalamo;
Nec ferat ulla dies ut commutemur in ævo,
Quin tibi sim juvenis, tuque puella mihi.

Dear wife, let's live in love, and dye together,
As hitherto we have in all good will:
Let no day change or alter our affections,
But let's be young to one another still.

Such should conjugall love be, still the same, and as they are one flesh, so should they be of one mind, as in an aristocratical government, one consent, [g] Geryon-like, *coalescere in unum*, have one heart in two bodies, will and nill the same. A good wife, according to Plutarch, should be as a looking-glass to represent her husbands face and passion: If he be pleasant, she should be merry; if he laugh she should smile; if he look sad, she should participate of his sorrow, and bear a part with

[a] Lucretius. [b] Fonseca. [c] Hor. [d] Propert. [e] Simonides. græc.
[f] Ausonius. [g] Geryon amicitiæ symbolum.

him, and so they should continue in mutual love one towards another.

[a] Et me ab amore tuo deducet nulla senectus,
Sive ego Tythonus, sive ego Nestor ero.

No age shall part my love from thee, sweet wife,
Though I live Nestor or Tithonus life.

And she again to him, as the [b] bride saluted the bridegrome of old in Rome, *Ubi tu Caius, ego semper Caia*, be thou still Caius, I'll be Caia.

'Tis an happy state this indeed, when the fountain is blessed (saith Solomon, *Prov.* 5. 18) *and he rejoyceth with the wife of his youth, and she is to him as the loving hinde, and pleasant roe, and he delights in her continually.* But this love of ours is immoderate, inordinate, and not to be comprehended in any bounds. It will not contain it self within the union of marriage, or apply to one object, but is a wandering, extravagant, a domineering, a boundless, an irrefragable, a destructive passion; sometimes this burning lust rageth after marriage, and then is properly called *jealousie*; sometimes before, and then it is called *heroicall* melancholy; it extends sometimes to corrivalls, &c. begets rapes, incests, murders; *Marcus Antonius compressit Faustinam sororem, Caracalla Juliam novercam, Nero matrem, Caligula sorores Cyneras Mirrham filiam, &c.* But it is confined within no terms of bloud, years, sex, or whatsoever else. Some furiously rage before they come to discretion or age. [c] Quartilla in Petronius never remembred she was a maid: and the wife of Bath in Chaucer, cracks,

Since I was twelve years old, believe,
Husbands at kirk door had I five.

[d] Aretine's Lucretia sold her maiden-head a thousand times, before she was twenty-four years old, *plus millies vendideram virginitatem, &c. neque te celabo, non deerant qui ut integram ambirent.* Rahab, that harlot, began to be a professed quean at ten years of age, and was but fifteen when she hid the spies, as [e] Hugh Broughton proves, to whom Serrarius the Jesuite, *quæst. 6. in cap. 2. Josue*, subscribes. Generally women begin *pubescere* as they call it, or *catullire*, as Julius Pollux cites, *lib. 2. cap. 3. onomast.* out of Aristophanes, [f] at fourteen years

[a] Propert. l. 2. [b] Plutarch. c. 30. Rom. hist. [c] Junonem habeam iratam, si unquam meminerim me virginem fuisse. Infans enim paribus inquinata sum, et subinde, majoribus me applicui, donec ad ætatem perveni; ut Milo vitulum, &c. [d] Forno didasc. dial. lat. interp. Casp. Barthio ex Ital. [e] Angelico scriptur. consentu. [f] Epictetus, c. 42. mulieres statim ab anno 14. movere incipiunt, &c. attrectari se sinunt et exponunt. Levinus Lemnius.

old, then they do offer themselves, and some plainly rage. [a] Leo Afer saith, that in Africk a man shall scarce finde a maid at fourteen years of age, they are so forward; and many amongst us, after they come into the teens, do not live without husbands, but linger. What pranks in this kinde the middle age have played, is not to be recorded.

Si mihi sint centum linguæ, sint oraque centum,

no tongue can sufficiently declare; every story is full of men and womens unsatiable lust, Nero's, Heliogabali, Bonosi, &c. [b] *Cœlius Amphilenum, sed Quintius Amphelinam depereunt,* &c. They neigh after other mens wives (as Jeremy *cap.* 5. 8. complaineth) like fed horses, or range like town buls, *raptores virginum et viduarum,* as many of our great ones do. Solomons wisdom was extinguished in this fire of lust; Sampsons strength enervated; piety in Lots daughters quite forgot; gravity of priesthood in Helies sons; reverend old age in the elders that would violate Susanna; filiall duty in Absolon to his stepmother; brotherly love in Ammon towards his sister. Humane, divine laws, precepts, exhortations, fear of God and men, fair, foul means, fame, fortunes, shame, disgrace, honor cannot oppose, stave off, or withstand the fury of it, *omnia vincit amor, &c.* No cord, nor cable can so forcibly draw, or hold so fast, as love can do with a twin'd thread. The scorching beams of the æquinoctiall; or extremity of cold within the circle artique, where the very seas are frozen, cold or torrid zone cannot avoid, or expel this heat, fury and rage of mortall men.

[c] Quo fugis, ah demens, nulla est fuga, tù licet usque
Ad Tanaim fugias, usque sequetur amor.

Of women's unnatural, [d] unsatiable lust, what country, what village doth not complain? Mother and daughter sometimes dote on the same man; father and son, master and servant, on one woman.

——Sed amor, sed ineffrenata libido,
Quid castum in terris intentatumque reliquit?

What breach of vows and oaths, fury, dotage, madness, might I reckon up? Yet this is more tolerable in youth, and such as are still in their hot blood; but for an old fool to dote, to see an old leacher, what more odious, what can be more absurd? and yet what so common? Who so furious?

[a] L. 3. fol. 126. [b] Catullus. [c] Euripides. [d] De mulierum inexhausta libidine luxuque insatiabili omnes æque regiones conqueri posse existimo. Steph.

[a] Amare ea ætate si occiperint, multo insaniunt acrius;

Some dote then, more then ever they did in their youth. How many decrepit, hoary, harsh, writhen, bursten-bellied, crooked, toothless, bald, blear-eyed, impotent, rotten old men shall you see flickering still, in every place? One gets him a young wife, another a curtisan; and when he can scarce lift his leg over a sill, and hath one foot already in Charon's boat, when he hath the trembling in his joynts, the gout in his feet, a perpetual rhume in his head, *a continuate cough,* [b] *his sight fails him, thick of hearing, his breath stinks,* all his moisture is dried up and gone, may not spit from him, a very child again, that cannot dress himself, or cut his own meat; yet he will be dreaming of, and honing after wenches; what can be more unseemly? Worse it is in women then in men, when she is *ætate declivis, diu vidua, mater olim, parum decore matrimonium sequi videtur,* an old widdow, a mother so long since ([c] in Plinies opinion) she doth very unseemly seek to marry; yet whilst she is [d] so old a crone, a beldam, she can neither see, nor hear, go nor stand, a meer [e] karcass, a witch, and scarce feel; she catterwauls, and must have a stallion, a champion; she must and will marry again, and betroth herself to some young man, [f] that hates to look on her, but for her goods; abhors the sight of her, to the prejudice of her good name, her own undoing, grief of friends, and ruin of her children.

But to enlarge or illustrate this power and effects of love, is to set a candle in the sun. [g] It rageth with all sorts and conditions of men; yet is most evident amongst such as are yong and lusty, in the flowre of their years, nobly descended, high fed; such as live idly, and at ease; and for that cause (which our divines call burning lust) this [h] *ferinus insanus amor,* this mad and beastly passion, as I have said, is named by our physicians *heroicall* love, and a more honorable title put upon it, *amor nobilis,* as [i] Savanarola stiles it, because noble men and women make a common practise of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it. Avicenna *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1. *tract.* 4. *cap.* 23, calleth this passion *ilishi,* and defines it [k] *to be a disease or*

[a] Plautus. [b] Oculi caligant, aures graviter audiunt, capilli fluunt, cutis arescit, flatus olet, tussis, &c. Cyprian. [c] Lib. 8. epist. Ruffinus. [d] Hiatque turpis inter aridas nates podex. [e] Cadaverosa adeo ut ab inferis reversa videri possit, vult adhuc catullire. [f] Nam et matrimoniis est despectum senium. Æneas Silvius. [g] Quid toto terrarum orbe communius? quæ civitas, quod oppidum, quæ familia vacat amatorum exemplis? Æneas Silvius. Quis trigesimum annum natus nullum amoris causa peregit insigne facinus? ego de me facio conjecturam, quem amor in mille pericula misit. [h] Forestus. Plato. [i] Pract. major. Tract. 6. cap. 1. Rub. 11. de ægrit. cap. quod his multum contingat. [k] Hæc ægritudo est solicitudo melancholica in qua homo applicat sibi continuam cogitationem super pulchritudine ipsius quam amat, gestuum, morum.

melancholy vexation, or anguish of minde; in which a man continually meditates of the beauty, gesture, manners of his mistris, and troubles himself about it; desiring (as Savanarola adds) with all intentions and eagerness of minde, *to compass or enjoy her,* [a] *as commonly hunters trouble themselves about their sports; the covetous, about their gold and goods; so is he tormented still about his mistris.* Arnoldus Villanovanus in his book of heroicall love defines it, [b] *a continual cogitation of that which he desires; with a confidence or hope of compassing it;* which definition his commentator cavils at. For continual cogitation is not the *genus*, but a symptome of love; we continually think of that which we hate and abhor, as well as that which we love; and many things we covet and desire, without all hope of attaining. Carolus a Lorme, in his questions, makes a doubt, *an amor sit morbus*, whether this heroicall love be a disease: Julius Pollux *onomast. lib. 6. cap. 44.* determines it; they that are in love are likewise [c] sick; *lascivus, salax, lasciviens, et qui in venerem furit, vere est ægrotus.* Arnoldus will have it improperly so called, and a malady rather of the body, then minde. Tully in his *Tusculanes* defines it a furious disease of the minde; Plato madness it self; Ficinus his *Commentator, cap.* 12. a species of madness, *for many have run mad for women, Esdr.* 4. 26. but [d] Rhases *a melancholy passion;* and most physicians make it a species, or kinde of melancholy (as will appear by the symptomes) and treat of it apart: whom I mean to imitate, and to discuss it in all his kinds; to examine his several causes; to shew his symptomes, indications, prognosticks, effect; that so it may be with more facility cured.

The part affected in the mean time, as [e] Arnoldus supposeth, *is the former part of the head, for want of moisture;* which his Commentator rejects. Langius *med. epist. lib. 1. cap. 24.* will have this passion sited in the liver, and to keep residence in the heart; [f] *to proceed from the eyes, so carried by our spirits, and kindled with imagination, in the liver and heart; cogit amare jecur,* as the saying is, *Medium ferit per epar,* as Cupid in Anacreon. For some such cause, belike, [g] Homer fains Titius liver (who was enamored on Latona) to he still gnawed by two vultures, day and night in hell, [h] *for*

[a] Animi forte accidens quo quis rem habere nimia aviditate concupiscit, ut ludos venatores, aurum et opes avari. [b] Assidua cogitatio super rem desideratam cum confidentia obtinendi, ut spe apprehensum delectabile, &c. [c] Morbus corporis potius quam animi. [d] Amor est passio melancholica. [e] Ob calefactionem spirituum pars anterior capitis laborat ob consumptionem humiditatis. [f] Affectus animi concupiscibilis e desiderio rei amatæ per oculos, in mente concepto, spiritus in corde et jecore incendens. [g] Odyss. et Metamor. 4. Ovid. [h] Quod talem carnificinam in adolescentum visceribus amor faciat inexplebilis.

that young mens bowels thus enamoured, are so continually tormented by love. Gordonius cap. 2. part 2, [a] *will have the testicles an immediate subject or cause, the liver an antecedent.* Fracastorius agrees in this with Gordonius, *inde primitus imaginatio venerea, erectio, &c. titillatissimam partem vocat, ita ut nisi extruso semine gestiens voluptas non cessat, nec assidua veneris recordatio, addit Guastavinius Comment. 4. Sect. prob. 27. Arist.* But [b] properly it is a passion of the brain, as all other melancholy, by reason of corrupt imagination; and so doth Jason Pratensis *c.* 19. *de morb. cerebri,* (who writes copiously of this Erotical love) place and reckon it amongst the affections of the brain. [c] Melancthon *de animâ* confutes those that make the liver a part affected, and Guianerius *Tract.* 15. *cap.* 13. *et* 17. though many put all the affections in the heart, refers it to the brain. Ficinus *cap.* 7. *in Convivium Platonis, will have the blood to be the part affected.* Jo. Frietagius *cap.* 14. *noct. med.* supposeth all four affected; heart, liver, brain, blood; but the major part concur upon the brain, [d] 'tis *imaginatio læsa;* and both imagination and reason are misaffected; because of his corrupt judgement, and continuall meditation of that which he desires, he may truly be said to be melancholy. If it be violent, or his disease inveterate, as I have determined in the precedent partitions, both imagination and reason are misaffected, first one, then the other.

MEMB. II. SUBSECT. I.

Causes of Heroicall love, Temperature, full Diet, Idleness, Place, Climate, &c.

OF all causes the remotest are stars. [e] Ficinus *cap.* 19. saith they are most prone to this burning lust, that have Venus in Leo in their Horoscope, when the Moon and Venus be mutually aspected, or such as be of Venus complexion. [f] Plutarch interprets astrologically that tale, of Mars and Venus, *in whose genitures* ♂ *and* ♀ *are in conjunction,* they are com-

[a] Testiculi quoad causam conjunctam, epar antecedentem, possunt esse subjectum. [b] Proprie passio cerebri est ob corruptam imaginationem. [c] Cap. de affectibus. [d] Est corruptio imaginativæ et æstimativæ facultatis, ob formam fortiter affixam, corruptumque judicium, ut semper de eo cogitet, ideoque recte melancholicus appellatur. Concupiscentia vehemens ex corrupto judicio æstimativæ virtutis. [e] Comment. in convivium Platonis. Irretiuntur cito quibus nascentibus Venus fuerit in Leone, vel Luna venerem vehementer aspexerit, et qui eadem complexione sunt præditi. [f] Plerumque amatores sunt; et si fœminæ, meretrices, l. de audiend.

monly lascivious, and if women, queans; *as the good wife of Bath confessed in Chaucer:*

> I followed ave mine inclination,
> By vertue of my constellation.

But of all those astrological aphorisms which I have ever read, that of Cardan is most memorable; for which howsoever he be bitterly censured by [a] Marinus Marcennus, a malapert frier, and some others (which [b] he himself suspected) yet me thinks it is free, down right, plain and ingenuous. In his [c] eighth *geniture* or example, he hath these words of himself. ♂ ♀ et ☿ in ☿ *dignitatibus assiduam mihi Venereorum cogitationem præstabunt, ita ut nunquam quiescam.* Et paulo post, *Cogitatio Venereorum me torquet perpetuo, et quam facto implere non licuit, aut fecisse potentem puduit, cogitatione assiduâ mentitus sum voluptatem.* Et alibi, *ob ☾ et ☿ dominium et radiorum mixtionem, profundum fuit ingenium, sed lascivum, egoque turpi libidini deditus et obscœnus.* So far Cardan of himself, *quod de se fatetur ideo* [d] *ut utilitatem adferat studiosis hujusce disciplinæ;* and for this he is traduced by Marcennus, when as in effect, he saith no more then what Gregory Nazianzen of old, to Chilo his scholar, *offerebant se mihi visendæ mulieres, quarum præcellenti elegantiâ et decore spectabili tentabatur meæ integritas pudicitiæ. Et quidem flagitium vitavi fornicationis, at munditiæ virginalis florem arcanâ cordis cogitatione fœdavi. Sed ad rem.* Aptiores ad masculinam venerem sunt quorum genesi Venus est in signo masculino, et in Saturni finibus aut oppositione, &c. Ptolomæus in quadripart. plura de his et specialia habet aphorismata, longo proculdubio usu confirmata, et ab experientiâ multâ perfecta, inquit commentator ejus Cardanus. *Tho. Campanella Astrologiæ lib. 4. cap. 8. articulis 4 et 5.* insaniam amatoriam remonstrantia, multa præ cæteris accumulat aphorismata, quæ qui volet, consulat. Chiromantici ex cingulo Veneris plerumque conjecturam faciunt, et monte Veneris, de quorum decretis, Taisnerum, Johan. de Indagine, Goclenium, ceterosque si lubet, inspicias. Physicians divine wholly from the temperature and complexion; phlegmatic persons, naturally melancholy, (according to Ficinus, *Comm. cap. 9.*) are seldomer taken then they, but once taken, they are never freed: though many are of opinion, flatuous or hypochondriacal melancholy, are most subject of all others, to this infirmity. Valescus

[a] Comment. in Genes. cap. 3.

[b] Et si in hoc parum a præclarâ infamiâ sultitiâque abero, vincit tamen amor veritatis. Commentar. in Ptolomæi quadripartitum.

[c] Edit. Basil. 1558. Cum

[d] Fol. 445. Basil. Edit.

assigns their strong imagination for a cause; Bodine abundance of wind; Gordonius of seed, and spirits, or atomi in the seed, which cause their violent and furious passions. Sanguine thence are soon caught, young folks most apt to love, and by their good wills, saith [a] Lucian, *would have a bout with every one they see:* the colts evil is common to all complexions. Theomestus, a young and lusty gallant, acknowledgeth (in the said author) all this to be verified in him; *I am so amorously given,* [b] *you may sooner number the sea sands, and snow falling from the skies, then my severall loves. Cupid had shot all his arrows at me; I am deluded with various desires; one love succeeds another, and that so soon, that before one is ended, I begin with a second; she that is last, is still fairest; and she that is present pleaseth me most: as an hydra's head, my loves increase; no Iolaus can help me. Mine eys are so moist a refuge and sanctuary of love, that they draw all beauties to them, and are never satisfied. I am in a doubt what fury of Venus this should be: Alas, how have I offended her so to vex me: what Hippolitus am I!* What Telchin is my genius? or is it a natural imperfection, an hereditary passion? Another in [c] Anacreon confesseth, that he had twenty sweet-hearts in Athens at once, fifteen at Corinth, as many at Thebes, at Lesbos, and at Rhodes, twice as many in Ionia, thrice in Caria, twenty thousand in all: or in a word, ει φυλλα παντα, &c.

Folia arborum omnium si
Nôsti referre cuncta,
Aut computare arenas
In æquore universas,
Solum meorum amorum
Te fecero logistam?

Can'st count the leaves in May,
Or sands i'th' ocean sea?
Then count my loves I pray.

His eys are like a ballance, apt to propend each way, and to be weighed down with every wenches looks; his heart a weathercock, his affection tinder, or naphthe it self, which every fair object, sweet smile, or mistris favor sets on fire. Guianerius *tract.* 15. *cap.* 14. refers all this [d] to *the hot temperature of the testicles.* Ferandus, a Frenchman, in his Erotique Mel.

[a] Dial. amorum. [b] Citius maris fluctus et nives cœlo delabentes numeraris, quam amores meos; Alii amores aliis succedunt, ac priusquam desinant priores, incipiunt sequentes. Adeo humidis oculis meus inhabitat Asylus omnem formam ad se rapiens, ut nullâ satietate expleatur. Quenam hæc ira Veneris, &c. [c] Num. 32.
[d] Qui Calidam testiculorum crisin habent, &c.

(which [a] book came first to my hands after the third edition) to certain *atomi* in the seed, *such as are very spermatick and full of seed.* I finde the same in Aristot. *sect.* 4. *prob.* 17. *si non secernatur semen, cessare tentigines non possunt,* as Guastavinius his commentator translates it, for which cause these yong men, that be strong set, of able bodies, are so subject to it. Hercules de Saxoniâ, hath the same words in effect. But most part I say, such are aptest to love that are young and lusty, live at ease, staul-fed, free from cares, like cattle in a rank pasture; idle and solitary persons, they must needs *hirquitullire,* as Guastavinius recites out of Censorinus.

> [b] Mens erit apta capi tum quum lætissima rerum,
> Ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo.
>
> The minde is apt to lust, and hot or cold,
> As corn luxuriates in a better mold.

The place it self makes much wherein we live; the clime, air, and discipline if they concur. In our Misnia, saith Galen, neer to Pergamus, thou shalt scarce finde an adulterer, but many at Rome, by reason of the delights of the seat. It was that plenty of all things, which made [c] Corinth so infamous of old, and the opportunity of the place to entertain those forraign commers; every day strangers came in at each gate, from all quarters. In that one temple of Venus, a thousand whores did prostitute themselves, as Strabo writes; besides Lais and the rest of better note: All nations resorted thither, as to a school of Venus. Your hot and southern countries are prone to lust, and far more incontinent, then those that live in the North; as Bodine discourseth at large, *Method. hist. cap.* 5. *Molles Asiatici;* so are Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, Italians, even all that latitude: and in those tracts, such as are more fruitful, plentiful, and delitious, as Valence in Spain, Capua in Italy; *domicilium luxûs,* Tully terms it; and (which Hannibal's souldiers can witness) Canopus in Ægypt, Sybaris, Phœacia, Baiæ, [d] Cyprus, Lampsacus. In [e] Naples, the fruits of the soyl and pleasant air enervate their bodies, and alter constitutions: insomuch, that Florus calls it *Certamen Bacchi et Veneris,* but [f] Folliot admires it. In Italy and Spain, they have their stews in every

[a] Printed at Paris 1624, seven years after my first edition. [b] Ovid de art.
[c] Gerbelius descript. Græciæ. Rerum omnium affluentia et loci mira opportunitas, nullo non die hospites in portas advertebant. Templo Veneris mille meretrices se prostituebant. [d] Tota Cypri insula deliciis incumbit, et ob id tantum luxuriæ dedita ut sit olim Veneri sacrata. Ortelius, Lampsacus olim Priapo sacer ob vinum generosum, et loci delicias. Idem. [e] Agri Neapolitan. delectatio, elegantia, amœnitas, vix intra modum humanum consistere videtur; unde, &c. Leand. Alber. in Campania. [f] Lib. de laud. urb. Neap. Disputat. de morbis animi, Reinoldo Interpret.

great city, as in Rome, Venice, Florence, wherein some say, dwell ninety thousand inhabitants, of which ten thousand are curtizans; and yet for all this, every gentleman almost hath a peculiar mistris; fornications, adulteries are nowhere so common: *urbs est jam tota lupanar;* how should a man live honest among so many provocations? now if vigor of youth, greatness (liberty I mean), and that impunity of sin, which grandies take unto themselves in this kinde, shall meet, what a gap must it needs open to all manner of vice; with what fury will it rage? For, as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist observes, *libido consequuta quum fuerit materiam improbam, et præruptam licentiam, et effrenatam audaciam, &c.* what will not lust effect in such persons? For commonly princes and great men make no scruple at all of such matters; but, with that whore in Spartian, *quicquid libet licet;* they think they may do what they list, profess it publikely, and rather brag with Proculus (that writ to a friend of his in Rome, [a] what famous exploits he had done in that kind) then any way be abashed at it. [b] Nicholas Sanders relates of Henry the 8th (I know not how truly) *Quod paucas vidit pulchriores quas non concupierit, et paucissimas non concupieret quas non violarit:* He saw very few maids that he did not desire; and desired fewer whom he did not enjoy: nothing so familiar amongst them; 'tis most of their business: Sardanapalus, Messalina, and Jone of Naples, are not comparable to [c] meaner men and women; Solomon of old had a thousand concubines; Assuerus his eunuches, and keepers; Nero his Tigillinus, panders and bawds; the Turks, [d] Muscovits, Mogors, Xeriffs of Barbary, and Persian sophies, are no whit inferior to them, in our times. *Delectus fit omnium puellarum toto regno formâ præstantiorum* (saith Jovius) *pro imperatore; et quas ille linquit, nobiles habent;* They press and muster up wenches as we do souldiers; and have their choice of the rarest beauties their countries can afford; and yet all this cannot keep them from adultery, incest, sodomy, buggery, and such prodigious lusts. We may conclude, that if they be yong, fortunate, rich, high-fed, and idle withall, it is almost impossible they should live honest; not rage, and precipitate themselves into those inconveniences of burning lust.

[e] Otium et reges prius et beatas
Perdidit urbes.

[a] Lampridius, Quod decem noctibus centum virgines fecisset mulieres. [b] Vita ejus. [c] If they contain themselves, many times it is not virtutis amore; non deest voluntas sed facultas. [d] In Muscov. [e] Catullus ad Lesbium.

Idleness overthrows all, *Vacuo pectore regnat amor*, love tyrannizeth in an idle person. *Amore abundas Antipho.* If thou hast nothing to do,

[a] Invidiâ vel amore miser torquebere——

Thou shalt be haled in pieces with envy, lust, some passion or other. *Homines nihil agendo male agere discunt*; 'Tis Aristotle's simile, [b] *as match or touchwood takes fire, so doth an idle person love.*

Quæritur Ægistus quare sit factus adulter, &c.

why was Ægistus a whoremaster? You need not ask a reason of it. Ismenedora stole Baccho, a woman forced a man, as [c] Aurora did Cephalus: No marvel, saith [d] Plutarch, *Luxurians opibus more hominum mulier agit*: She was rich, fortunate and jolly; and doth but as men do in that case, as Jupiter did by Europa; Neptune by Amymone. The Poets therefore did well to feign all shepheards lovers, to give themselves to songs and dalliances, because they lived such idle lives. For love, as [e] Theophrastus defines it, is *otiosi animi affectus*, an affection of an idle minde; or as [f] Seneca describes it, *Juventâ gignitur, luxu nutritur, feriis alitur, otioque inter læta fortunæ bona*; youth begets it, riot maintains it, idleness nourisheth it, &c. which makes [g] Gordonius the physician, *cap.* 20. *part.* 2. call this disease, the proper passion of nobility. Now, if a weak judgement and a strong apprehension do concur, how, saith Hercules de Saxoniâ, shall they resist? Savanarola appropriates it almost to [h] *Monks, friers, and religious persons, because they live solitary, fare daintily, and do nothing*: and well he may; for how should they otherwise choose?

Diet alone is able to cause it: a rare thing to see a yong man or a woman, that lives idly, and fares well, of what condition soever, not to be in love. [i] Alcibiades was still dallying with wanton young women; immoderate in his expences, effeminate in his apparel, ever in love, but why? he was over delicate in his diet; too frequent and excessive in banquets. *Ubicunque securitas, ibi libido dominatur*; lust and security domi-

[a] Hor. [b] Polit. 8. num. 28. ut naphthæ ad ignem, sic amor ad illos qui torpescunt otio. [c] Pausanias Attic. lib. 1. Cephalus egregiæ formæ juvenis ab Aurora raptus, quod ejus amore capta esset. [d] In amatorio. [e] E Stobæo ser. 62. [f] Amor otiosæ cura est sollicitudinis. [g] Principes plerumque ob licentiam et affluentiam divitiarum istam passionem solent incurrere. [h] Ardenter appetit qui otiosam vitam agit, et communiter incurrit hæc passio solitarios deliciose viventes, incontinentes, religiosos. &c. [i] Plutarch. vit. ejus.

neer together, as St. Hierome averreth. All which the wife of Bath in Chaucer freely justifies.

> For all to sicker, as cold engendreth hail,
> A liquorish tongue must have a liquorish tail.

Especially if they shall further it by choice diet; as many times those Sybarites and Phæaces do, feed liberally, and by their good will, eat nothing else but lascivious meats. [a] *Vinum imprimis generosum, legumen, fabas, radices omnium generum bene conditas, et largo pipere aspersas, carduos hortulanos, lactucas,* [b] *erucas, rapas, porros, cæpas, nucem piceam, amygdalas dulces, electuaria, syrupos, succos, cochleas, conchas, pisces optime præparatos, aviculas, testiculos animalium, ova, condimenta diversorum generum, molles lectos, pulvinaria, &c. Et quicquid fere medici impotentiâ rei venereæ laboranti præscribunt, hoc quasi diasatyrion habent in deliciis, et his dapes multo delicatiores; mulsum, exquisitas et exoticas fruges, aromata, placentas, expressos succos multis ferculis variatos, ipsumque vinum suavitate vincentes, et quicquid culina, pharmacopœia, aut quæque fere officina subministrare possit. Et hoc plerumque victu quum se ganeones infarciant,* [c] *ut ille ad Chreseida suam, se bulbis et cochleis curavit; etiam ad Venerem se parent, et ad hanc palestram se exerceant, qui fieri possit, ut non misere depereant,* [d] *ut non penitus insaniant?* Æstuans venter cito despuit in libidinem, *Hieronymus ait.* [e] Post prandia, Callyroenda. *Quis enim continere se potest?* [f] Luxuriosa res vinum, *fomentum libidinis vocat Augustinus; blandum dæmonem, Bernardus; lac veneris, Aristophanes.* Non Ætna, non Vesuvius tantis ardoribus æstuant, ac juveniles medullæ vino plenæ, *addit* [g] *Hieronymus: unde ob optimum vinum Lampsacus olim Priapo sacer: et venerandi Bacchi socia, apud* [h] *Orpheum Venus audit. Hæc si vinum simplex, et per se sumptum præstare possit,* nam——[i] quo me Bacche rapis tui plenum? *quam non insaniam, quem non furorem a cæteris expectemus?* [k] *Gomesius salem enumerat inter ea quæ intempestivam libidinem provocare solent,* Et salaciores fieri fœminas ob esum salis contendit: Venerem ideo dicunt ab oceano ortam.

[a] Vina parant animos veneri. [b] Sed nihil erucæ faciunt bulbique salaces; Improba nec prosit jam satureia tibi. Ovid. [c] Petronius. Curavi me mox cibis validioribus, &c. [d] Uti ille apud Sckenkium, qui post potionem, uxorem et quatuor ancillas proximo cubiculo cubantes, compressit. [e] Pers. Sat. 3. [f] Siracides. Nox, et amor vinumque nihil moderabile suadent. [g] Lip. ad Olympiam. [h] Hymno. [i] Hor. l. 3. Od. 25. [k] De sale lib. cap. 21.

[a] Unde tot in Veneta scortorum millia cur sunt?
In promptu causa est, est Venus orta mari.

Et hinc fœta mater Salacea Oceani conjux, *verbumque fortasse salax a sale effluxit. Mala Bacchica tantum olim in amoribus prævaluerunt, ut coronæ ex illis statuæ Bacchi ponerentur.* [b] *Cubebis in vino maceratis utuntur Indi orientales ad Venerem excitandum, et* [c] *surax radice Africani. Chinæ radix eosdem effectus habet, talisque herbæ meminit* mag. nat. lib. 2. cap. 16. [d] *Baptista Porta ex India allatæ, cujus mentionem facit et Theophrastus. Sed infinita his similia apud Rhasin, Matthiolam, Mizaldam, cæterosque medicos occurrunt, quorum ideo mentionem feci, ne quis imperitior in hos scopulos impingat, sed pro virili tanquam syrtes et cautes consulto effugiat.*

MEMB. II. SUBSECT. II.

Other Causes of Love-Melancholy. Sight, Beauty from the face, eys, other parts; and how it pierceth.

MANY such causes may be reckoned up, but they cannot avail, except opportunity be offered of time, place, and those other beautiful objects, or artificial enticement; as kissing, conference, discourse, gestures concur, with such like lascivious provocations. Kornmannus in his book *de linea amoris* makes five degrees of lust, out of [e] Lucian belike, which he handles in five chapters,

Visus, Colloquium, Convictus, Oscula, Tactus.

Sight of all other, is the first step of this unruly love; though sometimes it be prevented by relation or hearing, or rather incensed. For there be those so apt, credulous and facile to love, that if they heard of a proper man, or woman, they are in love before they see them, and that meerly by relation, as Achilles Tatius observes. [f] *Such is their intemperance and lust, that they are as much maimed by report, as if they saw them. Calisthenes a rich young gentleman of Byzance in Thrace, hearing*

[a] Kornmannus lib. de virginitate. [b] Garcias ab horto aromatum, lib. 1. cap. 28. [c] Surax radix ad coitum summe facit, si quis comedat, aut infusionem bibat, membrum subito erigitur. Leo Afer. lib. 9. cap. ult. [d] Quæ non solum edentibus sed et genitale tangentibus tantum valet, ut coire summe desiderent; quoties fere velint, possint; alios duodecies profecisse, alios ad 60 vices pervenisse refert. [e] Lucian. Tom. 4. Dial. amorum. [f] Ea enim hominum intemperantium libido est ut etiam fama ad amandum impellantur, et audientes æque afficiuntur ac videntes.

of [a] *Leucippe, Sostratus fair daughter, was far in love with her; and out of fame and common rumour, so much incensed, that he would needs have her to be his wife.* And sometimes by reading they are so affected, as he in [b] Lucian confesseth of himself, *I never read that place of Panthea in Xenophon, but I am as much affected, as if I were present with her.* [c] Such persons commonly fain a kind of beauty to themselves; and so did those three gentlewomen, in [d] Balthasar Castilio, fall in love with a yong man, whom they never knew, but only heard him commended: or by reading of a letter; for there is a grace commeth from hearing, [e] as a moral philosopher informeth us, as *well as from sight; and the species of love are received into the phantasie by relation alone:* [f] *ut cupere ab aspectu, sic velle ab auditu,* both senses affect. *Interdum et absentes amamus,* sometimes we love those that are absent, saith Philostratus, and gives instance in his friend Athenodorus, that lov'd a maid at Corinth whom he never saw; *non oculi sed mens videt,* We see with the eys of our understanding.

But the most familiar and usual cause of love, is that which comes by sight, which conveys those admirable rayes of beauty and pleasing graces to the heart. Plotinus derives love from sight, *ερως quasi ὁρασις.*

[g] Si nescis, oculi sunt in amore duces,

the eys are the harbingers of love, and the first step of love is sight, [h] as Lilius Giraldus proves at large, *hist. deor. syntag.* 13. they, as two sluces, let in the influences of that divine, powerful, soul-ravishing, and captivating beauty; which, as [i] one saith, *is sharper then any dart or needle, wounds deeper into the heart; and opens a gap through our eys to that lovely wound, which pierceth the soul itself* (*Eccles.* 18.). *Through it, love is kindled like a fire.* This amazing, confounding, admirable, amiable beauty, [k] *then which in all nature's treasure* (saith Isocrates) *there is nothing so majestical and sacred, nothing so divine, lovely, pretious;* 'tis natures crown, gold and glory; *bonum si non summum, de summis tamen non infrequenter triumphans,*

[a] Formosam Sostrati filiam audiens, uxorem cupit, et sola illius auditione ardet. [b] Quoties de Panthea Xenophontis locum perlego, ita animo affectus ac si coram intuerer. [c] Pulchritudinem sibi ipsis confingunt, Imagines. [d] De aulico lib. 2. fol. 116. 'tis a pleasant story, and related at large by him. [e] Gratia venit ab auditu æque ac visu, et species amoris in phantasiam recipiunt sola relatione. Picolomineus grad. 8. c. 38. [f] Lip. cent. 22. epist. 29, Beautie's Encomions. [g] Propert. [h] Amoris primum gradum visus habet, ut aspiciat rem amatam. [i] Achilles Tatius lib. 1. Forma telo quovis acutior ad inferendum vulnus, perque oculos amatorio vulneri aditum patefaciens in animum penetrat. [k] In totâ rerum naturâ nihil forma divinius, nihil augustius, nihil pretiosius, cujus vires hinc facile intelliguntur, &c.

whose power hence may be discerned; we contemn and abhor generally such things, as are foul and ugly to behold, accompt them filthy, but love and covet that which is fair. [a] 'Tis beauty in all things, which pleaseth and allureth us; a fair hawk, a fine garment, a goodly building, a fair house, &c. That Persian Xerxes when he destroyed all those temples of the gods in Greece, caused that of Diana, *in integrum servari*, to be spared, alone for that excellent beauty and magnificence of it. Inanimate beauty can so command. 'Tis that which painters, artificers, orators, all aym at; as Eriximachus the physician in Plato contends, [b] *it was beauty first, that ministred occasion to art, to find out the knowledge of carving, painting, building; to find out models, perspectives, rich furnitures, and so many rare inventions.* Whiteness in the lilly, red in the rose, purple in the violet, a lustre in all things without life, the cleer light of the moon, the bright beams of the sun, splendor of gold, purple, sparkling diamond, the excellent feature of the horse, the majesty of the lion, the colour of birds, peacocks tails, the silver scales of fish, we behold with singular delight and admiration. [c] *And which is rich in plants, delightful in flowers, wonderful in beasts, but most glorious in men,* doth make us affect and earnestly desire it; as when we hear any sweet harmony, an eloquent tongue, see any excellent quality, curious work of man, elaborate art, or ought that is exquisite, there ariseth instantly in us a longing for the same. We love such men, but most part for comeliness of person; we call them gods and goddesses, divine, serene, happy, &c. And of all mortal men they alone ([d] Calcagninus holds) are free from calumny; *qui divitiis, magistratu et gloriâ florent, injuriâ lacessimus;* we back-bite, wrong, hate, renowned, rich and happy men; we repine at their felicity, they are undeserving we think; fortune is a step-mother to us, a parent to them. *We envy* (saith [e] Isocrates) *wise, just, honest men; except with mutual offices and kindnesses, some good turn or other, they extort this love from us; only fair persons we love at first sight, desire their acquaintance, and adore them as so many gods: we had rather serve them then command others; and account our selves the more beholding to them, the more service they enjoyn us:* though they be otherwise vitious, unhonest, we love them, favour them, and are ready to do them any good office

[a] Christ. Fonseca. [b] S. L. [c] Bruys prob. 11. de forma e Luciano.
[d] Lib. de calumnia. Formosi Calumniâ vacant; dolemus alios meliore loco positos, fortunam nobis novercam illis, &c. [e] Invidemus sapientibus, justis, nisi beneficiis assidue amorem extorquent; solos formosos amamus et primo velut aspectu benevolentia conjungimur, et eos tanquam deos colimus, libentius iis servimus quam aliis imperamus, majoremque, &c.

for their [a] beauties sake, though they have no other good quality beside. *Dic igitur, ô formose adolescens* (as that eloquent Phavorinus breaks out in [b] Stobeus) *dic Antiloque, suavius nectare loqueris; dic ô Telemache, vehementius Ulysse dicis; dic Alcibiades utcunque ebrius, libentius tibi licet ebrio auscultabimus.* Speak, fair youth, speak, Antiloquus, thy words are sweeter then nectar; speak, O Telemachus, thou art more powerful than Ulysses; speak, Alcibiades, though drunk, we will willingly hear thee as thou art. Faults in such are no faults: For when the said Alcibiades had stoln Anytus his gold and silver plate, he was so far from prosecuting so foul a fact (though every man else condemned his impudence, and insolency) that he wished it had been more, and much better (he loved him dearly) for his sweet sake. No worth is eminent in such lovely persons, all imperfections hid; *non enim facile de his quos plurimum diligimus, turpitudinem suspicamur,* for hearing, sight, touch, &c. our mind and all our senses are captivated, *omnes sensus formosus delectat.* Many men have been preferred for their person alone; chosen kings, as amongst the Indians, Persians, Æthiopians of old: the properest man of person the country could afford, was elected their soveraign lord; *gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus,* and so have many other nations thought and done, as [c] Curtius observes; *ingens enim in corporis majestate veneratio est,* for there is a majestical presence in such men: and so far was beauty adored amongst them, that no man was thought fit to reign, that was not in all parts compleat and supereminent. Agis king of Lacedæmon had like to have been deposed, because he married a little wife; they would not have their royal issue degenerate. Who would ever have thought that Adrian the fourth, an English monk's bastard (as [d] Papirius Massovius writes in his life) *inops a suis relictus, squalidus et miser,* a poor forsaken child should ever come to be pope of Rome? But why was it? *Erat acri ingenio, facundiâ expeditâ, eleganti corpore, facieque lætâ ac hilari,* as he follows it out of [e] Nubrigensis; for he plows with his heifer,) he was wise, learned, eloquent, of a pleasant, a promising countenance, a goodly proper man; he had, in a word, a winning look of his own, and that carryed it; for *that* he was especially advanced. So *Saul was a goodly person and fair.* Maximinus elected emperour, &c. Branchus the son of Apollo, whom he begot

[a] Formæ majestatem Barbari verentur, nec alii majores quam quos eximiâ formâ natura donata est, Herod. lib. 5. Curtius 6. Arist. Polit. [b] Serm. 63. Plutarch. vit. ejus. Brisonius Strabo. [c] Lib. 5. magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant quam quos eximiâ specie natura donavit. [d] Lib. de vitis Pontificum Rom. [e] Lib. 2. cap. 6.

of Jance, Succrons daughter (saith Lactantius) when he kept king Admetus heards in Thessaly, now grown a man, was an earnest suitor to his mother to know his father; the nymph denyed him, because Apollo had conjured her to the contrary; yet overcome by his importunity at last, she sent him to his father; when he came into Apollo's presence, *malas dei reverenter osculatus;* he carried himself so well, and was so fair a yong man, that Apollo was infinitely taken with the beauty of his person, he could scarce look off him; and said, he was worthy of such parents, gave him a crown of gold, the spirit of divination, and in conclusion, made him a demi-god. *O vis superba formæ,* a goddess beauty is, whom the very gods adore, *nam pulchros Dii amant;* she is *amoris domina,* loves harbinger, loves loadstone, a witch, a charm, &c. Beauty is a dowre of it self, a sufficient patrimony, an ample commendation, an accurate epistle, as [a] Lucian, Apuleius, Tiraquellus, and some [b] others conclude. *Imperio digna forma,* beauty deserves a kingdome, saith Abulensis, *paradox. 2. cap.* 110. immortality; and [c] *more have got this honour and eternity for their beauty, then for all other vertues besides:* and such as are fair, [d] *are worthy to be honoured of god and men.* That Idalian Ganymedes was therefore fetched by Jupiter into heaven; Hephæstion dear to Alexander; Antinous to Adrian. Plato calls beauty for that cause, a privilege of nature, *naturæ gaudentis opus,* nature's master-piece, [e] a dumb comment; Theophrastus, a silent fraud; still rhetorick Carneades, that perswades without speech, a kingdome without a guard, because beautiful persons command as so many captains; Socrates, a tyranny, *which tyrannizeth over tyrants themselves;* which made Diogenes, belike, call proper women queens, *quod facerent homines quæ præciperent,* because men were so obedient to their commands. They will adore, cringe, complement and bow to a common wench (if she be fair) as if she were a noble woman, a countess, a queen or a goddess. Those intemperate yong men of Greece, erected at Delphos, a golden image with infinite cost, to the eternal memory of Phryne the curtizan, as Ælian relates; for she was a most beautiful woman, in so much saith [f] Athenæus, that Appelles and Praxitiles drew Venus' picture from her. Thus yong men will adore and honour beauty; nay kings them-

[a] Dial. amorum, c. 2. de magia. Lib. 2. connub. cap. 27. Virgo formosa et si oppido pauper, abunde est dotata. [b] Insocrates. [c] Plures ob formam immortalitatem adepti sunt quam ob reliquas omnes virtutes. [d] Lucian tom. 4. Charidæmon. Qui pulchri, merito apud Deos et apud homines honore affecti. [e] Muta commentatio, quavis epistolâ ad commendandum efficacior. [f] Lib. 9. Var. hist. Tanta formæ elegantia ut ab ea nuda, &c.

selves I say will do it; and voluntarily submit their soveraignty to a lovely woman. *Wine is strong; kings are strong; but a woman strongest*, 1 Esd. 4. 10. as Zerobabel proved at large to king Darius, his princes and noblemen. *Kings sit still and command sea and land, &c. all pay tribute to the king; but women make kings pay tribute, and have dominion over them. When they have got gold and silver, they submit all to a beautiful woman; give themselves wholly to her, gape and gaze on her, and all men desire her more then gold or silver, or any pretious thing: they will leave father and mother, and venture their lives for her; labour and travel to get, and bring all their gains to women; steal, fight and spoil for their mistress sakes. And no king so strong, but a fair woman is stronger then he is. All things* (as he [a] proceeds) *fear to touch the king; yet I saw him and Apame his concubine, the daughter of the famous Bartacus, sitting on the right hand of the king, and she took the crown off his head, and put it on her own, and stroke him with her left hand; yet the king gaped and gazed on her, and when she laughed he laughed, and when she was angry, he flattered to be reconciled to her.* So beauty commands even kings themselves; nay whole armies and kingdomes are captivated, together with their kings: [b] *Forma vincit armatos, ferrum pulchritudo captivat; vincentur specie, qui non vincentur prælio.* And 'tis a great matter, saith [c] Xenophon, *and of which all fair persons may worthily brag, that a strong man must labour for his living if he will have ought; a valiant man must fight and endanger himself for it, a wise man speak, shew himself and toil; but a fair and beautiful person doth all with ease; he compasseth his desire without any pains taking:* God and men, heaven and earth conspire to honour him; every one pitties him above other, if he be in need, [d] and all the world is willing to do him good. [e] Chariclea fell into the hands of pyrats, but when all the rest were put to the edge of the sword, she alone was preserved for her person. [f] When Constantinople was sacked by the Turks, Irene escaped, and was so far from being made a captive, that she even captivated the grand Senior himself. So did Rosamond insult over king Henry the second;

——— [g] I was so fair an object,
Whom fortune made my king, my love made subject;

[a] Esdras, 4. 29. [b] Origen hom. 23. in Numb. In ipsos tyrannos tyrannidem exercet. [c] Illud certe magnum ob quod gloriari possunt formosi, quod robustis necessarium sit laborare, fortem periculis se objicere, sapientem, &c. [d] Majorem vim habet ad commendandum forma, quam accurate scripta epistola. Arist. [e] Heliodor. lib. 1. [f] Knowles. hist. Turcica. [g] Daniel in complaint of Rosamond.

He found by proof the priviledge of beauty,
That it had power to countermand all duty.

It captivates the very gods themselves, *Morosiora numina.*

[a] ——— Deus ipse deorum
Factus ob hanc formam bos, equus, imber, olor.

And those *mali genii* are taken with it, as [b] I have already proved, *Formosam Barbari verentur, et ad aspectum pulchrum immanis animus mansuescit.* (Heliodor. *lib.* 5.) The Barbarians stand in awe of a fair woman, and at a beautiful aspect, a fierce spirit is pacified. For when as Troy was taken, and the wars ended (as Clemens [c] Alexandrinus quotes out of Euripides) angry Menelaus with rage and fury armed, came with his sword drawn, to have killed Helena with his own hands, as being the sole cause of all those wars and miseries: but when he saw her fair face, as one amazed at her divine beauty, he let his weapon fall, and embraced her besides; he had no power to strike so sweet a creature. *Ergo hebetantur enses pulchritudine*, the edge of a sharp sword (as the saying is) is dulled with a beautiful aspect, and severity it self is overcome. Hiperides the orator, when Phryne his client was accused at Athens for her lewdness, used no other defence in her cause, but tearing her upper garment, disclosed her naked breast to the Judges; with which comeliness of her body and amiable gesture, they were so moved and astonished, that they did acquit her forthwith, and let her go. O noble piece of justice! mine author exclaims, and who is he that would not rather lose his seat and robes, forfeit his office, then give sentence against the majesty of beauty? Such prerogatives have fair persons, and they alone are free from danger. Parthenopæus was so lovely and fair, that when he fought in the Theban wars, if his face had been by chance bare, no enemy would offer to strike at or hurt him: such immunities hath beauty. Beasts themselves are moved with it. Sinalda was a woman of such excellent feature, [d] and a queen, that when she was to be trodden on by wild horses for punishment, *the wild beasts stood in admiration of her person*, (Saxo Grammaticus *lib.* 8. Dan. Hist.) *and would not hurt her.* Wherefore did that royal virgin in [e] Apuleius when she fled from the theeves den, in a desart, make such an apostrophe to her asse on whom she rode? (for what knew she to the contrary

[a] Stroza filius Epig. [b] Sect. 2. Mem. 1. Sub. 1. [c] Stromatum l. Post captam Trojam cum impetu ferretur, ad occidendam Helenam, stupore adeo pulchritudinis correptus ut ferrum excideret, &c. [d] Tantæ formæ fuit ut cum vincta loris, feris exposita foret, equorum calcibus obterenda, ipsis jumentis admirationi fuit; lædere noluerunt. [e] Lib. 8. miles.

'abush'a the devil stood'

but that he was an asse?) *Si me parentibus et proco formoso reddideris, quas tibi gratias, quos honores habebo, quos cibos exhibebo?* She would comb him, dress him, feed him, and trick him every day her self, and he should work no more, toil no more, but rest and play, &c. And besides, she would have a dainty picture drawn, in perpetual remembrance, a virgin riding upon an asses back with this motto, *Asino vectore regia virgo fugiens captivitatem;* why said she all this? why did she make such promises to a dumb beast? But that she perceived the poor asse to be taken with her beauty; for he did often *obliquo collo pedes puellæ decoros basiare,* kiss her feet as she rid, *et ad delicatulas voculas tentabat adhinnire;* offer to give consent, as much as in him was, to her delicate speeches; and besides he had some feeling as she conceived of her misery. And why did Theogines' horse in Heliodorus [a] curveat, prance, and go so proudly, *exultans alacriter et superbiens,* &c. but that sure, as mine author supposeth, he was in love with his master? *dixisses ipsum equum pulchrum intelligere pulchram domini formam?* A fly lighted on [b] Malthius cheek as he lay asleep; but why? Not to hurt him, as a parasite of his, standing by well perceived, *non ut pungeret, sed ut oscularetur,* but certainly to kiss him, as ravished with his divine looks. Inanimate creatures I suppose, have a touch of this, when a drop of [c] Psyche's candle fell on Cupid's shoulder, I think, sure, it was to kiss it. When Venus ran to meet her rose-cheeked Adonis, as an elegant [d] poet of ours sets her out,

> ——— the bushes in the way
> Some catch her neck, some kiss her face,
> Some twine about her legs to make her stay,
> And all did covet her for to embrace.

Aer ipse amore inficitur, as Heliodorus holds, the ayr it self is in love: for when Hero plaid upon her lute,

> [e] The wanton air in twenty sweet forms danc't
> After her fingers ———

and those lascivious winds staid Daphne when she fled from Apollo;

> ——— [f] nudabant corpora venti,
> Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes.

Boreas ventus loved Hyacinthus, and Orithya Ericthon's daughter of Athens: *vi rapuit,* &c. he took her away by force,

[a] Æthiop. l. 3. [b] Athenæus, lib. 8. [c] Apuleius Aur. asino.
[d] Shakespeare. [e] Marlow. [f] Ov. Met. 1.

as she was playing with other wenches at Ilissus, and begat Zetes and Galais his two sons, of her. That seas and waters are enamoured with this our beauty, is all out as likely as that of the air and winds; for when Leander swimmed in the Hellespont, Neptune with his trident did beat down the waves, but

> They still mounted up, intending to have kiss'd him,
> And fell in drops, like tears, because they mist him.

The [a] river Alpheus was in love with Arethusa, as she tels the tale herself;

> ——— viridesque manu siccata capillos,
> Fluminis Alphei veteres recitavit amores;
> Pars ego Nympharum, &c.

When our Tame and Isis meet

> [b] Oscula mille sonant, connexu brachia pallent,
> Mutuaque explicitis connectunt colla lacertis.

Inachus and Pineus, and how many loving rivers can I reckon up, whom beauty hath enthral'd! I say nothing all this while of idols themselves, that have committed idolatry in this kind; of looking glasses, that have been rapt in love (if you will believe [c] Poets) when their ladies and mistresses looked on to dress them.

> Et si non habeo sensum, tua gratia sensum
> Exhibet, et calidi sentio amoris onus.
> Dirigis huc quoties spectantia lumina, flamma
> Succendunt inopi saucia membra mihi.

> Though I no sense at all of feeling have,
> Yet your sweet looks do animate and save;
> And when your speaking eys do this way turn,
> Me thinks my wounded members live and burn.

I could tell you such another story of a spindle, that was fired by a fair ladies [d] looks, or fingers, some say, I know not well whether; but fired it was by report; and of a cold bath that suddenly smoaked, and was very hot when naked Cœlia came into it.

> Miramur quis sit tantus et unde vapor, &c.

But of all the tales in this kind, that is the most memorable of [e] Death himself, when he should have stroken a sweet yong

[a] Ovid. Met. lib. 5. [b] Leland. [c] Angerianus. [d] Si longe aspiciens hæc urit lumine divos Atque homines prope, cur urere lina nequit? Angerianus. [e] Idem Anger.

x Here is he caught by his own birdlime!

virgin with his dart, he fell in love with the object. Many more such could I relate, which are to be believed with a poetical faith. So dumb and dead creatures dote: but men are mad, stupified many times at the first sight of beauty, amazed, [a] as that fisherman in Aristænetus, that spied a maid bathing herself by the sea side,

> [b] Soluta mihi sunt omnia membra——
> A capite ad calcem, sensusque omnis periit
> De pectore, tam immensus stupor animum invasit mihi.

And as [c] Lucian in his images, confesseth of himself, that he was at his mistriss presence, void of all sense, immoveable, as if he had seen a Gorgons head: which was no such cruel monster, (as [d] Cœlius interprets it, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 9.) *but the very quintessence of beauty;* some fair creature, as without doubt the poet understood in the first fiction of it, at which the spectators were amazed. [e] *Miseri quibus intentata nites,* poor wretches are compelled at the very sight of her ravishing looks to run mad, or make away themselves.

> [f] They wait the sentence of her scornful eys;
> And whom she favours lives, the other dyes.

[g] Heliodorus *lib.* 1. brings in Thyamis almost besides himself, when he saw Chariclea first; and not daring to look upon her a second time, *for he thought it unpossible for any man living, to see her and contain himself.* The very fame of beauty will fetch them to it many miles off, (such an attractive power this loadstone hath) and they will seem but short; they will undertake any toil or trouble, [h] long journeys. Penia or Atalanta shall not overgo them, through seas, desarts, mountains, and dangerous places, as they did to gaze on Psyche: *many mortal men came far and neer to see that glorious object of her age;* Paris for Helena; Corebus to Troja;

> ——Illis Trojam qui forte diebus
> Venerat insano Cassandræ incensus amore.

King John of France, once prisoner in England, came to visit his old friends again, crossing the seas; but the truth is, his comming was to see the countess of Salisbury, the *non-pareil*

[a] Obstupuit mirabundus membrorum elegantiam, &c. ep. 7. [b] Stobæus e Græco. [c] Parum abfuit quo minus saxum ex homine factus sum, ipsis statuis immobiliorem me fecit. [d] Veteres Gorgonis fabulam confinxerunt, eximium formæ decus stupidos reddens. [e] Hor. Ode 5. [f] Marlow's Hero. [g] Aspectum virginis sponte fugit insanus fere, et impossibile existimans ut simul eam aspicere quis possit, et intra temperantiæ metas se continere. [h] Apuleius l. 4. Multi mortales longis itineribus, &c.

✓ Witness Mary of Birkemere, Knighton Sally.

of those times, and his dear mistriss. That infernal god Plutus came from hell it self, to steal Proserpina; Achilles left all his friends for Polixena's sake, his enemies daughter; and all the [a] Græcian gods forsook their heavenly mansions for that fair lady, Philo Dioneus daughters sake, the paragon of Greece in those days; *eâ enim venustate fuit, ut eam certatim omnes Dii conjugem expeterent.*

[b] Formosa divis imperat puella.

They will not only come to see, but, as a faulkoner makes an hungry hawke hover about; follow, give attendance and service, spend goods, lives, and all their fortunes to attain;

Were beauty under twenty locks kept fast,
Yet love breaks through, and picks them all at last.

When fair [c] Hero came abroad, the eys, hearts, and affections of her spectators were still attendant on her.

[d] Et medios inter vultus supereminet omnes,
Perque urbem aspiciunt venientem numinis instar.

[e] So far above the rest fair Hero shin'd,
And stole away th' inchanted gazers mind.

[f] When Peter Aretine's Lucretia came first to Rome, and that the fame of her beauty, *ad urbanarum deliciarum sectatores venerat, nemo non ad videndam eam,* &c. was spread abroad, they came in (as they say) *thick and threefold* to see her, and hovered about her gates, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth, and Phryne of Thebes.

[g] Ad cujus jacuit Græcia tota fores.

[h] *Every man sought to get her love; some with gallant and costly apparel; some with an affected pace; some with musique; others with rich gifts, pleasant discourse, multitude of followers; others with letters, vows, and promises, to commend themselves, and to be gratious in her eys.* Happy was he that could see her; thrice happy, that enjoyed her company. Charmides [i] in Plato, was a proper young man, in comeliness of person, *and all good qualities, far exceeding others; when-*

[a] Nic. Gerbel. l. 5. Achaia. [b] Jo. Secundus basiorum lib. [c] Musæus. Illa autem bene morata, per ædem quocunque vagabatur, sequentem mentem habebat, et oculos, et corda virorum. [d] Homer. [e] Marlow. [f] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano. [g] Propertius. [h] Vestium splendore et elegantiâ, ambitione incessus, donis, cantilenis, &c. gratiam adipisci. [i] Præ cæteris corporis proceritate et egregiâ indole mirandus apparebat, cæteri autem capti ejus amore videbantur, &c.

soever fair Charmides came abroad, they seemed all to be in love with him (as Critias describes their carriage) *and were troubled at the very sight of him; many came neer him, many followed him wheresoever he went,* as those [a] *formarum spectatores* did Acontius, if at any time he walked abroad: the Athenian lasses stared on Alcibiades; Sappho and the Mitilean women on Phaon the fair. Such lovely sights do not onely please, entise, but ravish and amaze. Cleonimus, a delicate and tender youth, present at a feast which Androcles his uncle made in Piræo at Athens, when he sacrificed to Mercury, so stupified the guests, Dineas, Aristippus, Agasthenes, and the rest, (as Charidemus in [b] Lucian relates it) that they could not eat their meat; they sate all supper time gazing, glancing at him, stealing looks, and admiring his beauty. Many will condemn these men, that are so enamoured, for fools; but some again commend them for it; many reject Paris judgement, and yet Lucian approves of it, admiring Paris for his choice; he would have done as much himself, and by good desert, in his minde, beauty is to be preferred [c] *before wealth or wisdom.* [d] Athenæus Deipnosophist. *lib.* 13. *cap.* 7. holds it not such indignity for the Trojans and Greeks to contend ten years, to spend so much labour, loose so many mens lives for Helen's sake; [e] for so fair a ladies sake;

> Ob talem uxorem cui præstantissima forma,
> Nil mortale refert.

That one woman was worth a kingdom; a hundred thousand other women; a world it self. Well might [f] Sterpsichores be blind for carping at so fair a creature; and a just punishment it was. The same testimony gives Homer of the old men of Troy, that were spectators of that single combate, betwixt Paris and Menelaus at the Seian gate; when Helena stood in presence, they said all, the war was worthily prolonged and undertaken [g] for her sake. The very gods themselves (as Homer and [h] Isocrates record) fought more for Helena, then they did against the gyants. When [i] Venus lost her son Cupid, she made proclamation by Mercury, that he that could bring tidings of him, should have seven kisses; a noble reward, some say, and much better then so many golden talents; seven such kisses

[a] Aristænetus ep. 10. [b] Tom. 4. dial. meretr. respicientes et ad formam ejus obstupescentes. [c] In Charidemo sapientiæ merito pulchritudo præfertur et opibus. [d] Indignum nihil est Trous fortes et Achivos tempore tam longo perpessos esse labores. [e] Digna quidem facies pro qua vel obiret Achilles, vel Priamus, belli causa probanda fuit. Proper. lib. 2. [f] Cæcus qui Helenæ formam carperat. [g] Those mutinous Turks that murmured at Mahomet, when they saw Irene, excused his absence. Knowlys. [h] In laudem Helenæ orat. [i] Apul. miles. lib. 4.

to many men, were more pretious then seven cities, or so many provinces. One such a kiss alone, would recover a man if he were a dying,

[a] Suaviolum Stygia sic te de valle reducet, &c.

Great Alexander married Roxane, a poor mans child, onely for her person. [b] 'Twas well done of Alexander, and heroically done; I admire him for it. Orlando was mad for Angelica, and who doth not condole his mishap? Thisbe died for Piramus; Dido for Æneas; who doth not weep, as (before his conversion) [c] Austin did in commiseration of her estate! she died for him, *me thinks* (as he said) *I could die for her!*

But this is not the matter in hand, what prerogative this beauty hath, of what power and soveraignty it is, and how farre such persons that so much admire, and dote upon it, are to be justified; no man doubts of these matters; the question is how and by what meanes beauty produceth this effect? By sight: the eye betrayes the soul, and is both active and passive in this business; it wounds and is wounded; is an especiall cause and instrument, both in the subject and in the object. [d] *As teares, it begins in the eys, descends to the breast;* it conveys these beauteous rayes, as I have said, unto the heart. *Ut vidi ut perii.* [e] *Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit.* Shechem saw Dinah the daughter of Lea, and defiled her, Gen. 34. 3. Jacob Rachel. 29. 17. *for she was beautiful and fair:* David spied Bathsheba afar off, 2 Sam. 11. 2. the elders Susanna, [f] as that Orthomenian Strato saw fair Aristoclea the daughter of Theophanes, bathing her self at that Hercyne well in Lebadea; and were captivated in an instant. *Viderunt oculi, rapuerunt pectora flammæ;* Amnon fell sick for Thamar's sake, 2 Sam. 13. 2. The beauty of Esther was such, that she found favor not onely in the sight of Assuerus, *but of all those that looked upon her.* Gerson, Origen, and some others contended, that Christ himself was the fairest of the sons of men; and Joseph next unto him: *speciosus præ filiis hominum*, and they will have it literally taken; his very person was such, that he found grace and favor of all those that looked upon him. Joseph was so fair, that as the ordinary gloss hath it, *filiæ decurrerent per murum, et ad fenestras*, they ran to the top of the walls, and to the windows to gaze on him, as we do commonly to see some great personages go by: and so Matthew Paris describes Matilda the empress going through Cullen. [g] P. Morales the Jesuit saith as much of

[a] Secun. bas. 13. [b] Curtius l. 1. [c] Confessi. [d] Seneca. Amor in oculis oritur. [e] Ovid. Fast. [f] Plutarch. [g] Lib. de pulchrit. Iesu et Mariæ.

the Virgin Mary. Antony no sooner saw Cleopatra, but, saith Appian *lib.* 1. he was enamoured on her. [a]Theseus at the first sight of Helen was so besotted, that he esteemed himself the happiest man in the world if he might enjoy her, and to that purpose kneeled down, and made his pathetical prayers unto the gods. [b]Charicles, by chance, espying that curious picture of smiling Venus naked in her temple, stood a great while gazing, as one amazed; at length he brake into that mad passionate speech, *O fortunate god Mars, that wast bound in chains, and made ridiculous for her sake!* He could not contain himself, but kissed her picture, I know not how oft; and heartily desired to be so disgraced as Mars was. And what did he that his betters had not done before him?

> ——— [c]atque aliquis de Diis non tristibus optat
> Sic fieri turpis———

When Venus came first to heaven, her comeliness was such, that (as mine author saith) [d]*all the gods came flocking about and saluted her; each of them went to Jupiter, and desired he might have her to be his wife.* When fair [e]Antilochus came in presence, as a candle in the dark his beauty shined, all mens eys (as Xenophon describes the manner of it) *were instantly fixed on him, and moved at the sight; insomuch that they could not conceal themselves, but in gesture or looks it was discerned and expressed.* Those other senses, hearing, touching may much penetrate and affect, but none so much, none so forcible as sight. *Forma Briseis mediis in armis movet Achillem*, Achilles was moved in the midst of a battle by fair Briseis; Ajax by Tecmessa; Judith captivated that great captain Holofernes; Dalilah, Samson; Rosamund, [f]Henry the second; Roxolana, Solyman the magnificent, &c.

> [g]Νικᾷ δε καὶ σίδηρον
> Καὶ πῦρ καλὴ τὶς ἔσα.

A fair woman overcomes fire and sword.

> [h]Naught under heaven so strongly doth allure
> The sense of man, and all his minde possess,
> As beauties loveliest bait; that doth procure
> Great warriers erst their rigor to suppress,

[a] Lucian Charidemon, supra omnes mortales felicissimum si hac frui possit. [b] Lucian amor. Insanum quiddam ac furibundum exclamans, O fortunatissime Deorum Mars qui propter hanc vinctus fuisti. [c] Ov. Met. l. 3. [d] Omnes Dii complexi sunt, et in uxorem sibi petierunt, Nat. Comes de Venere. [e] Ut cum lux noctis affulget, omnium oculos incurrit: sic Antiloquus, &c. [f] Delevit omnes ex animo mulieres. [g] Nam vincit et vel ignem ferrumque si qua pulchra est. Anacreon, 2. [h] Spencer in his Fairy Qu.

And mighty hands forget their manliness,
Driven with the power of an heart-burning eye;
And lapt in flowers of a golden tress,
That can with melting pleasure, mollifie
Their heardned hearts inur'd to cruelty.

[a]Clitiphon ingenuously confesseth, that he no sooner came in Leucippe's presence, but that he did *corde tremere, et oculis lascivius intueri;* [b]he was wounded at the first sight; his heart panted, and he could not possibly turn his eyes from her. So doth Calysiris (in Heliodorus *lib.* 2. Isis priest, a reverend old man) complain; who by chance at Memphis seeing that Thracian Rodophe, might not hold his eyes off her, [c]*I will not conceal it, she overcame me with her presence, and quite assaulted my continency, which I had kept unto mine old age; I resisted, a long time, my bodily eys with the eys of my understanding; at last I was conquered, and as a tempest carried headlong.* [d]Xenophiles a philosopher, railed at women down right for many years together; scorned, hated, scoffed at them: coming at last into Daphnis a fair maids company, (as he condoles his mishap to his friend Demaritis) though free before,

Intactus nullis ante cupidinibus,

was far in love, and quite overcome upon a sudden.

Victus sum fateor a Daphnide, &c.

I confess I am taken;

[e]Sola hæc inflexit sensus, animumque labentem
Impulit—

I could hold out no longer. Such another mishap, but worse, had Stratocles the physician, that blear-eyed old man, *muco plenus* (so [f]Prodromus describes him) he was a severe woman-hater all his life; *fœda et contumeliosa semper in fœminas profatus*, a bitter persecutor of the whole sexe; *humanas aspides et viperas appellabat*; he forswore them all still, and mocked them wheresoever he came, in such vile terms, *ut matrem et sorores odisses*, that if thou hadst heard him, thou would'st have loathed thine own mother and sisters, for his word's sake. Yet this old doting fool was taken at last, with

[a] Achilles Tatius lib. 1. [b] Statim ac eam contemplatus sum, occidi; oculos a virgine avertere conatus sum, sed illi repugnabant. [c] Pudet dicere, non celabo tamen. Memphim veniens me vicit, et continentiam expugnavit, quam ad senectutem usque servâram, oculis corporis, &c. [d] Nunc primum circa hanc anxius animi hæreo, Aristænetus, ep. 17. [e] Virg. Æn. 4. [f] Amaranto dial.

that celestial and divine look of Myrilla, the daughter of Anticles the gardner, that smirking wench; that he shaved off his bushie beard, painted his face, [a] curl'd his hair, wore a lawrel crown to cover his bald pate, and for her love besides was ready to run mad. For the very day that he married, he was so furious *ut solis occasum minus expectare posset*, (a terrible a monstrous long day) he could not stay till it was night; *sed omnibus insalutatis in thalamum festinus irrupit*, the meat scarce out of his mouth, without any leave taking, he would needs go presently to bed. What young man therefore, if old men be so intemperate, can secure himself? Who can say, I will not be taken with a beautiful object? I can, I will contain. No, saith [b] Lucian, of his mistris, she is so fair, that if thou dost but see her, *she will stupifie thee, kill thee straight; and Medusa like, turn thee to a stone; thou canst not pull thine eys from her, but as an adamant doth iron*, she will carry thee bound headlong whither she will her self; infect thee like a basilisk. It holds both in men and women. Dido was amazed at Æneas' presence;

Obstupuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido:

and as he feelingly verified out of his experience;

[c] Quam ego postquam vidi, non ita amavi ut sani solent
Homines, sed eodem pacto ut insani solent.

I lov'd her not as others soberly,
But as a mad man rageth, so did I.

So Musæus of Leander, *nusquam lumen detorquet ab illa;* and [d] Chaucer of Palamon,

He cast his eye upon Emilia,
And therewith he blent and cryed ha ha,
As though he had been stroke unto the harta.

If you desire to know more particularly what this beauty is, how it doth *influere*, how it doth fascinate (for as all hold, love is a fascination) thus in brief. [e] *This comeliness or beauty ariseth from the due proportion of the whole, or from each several part.* For an exact delineation of which, I refer you to poets, historiographers, and those amorous writers, to Lucian's Images, and Charidemus, Xenophon's description of

[a] Comasque ad speculum disposuit. [b] Imag. Polistrato, Si illam saltem intuearis, statuis immobiliorem te faciet: si conspexeris eam, non relinquetur facultas oculos ab ea amovendi; abducet te alligatum quocunque voluerit, ut ferrum ad se trahere ferunt adamantem. [c] Plaut. Merc. [d] In the Knights tale. [e] Ex debita totius proportione aptaque partium compositione. Picolomineus.

Panthea, Petronius Catalectes, Heliodorus Chariclea, Tatius Leucippe, Longus Sophista's Daphnis and Cloe, Theodorus Prodromus his Rhodanthes, Aristænetus and Philostratus epistles, Balthasar Castilio, *lib.* 4. *de aulico*, Laurentius *cap.* 10. *de melan.* Æneas Silvius his Lucretia, and every poet almost, which have most accurately described a perfect beauty, an absolute feature, and that through every member, both in men and women. Each part must concur to the perfection of it; for as Seneca saith, *Ep.* 33. *lib.* 4. *Non est formosa mulier cujus crus laudatur et brachium, sed illa cujus simul universa facies admirationem singulis partibus dedit*; she is no fair woman, whose arm, thigh, &c. are commended, except the face and all the other parts be correspondent. And the face especially gives a lustre to the rest: the face is it that commonly denominates fair or fowl; *arx formæ facies*, the face is beauties towre: and though the other parts be deformed, yet a good face carries it *(facies non uxor amatur)* that alone is most part respected, principally valued, *deliciis suis ferox*, and of it self able to captivate.

[a] Urit me Glyceræ nitor,
Urit grata protervitas,
Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici;

Glycera's too fair a face was it that set him on fire, too fine to be beheld. When [b] Chærea saw the singing wenches sweet looks, he was so taken, that he cried out, *O faciem pulchram, deleo omnes dehinc ex animo mulieres, tædet quotidianarum harum formarum!* O fair face! I'll never love any but her; look on any other hereafter but her; I am weary of these ordinary beauties; away with them. The more he sees her, the worse he is,——*uritque videndo*, as in a burning glass, the sun beames are recollected to a center, the rayes of love are projected from her eys. It was Æneas countenance ravished queen Dido, *Os humerosque Deo similis*, he had an angelical face.

[c] O sacros vultus Baccho vel Apolline dignos,
Quos vir, quos tuto fœmina nulla videt!

——O sacred looks befitting majesty,
Which never mortal wight could safely see!

Although for the greater part, this beauty be most eminent in the face, yet many times those other members yield a most pleasing grace, and are alone sufficient to enamour. An high

[a] Hor. Od. 19. lib. 1. [b] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 2. scen. 3. [c] Petronius.

brow like unto the bright heavens, *cœli pulcherrima plaga, Frons ubi vivit honor, frons ubi ludit amor,* white and smooth like the polished alabaster; a pair of cheeks of vermilian colour, in which love lodgeth; [a] *Amor qui mollibus genis puellæ pernoctas:* A corall lip, *suaviorum delubrum,* in which

Basia mille patent, basia mille latent,

gratiarum sedes gratissima; a sweet swelling flowre, from which bees may gather hony; [b] *Mellilegæ volucres quid adhuc cava thyma, rosasque, &c.*

Omnes ad dominæ labra venite meæ,
Illa rosas spirat, &c.

A white and round neck, that *via lactea;* dimple in the chin; black eye-brows, *Cupidinis arcus;* sweet breath; white and even teeth, which some call the sale-piece; a fine soft round pap, gives an excellent grace,

[c] Quale decus tumidis Pario de marmore mammis!

[d] and make a pleasant valley, *lacteum sinum,* between two (chaulkie) hills, Sororiantes papillulas, et ad pruritum frigidos amatores solo aspectu excitantes. Unde is,

[e] Forma papillarum quam fuit apta premi!

Again,

Urebant oculos duræ stantesque mamillæ.

A flaxen hair; golden hair was ever in great account; for which Virgil commends Dido, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem; Et, crines nodantur in aurum.* Apollonius (*Argonaut. lib.* 4. *Jasonis flava coma incendit cor Medeæ*) will have Jason's golden haire, to be the main cause of Medea's dotage on him. Castor and Pollux were both yellow hair'd. Paris, Menelaus, and most amorous yong men, have been such in all ages, *molles ac suaves,* as Baptista Porta infers, [f] *Physiog. lib.* 2. lovely to behold. Homer so commends Helena; makes Patroclus and Achilles both yellow hair'd; Pulchricoma Venus; and Cupid himself was yellow hair'd, *in aurum coruscante et crispante capillo,* like that neat picture of Narcissus in Callistratus; for so [g] Psyche spied him asleep;

Bryseis, Polixena, &c. flavicomæ omnes;

[a] Sophocles Antigone. [b] Jo. Secundus bas. 19. [c] Lœchæus. [d] Arandus. vallis amœnissima e duobus montibus composita niveis. [e] Ovid. [f] Fol. 77. Dapsiles hilares amatores, &c. [g] When Cupid slept. Cæsariem auream habentem, ubi Psyche vidit, mollemque ex ambrosia cervicem inspexit, crines crispos, purpureas genas candidasque, &c. Apuleius.

——and Hero the fair,
Whom yong Apollo courted for her hair.

Leland commends Guithera king Arthur's wife, for a fair flaxen hair: so Paulus Æmilius sets out Clodeveus that lovely king of France. [a] Synesius holds, every effeminate fellow or adulterer is fair hair'd: and Apuleius adds that Venus her self, Goddess of Love, cannot delight, [b] *though she come accompanied with the Graces, and all Cupids train to attend upon her, girt with her own girdle, and smell of cynamon and bawme, yet if she be bald or bad hair'd, she cannot please her Vulcan.* Which belike, makes our Venetian ladies at this day, to counterfeit yellow hair so much; great women to calamistrate and curle it up, *vibrantes ad gratiam crines, et tot orbibus in captivitatem flexos,* to adorn their heads with spangles, pearls, and made flowers; and all courtiers to affect a pleasing grace in this kinde. In a word, [c] *The hairs are Cupid's nets, to catch all comers; a brushie wood, in which Cupid builds his nest, and under whose shadow, all loves, a thousand several ways sport themselves.*

A little soft hand, pretty little mouth, small, fine, long fingers,

Gratia quæ digitis——

'tis that which Apollo did admire in Daphne;

—— laudat digitosque manusque:

a straight and slender body; a small foot, and well proportioned leg, hath an excellent lustre; [d] *Cui totum incumbit corpus uti fundamento ædis.* Clearchus vowed to his friend Amyander in [e] Aristænetus, that the most attractive part in his mistris, to make him love and like her first, was her pretty leg and foot: a soft and white skin, &c. have their peculiar graces; [f] *Nebula haud est mollior ac hujus cutis est, ædipol papillam bellulam.* Though in men these parts are not so much respected; a grim Sarazan sometimes,

—— nudos membra Pyracmon,

a martiall hirsute face pleaseth best; a black man is a pearl in

[a] In laudem calvi; splendida coma quisque adulter est; allicit aurea coma. [b] Venus ipsa non placeret comis nudata, capite spoliata, si qualis ipsa Venus cum fuit virgo omni gratiarum choro stipata, et toto cupidinum populo concinnata, baltheo suo cincta, cinnama fragrans, et balsama, si calva processerit, placere non potest Vulcano suo. [c] Arandus. Capilli retia Cupidinis, sylva cædua, in qua nidificat Cupido, sub cujus umbra amores mille modis se exercent. [d] Theod. Prodromus Amor. lib. 1. [e] Epist. 72. Ubi pulchram tibiam, bene compactum tenuemque pedem vidi. [f] Plaut. Cas.

a fair woman's eye, and is as acceptable as [a] lame Vulcan was to Venus; for he being a sweaty fuliginous blacksmith, was dearly beloved of her, when fair Apollo, nimble Mercury were rejected, and the rest of the sweet-fac'd gods forsaken. Many women (as Petronius [b] observes) *sordibus calent* (as many men are more moved with kitchin wenches, and a poor market maid, then all these illustrious court and city dames) will sooner dote upon a slave, a servant, a dirt-dawber, a *brontes*, a cooke, a player, if they see his naked legs or arms, *thorosaque brachia* [c], &c. like that huntsman Meleager in Philostratus, though he being all in raggs, obscene and dirty, besmeared like a ruddleman, a gypsie, or a chimney-sweeper, then upon a noble gallant, Nireus, Hephæstion, Alcibiades, or those embroidered courtiers full of silk and gold. [d] Justine's wife, a citizen of Rome, fell in love with Pylades a player, and was ready to run mad for him, had not Galen himself helped her by chance. Faustina the empress doted on a fencer.

Not one of a thousand falls in love, but there is some peculiar part or other which pleaseth most, and inflames him above the rest. [e] A company of yong philosophers on a time, fell at variance, which part of a woman was most desirable and pleased best? some said the forehead, some the teeth, some the eys, cheeks, lips, neck, chin, &c. the controversie was referred to Lais of Corinth to decide; but she smiling, said, they were a company of fools; for suppose they had her where they wished, what would they [f] first seek? Yet this notwithstanding I do easily grant, *neque quis vestrum negaverit opinor*; all parts are attractive, but especially [g] the eys [h]:

——(videt igne micantes,
Syderibus similes oculos)——

which are loves fowlers; [i] *aucupium amoris*, the shooing hornes, *the hooks of love* (as Arandus will) *the guides, touchstone, judges; that in a moment cure mad men, and make sound folks mad; the watchmen of the body; what do they not?* How vex they not? All this is true, and (which Athenæus *lib.* 13. *dip. cap.* 5. and Tatius hold) they are chief seats of

[a] Claudus optime rem agit. [b] Fol. 5. Si servum viderint, aut flatorem altius cinctum, aut pulvere perfusum, aut histrionem in scenam traductum, &c. [c] Me pulchra fateor carere forma, verum luculenta——nostra eat. Petronius Catal. de Priapo. [d] Galen. [e] Calcaguinus Apologis, Quæ pars maxime desiderabilis? alius frontem, alius genas, &c. [f] Inter fœmineum. [g] Heinsius. [h] Sunt enim oculi, præcipuæ pulchritudinis sedes. lib. 6. [i] Armoria hami, duces, judices et indices qui momento insanos sanant, sanos insanire cogunt, occulatissimi corporis excubitores, quid non agunt? quid non cogunt?

[a] Cujus a vertice ac nigricantibus oculis,
Tale quiddam spirat ac ab aureâ Venere.

From her black eys, and from her golden face,
As if from Venus, came a lovely grace.

and [b] Triton in his Milæne

—— nigra oculos formosa mihi.

[c] Homer useth that epithite of oxe-eyed, in describing Juno, because a round black eye is the best, the son of beauty, and farthest from black the worse: which [d] Polydore Virgil taxeth in our nation; *Angli ut plurimum cæsiis oculis*, we have gray eys for the most part. Baptista Porta, Physiognom. *lib.* 3. puts gray colour upon children, they be childish eys; dull and heavy. Many commend on the other side Spanish ladies, and those [e] Greek dames at this day, for the blackness of their eys, as Porta doth his Neapolitan young wives. Sueton describes Julius Cæsar to have been *nigris vegetisque oculis micantibus*, of a black quick sparkling eye: and although Averroes in his Colliget will have such persons timerous, yet without question they are most amorous.

Now last of all, I will shew you by what means beauty doth fascinate, bewitch, as some hold, and work upon the soul of a man by the eye. For certainly I am of the poets mind, Love doth bewitch and strangely change us.

[f] Ludit amor sensus, oculos perstringit, et aufert
Libertatem animi, mirâ nos fascinat arte.
Credo aliquis dæmon subiens præcordia flammam
Concitat, et raptam tollit de cardine mentem.

Love mocks our senses, curbs our liberties,
And doth bewitch us with his art and rings:
I think some divel gets into our entrals,
And kindles coals, and heaves our souls from th' hinges.

Heliodorus *lib.* 3. proves at large, [g] that love is witch-craft, *it gets in at our eys, pores, nostrils, ingenders the same qualities, and affections in us, as were in the party whence it came.* The manner of this fascination, as Ficinus 10. *cap. com. in Plat.* declares it, is thus: *Mortal men are then especially bewitched, when as by often gazing one on the other, they direct sight to sight, joyn eye to eye, and so drink and suck in love between them; for the beginning of this disease*

[a] Scut. Hercul. [b] Calcagninus dial. [c] Iliad. 1. [d] Hist. lib. 1. [e] Sands' relation, fol. 67. [f] Mantuan. [g] Amor per oculos, nares, poros, influens, &c. Mortales tum summopere fascinantur quando frequentissimo intuitu aciem dirigentes, &c. Ideo si quis nitore polleat oculorum, &c.

is the eye. And therefore he that hath a cleer eye, though he be otherwise deformed, by often looking upon him, will make one mad, and tye him fast to him by the eye. *Leonard. Varius lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *de fascinat.* telleth us, that by this interview, [a] *the purer spirits are infected;* the one eye pierceth through the other with his rayes, which he sends forth; and many men have those excellent piercing eys, that which Suetonius relates of Augustus, their brightness is such, they compel their spectators to look off, and can no more endure them then the sun beames. [b] *Barradius lib.* 6. *cap.* 10. *de Harmoniâ Evangel.* reports as much of our Saviour Christ; and [c] Peter Morales of the Virgin Mary, whom Nicephorus describes likewise to have been yellow-hair'd, of a wheat colour, but of a most amiable and piercing eye. The rayes, as some think, sent from the eys, carry certain spiritual vapours with them, and so infect the other party, and that in a moment. I know, they that hold *visio fit intra mittendo,* will make a doubt of this; but Ficinus proves it from blear-eys, [d] *that by sight alone, make others blear-eyed: and it is more then manifest, that the vapour of the corrupt blood doth get in together with the rayes, and so by the contagion, the spectators eys are infected.* Other arguments there are of a basilisk, that kills a far off by sight; as that Ephesian did of whom [e] Philostratus speaks, of so pernitious an eye, he poysoned all he looked steddily on: and that other argument out of Aristotle's Problems; *menstruæ fœminæ morbosæ,* (as Capivaccius adds, and [f] Septalius the Commentator) contaminate a looking-glass with beholding it. [g] *So the beames that come from the agents heart, by the eys infect the spirits about the patients,* inwardly wound, and thence the spirits infect the blood. To this effect she complained in [h] Apuleius, *Thou art the cause of my grief; thy eys piercing through mine eys to mine inner parts, have set my bowels on fire, and therefore pitty me, that am now ready to dye for thy sake.* Ficinus illustrates this, with a familiar example of that Marrhusian Phædrus and Theban Lycias, [i] *Lycias he stares on Phædrus face, and Phædrus*

[a] Spiritus puriores fascinantur, oculus a se radios emittit, &c. [b] Lib. de pulch. Jes. et Mar. [c] Lib. 2. c. 23. colore triticum referente, crine flava, acribus oculis. [d] Lippi solo intuitu alios lippos faciunt, et patet una cum radio vaporem corrupti sanguinis emanare, cujus contagione oculus spectantis inficitur. [e] Vita Apollon. [f] Comment. in Aristot. Probl. [g] Sic radius a corde percutientis missus, regimen proprium repetit, cor vulnerat, per oculos et sanguinem inficit et spiritus, subtili quadam vi. Castil. lib. 3. de aulico. [h] Lib. 10. Causa omnis et origo omnis præsentis doloris tute es; Isti enim tui oculi, per meos oculos ad intima delapsi præcordia, acerrimum meis medullis commovent incendium; ergo miserere tui causa pereuntis. [i] Lycias in Phædri vultum inhiat, Phædrus in oculos Lyciæ scintillas suorum defigit oculorum; eumque scintillis, &c. Sequitur Phædrus Lyciam, quia cor suum petit spiritum; Phædrum Lycias, quia spiritus propriam sedem postulat. Verum Lycias, &c.

fastens the balls of his eys upon Lycias, and with those sparkling rayes sends out his spirits. The beames of Phædrus eys are easily mingled with the beames of Lycias, and spirits are joyned to spirits. This vapour begot in Phædrus heart, enters into Lycias bowels: and that which is a greater wonder, Phædrus blood is in Lycias heart, and thence come those ordinary love-speeches, my sweet-heart Phædrus, and mine own self, my dear bowels. And Phædrus again to Lycius; O my light, my joy, my soul, my life. Phædrus follows Lycias, because his heart would have his spirits; and Lycias follows Phædrus, because he loves the seat of his spirits; both follow; but Lycias the earnester of the two: The river hath more need of the fountain, than the fountain of the river; as iron is drawn to that which is touched with a loadstone, but draws not it again: so Lycias draws Phædrus. But how comes it to pass then, that the blind man loves, that never saw? We read, in the lives of the fathers, a story of a child that was brought up in the wilderness, from his infancy, by an old hermite: now come to mans estate, he saw by chance, two comely women wandring in the woods: he asked the old man what creatures they were; he told him fayries: after a while talking *obiter*, the hermite demanded of him, which was the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life? he readily replyed, the two [a] fayries he spied in the wilderness. So that without doubt, there is some secret loadstone in a beautiful woman; a magnetique power; a natural inbred affection; which moves our concupiscence, and as he sings,

> Me thinks I have a mistress yet to come,
> And still I seek, I love, I know not whom.

'Tis true indeed of natural and chaste love, but not of this heroical passion, or rather brutish burning lust of which we treat; we speak of wandring, wanton, adulterous eys; which as [b] he saith, lie still in wait *as so many souldiers; and when they spy an innocent spectator fixed on them, shoot him through, and presently bewitch him; Especially when they shall gaze and glote, as wanton lovers do one upon another, and with a pleasant eye-conflict participate each others souls.* Hence you may perceive how easily, and how quickly we may be taken in love; since at the twinkling of an eye, Phædrus spirits may so perniciously infect Lycias blood. [c] *Neither is it any wonder, if we but consider how many other diseases*

[a] Dæmonia inquit quæ in hoc Eremo nuper occurrebant. [b] Castilio de aulico, l. 3. fol. 228. Oculi ut milites in insidiis semper recubant, et subito ad visum sagittas emittunt, &c. [c] Nec mirum si reliquos morbos qui ex contagione nascuntur consideremus, pestem, pruritum, scabiem, &c.

closely, and as suddainly are caught by infection; plague, itch, scabs, flux, &c. The spirits taken in, will not let him rest that hath received them, but egg him on.

[a] Idque petit corpus mens unde est saucia amore;

and we may manifestly perceive a strange eduction of spirits, by such as bleed at nose after they be dead, at the presence of the murderer; but read more of this in Lemnius *lib. 2. de occult. nat. mir. cap. 7.* Valleriola *lib. 2. observ. cap. 7.* Valesius *controv.* Ficinus, Cardan, Libavius *de cruentis cadaveribus, &c.*

MEMB. III. SUBSECT. III.

Artificial allurements of love; causes and provocations to lust; Gestures, Cloaths, Dowre, &c.

NATURAL beauty is a stronger loadstone of it self, as you have heard, a great temptation, and pierceth to the very heart; [b] *forma verecundæ nocuit mihi visa puellæ;* but much more when those artificial inticements and provocations of gestures, cloaths, jewels, pigments, exornations, shall be annexed unto it; those other circumstances, opportunity of time and place shall concur, which of themselves alone were all sufficient, each one in particular to produce this effect. It is a question much controverted by some wise men, *forma debeat plus arti an naturæ?* Whether natural or artificial objects be more powerful? but not decided: for my part, I am of opinion, that though beauty it self be a great motive, and give an excellent lustre *in sordibus*, in beggery (as a jewel on a dunghil will shine and cast its rayes), it cannot be suppressed, which Heliodorus fains of Chariclea, though she were in begger's weeds: yet as it is used, artificial is of more force, and much to be preferred.

[c] Sic dentata sibi videtur Ægle,
Emptis ossibus Indicoque cornu;
Sic, quæ nigrior est cadente moro,
Cerussata sibi placet Lycoris.

So toothless Ægle seems a pretty one,
Set out with new bought teeth of Indy bone:
So foul Lycoris blacker then berry,
Her self admires, now finer then cherry.

[a] Lucretius. [b] In beauty, that of favor is preferred before that of colours, and decent motion is more then that of favor. Bacon's Essaies. [c] Martialis.

John Lerius the Burgundian *cap. 8. hist. navigat. in Brasil.* is altogether on my side. For whereas (saith he) at our coming to Brasil, we found both men and women naked as they were born, without any covering, so much as of their privities, and could not be perswaded, by our Frenchmen that lived a year with them, to wear any, [a] *Many will think that our so long commerce with naked women, must needs be a great provocation to lust;* but he concludes otherwise, that their nakedness did much less entice them to lasciviousness, then our womens cloaths. *And I dare boldly affirm,* (saith he) *that those glittering attires, counterfeit colours, headgears, curled hairs, plaited coats, cloaks, gowns, costly stomachers, guarded and loose garments, and all those other coutrements, wherewith our country-women counterfeit a beauty, and so curiously set out themselves, cause more inconvenience in this kinde, then that Barbarian homeliness, although they be no whit inferior unto them in beauty. I could evince the truth of this by many other arguments; but I appeal* (saith he) *to my companions at that present, which were all of the same mind.* His country-man Montague in his Essayes, is of the same opinion; and so are many others; out of whose assertions thus much in brief we may conclude: that beauty is more beholding to art then nature; and stronger provocations proceed from outward ornaments, then such as nature hath provided. It is true that those fair sparkling eys, white neck, coral lips, turgent paps, rose-coloured cheeks, &c. of themselves are potent enticers; but when a comely, artificial, well-composed look, pleasing gesture, an affected carriage shall be added, it must needs be far more forcible then it was, when those curious needle-works, variety of colours, purest dyes, jewels, spangles, pendants, lawn, lace, tiffanies, fair and fine linnen, embroideries, calamistrations, oyntments, &c. shall be added, they will make the veriest dowdy a goddess, when nature shall be furthered by art. For it is not the eye of it self that entiseth to lust, but an *adulterous eye,* as Peter terms it, 2. epist. 2. 14. a wanton, a rolling, lascivious eye: A wandring eye, which Isaiah taxeth, 3. 16. Christ himself, and the Virgin Mary had most beautiful eys, as amiable eys as any persons, saith [b] Barradius, that ever lived; but withall so modest, so chaste, that whosoever looked on them, was freed from that passion of burning lust; if we may believe [c] Gerson

[a] Multi tacite opinantur commercium illud adeo frequens cum Barbaris nudis, ac presertim cum fœminis, ad libidinem provocare, at minus multo noxia illorum nuditas quam nostrarum fœminarum cultus. Ausim asseverare splendidum illum cultum, fucos, &c. [b] Harmo. evangel. lib. 6. cap. 6. [c] Serm. de concep. virg. Physiognomia virginis omnes movet ad castitatem.

† "Beware of the rustling of silks and the creaking of shoes"

and [a]Bonaventure, there was no such antidote against it, as the Virgin Marie's face. 'Tis not the eye, but carriage of it, as they use it, that causeth such effects. When Pallas, Juno, Venus, were to win Paris favour for the golden apple, as it is elegantly described in that pleasant interlude of [b]Apuleius, Juno came with majesty upon the stage; Minerva gravity; but Venus, *dulce subridens, constitit amœne, et gratissimæ gratiæ Deam propitiantes,* &c. came in smiling with her gratious graces and exquisite musick, as if she had danced, *et nonnunquam saltare solis oculis,* and which was the main matter of all, she danced with her rolling eys: they were the brokers and harbingers of her sute. So she makes her brags in a modern poet;

> [c]Soon could I make my brow to tyrannize,
> And force the world do homage to mine eys.

The eye is a secret orator, the first bawde, *Amoris porta*; and with private looks, winking, glances and smiles, as so many dialogues, they make up the match many times, and understand one anothers meanings, before they come to speak a word. [d]Eurialus and Lucretia were so mutually enamored by the eye, and prepared to give each other entertainment, before ever they had conference: he asked her good will with his eye; she did *suffragari*, and gave consent with a pleasant look. That [e]Thracian Rodophe was so excellent at this dumb rhetorick, *that if she had but looked upon any one almost* (saith Calisiris) *she would have bewitched him; and he could not possibly escape it.* For as [f]Salvianus observes, *the eys are the windows of our souls, by which as so many channels, all dishonest concupiscence gets into our hearts.* They reveal our thoughts, and as they say, *frons animi index*; but the eye of the countenance;

> [g]Quid procacibus intuere ocellis? &c.

I may say the same of smiling, gate, nakedness of parts, plausible gestures, &c. To laugh is the proper passion of a man; an ordinary thing to smile; but those counterfeit, composed, affected, artificial and reciprocal, those counter-smiles, are the dumb shews and prognosticks of greater matters, which they most part use, to inveagle and deceive; though many fond

[a] 3. sent. d. 3. q. 3. mirum, virgo formosissima, sed a nemine concupita. [b] Met. 10. [c] Rosamond's complaint, by Sam. Daniel. [d] Æneas Silv. [e] Heliodor. l. 2. Rodophe Thracia tam inevitabili fascino instructa, tam exacte oculis intuens attraxit, ut si in illam quis incidisset, fieri non posset quin caperetur. [f] Lib. 3. de providentia: Animi fenestræ oculi, et omnis improba cupiditas per ocellos tanquam canales intrat. [g] Buchanan.

lovers again are so frequently mistaken, and led into a fools paradise. For if they see but a fair maid laugh, or shew a pleasant countenance, use some gratious words or gestures, they apply it all to themselves, as done in their favour; sure she loves them, she is willing, coming, &c.

Stultus quando videt quod pulchra puellula ridet,
Tam fatuus credit se quod amare velit:

When a fool sees a fair maid for to smile,
He thinks she loves him; 'tis but to beguile.

They make an art of it, as the poet telleth us;

[a]Quis credat? discunt etiam ridere puellæ,
Quæritur atque illis hac quoque parte decor:

Who can believe? to laugh maids make an art,
And seek a pleasant grace to that same part.

And 'tis as great an entisement as any of the rest;

——[b]subrisit molle puella,
Cor tibi rite salit.——

She makes thine heart leap with [c]a pleasing gentle smile of hers.

[d]Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,

I love Lalage as much for smiling, as for discoursing, *delectata illa risit tam blandum*, as he said in Petronius of his mistress, being well pleased, she gave so sweet a smile. It won Ismenius, as he [e]confesseth; *Ismene subrisit amatorium*, Ismene smiled so lovingly the second time I saw her, that I could not chuse but admire her: and Galla's sweet smile quite overcame [f]Faustus the shepheard;

Me aspiciens motis blande subrisit ocellis.

All other gestures of the body will enforce as much. Daphnis in [g]Lucian was a poor tattered wench, when I knew her first, said Corbile, *pannosa et lacera*; but now, she is a stately piece indeed; hath her maids to attend her, brave attires, mony in her purse, &c. and will you know how this came to pass? *by setting out her self after the best fashion; by her pleasant carriage, affability, sweet smiling upon all*, &c. Many

[a] Ovid. de arte amand i. [b] Pers. 3. Sat. [c] Vel centum charites ridere putaret, Musæus of Hero. [d] Hor. Od. 22. lib. 1. [e] Eustathius l. 5. [f] Mantuan. [g] Tom. 4. merit. dial. Exornando seipsam eleganter, facilem et hilarem se gerendo erga cunctos, ridendo suave ac blandum quid, &c.

women dote upon a man for his complement only, and good behaviour; they are won in an instant; too credulous to believe that every light, wanton suiter, who sees or makes love to them, is instantly enamored; he certainly dotes on, admires them, will surely marry, when as he means nothing less; 'tis his ordinary carriage in all such companies. So both delude each other by such outward shews; and amongst the rest, an upright, a comely grace, curtesies, gentle salutations, cringes, a mincing gate, a decent and an affected pace, are most powerful entisers; and which the prophet Esay, a courtier himself, and a great observer, objected to the daughters of Sion, 3. 16. *they minced as they went, and made a tinkling with their feet.* To say the truth, what can they not effect by such means?

> Whilst nature decks them in their best attires
> Of youth and beauty, which the world admires,

[a] Urit——voce, manu, gressu, pectore, fronte, oculis.

When art shall be annexed to beauty, when wiles and guiles shall concur: for to speak as it is, love is a kind of legerdemain; meer jugling, a fascination. When they shew their fair hand, fine foot and leg withal, *magnum sui desiderium nobis relinquunt*, saith [b] Balthazar Castilio *lib.* 1. they set us a longing; *and so when they pull up their petty-coats, and outward garments*, as usually they do to shew their fine stockings, and those of purest silken dye, gold fringes, laces, embroyderings, (it shall go hard but when they go to church, or to any other place, all shall be seen) 'tis but a springe to catch woodcocks; and as [c] Chrysostome telleth them down-right, though *they say nothing with their mouths, they speak in their gate; they speak with their eys: they speak in the carriage of their bodies.* And what shall we say otherwise of that baring of their necks, shoulders, naked breasts, arms and wrists, to what end are they but only to tempt men to lust!

> [d] Nam quid lacteolus sinus, et ipsas
> Præ te fers sine linteo papillas?
> Hoc est dicere, posce, posce, trado;
> Hoc est ad Venerem vocare amantes.

There needs no more, as [e] Fredericus Matenesius well observes,

[a] Angerianus. [b] Vel si forte vestimentum de industria elevetur, ut pedum ac tibiarum pars aliqua conspiciatur, dum templum aut locum aliquem adierit. [c] Sermone, quod non fœminæ viris cohabitent. Non loquunta es linguâ, sed loqnta es gressu: non loquuta es voce, sed oculis loquuta es clarius quam voce. [d] Jovianus Pontanus Baiar. lib. 1. ad Hermionem. [e] De luxu vestium discurs. 6. Nihil aliud deest nisi ut præco vos præcedat, &c.

but a cryer to go before them so dressed, to bid us look out; a trumpet to sound, or for defect a sowgelder to blow,

> [a] Look out, look out and see
> What object this may be
> That doth perstringe mine eye:
> A gallant lady goes,
> In rich and gaudy clothes,
> But whither away God knows,
> ——look out, &c. *et quæ sequuntur,*

or to what end and purpose? But to leave all these phantastical raptures, I'll prosecute mine intended theam. Nakedness, as I have said, is an odious thing of itself, *remedium amoris;* yet it may be so used, in part, and at set times, that there can be no such entisement as it is;

> [b] Nec mihi cincta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythere,
> Illa voluptatis nil habet, hæc nimium.

David so espied Bersheba; the elders Susanna: [c] Apelles was enamored with Campaspe, when he was to paint her naked. Tiberius *in Suet. cap.* 42. supped with Sestius Gallus, an old leacher, *libidinoso sene, eâ lege ut nudæ puellæ administrarent;* some say as much of Nero, and Pontus Huter of Carolus Pugnax. Amongst the Babylonians, it was the custome of some lascivious queans to dance, friskin in that fashion, saith Curtius *lib.* 5. and Sardus *de mor. gent. lib.* 1. writes of others to that effect. [d] The Tuscans, at some set banquets, had naked women to attend upon them; which Leonicus *de Varia hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 96. confirms of such other bawdy nations. Nero would have filthy pictures still hanging in his chamber, which is too commonly used in our times; and Heliogabalus, *etiam coram agentes, ut ad venerem incitarent:* so things may be abused. A servant maid in Aristænetus, spyed her master and mistress through the key hole [e] merrily disposed; upon the sight she fell in love with her master. [f] Antoninus Caralla observed his mother-in-law with her breasts amorously laid open; he was so much moved, that he said, *ah si liceret,* O that I might; which she by chance over-hearing, replyed as impudently, [g] *quicquid libet licet,* thou maist do what thou wilt: and upon that temptation he married her: this object was not in cause, not the thing it self; but that unseemly, undecent carriage of it,

[a] If you can tell how, you may sing this to the tune, a sow gelder blows, [b] Auson. epig. 28. [c] Plin. lib. 33. cap. 10. Campaspen Nudam picturus Apelles, amore ejus illaqueatus est. [d] In Tyrrhenis conviviis nudæ mulieres ministrabant. [e] Amatoria miscentes vidit, et in ipsis complexibus audit, &c. emersit inde cupido in pectus virginis. [f] Epist. 7. lib. 2. [g] Spartian.

When you have all done, *veniunt a veste sagittæ*, the greatest provocations of lust are from our apparel; God makes, they say, man shapes, and there is no motive like unto it;

> [a] Which doth even beauty beautifie,
> And most bewitch a wretched eye.

A filthy knave, a deformed quean, a crooked carkass, a maukin, a witch, a rotten post, an hedgstake may be so set out and tricked up, that it shall make as fair a shew, as much enamour as the rest: many a silly fellow is so taken. *Primum luxuriæ aucupium*, one calls it, the first snare of lust; [b] Bossus, *aucupium animarum, lethalem arundinem*, a fatal reed, the greatest bawd, *forte lenocinium, sanguineis lachrymis deplorandum*, saith [c] Matenesius, and with tears of blood to be deplored. Not that comeliness of clothes is therefore to be condemned, and those usual ornaments: there is a decency and *decorum* in this, as well as in other things, fit to be used: becoming several persons, and befitting their estates; he is only phantastical, that is not in fashion, and like an old image in Arras hangings, when a manner of attire is generally received: but when they are so new fangled, so unstaid, so prodigious in their attires, beyond their means and fortunes, unbefitting their age, place, quality, condition, what should we otherwise think of them? Why do they adorn themselves with so many colours of hearbs, fictitious flowers, curious needle works, quaint devices, sweet smelling odours, with those inestimable riches of pretious stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, emeralds, &c. Why do they crown themselves with gold and silver, use coronets and tires of several fashions, deck themselves with pendants, bracelets, ear-rings, chains, girdles, rings, pins, spangles, embroyderies, shadows, rebatoes, versicolor ribbands? Why do they make such glorious shews with their scarfs, feathers, fans, masks, furs, laces, tiffanies, ruffs, falls, calls, cuffs, damasks, velvets, tinsels, cloth of gold, silver, tissue? With colours of heavens, stars, planets: the strength of mettals, stones, odours, flowers, birds, beasts, fishes, and whatsoever Africk, Asia, America, sea, land, art, and industry of man can afford? Why do they use and covet such novelty of inventions; such new fangled tires, and spend such inestimable summs on them? *To what end are those crisped, false hairs*, painted faces, as [d] the satyrist observes, *such a composed gate, not a step awry?* Why are they like so many Sybarites, Nero's Pop-

[a] Sidney's Arcadia. [b] De immod. mulier. cultu. [c] Discurs. 6. de luxu vestium. [d] Petronius fol. 95. Quo spectant flexæ comæ? quo facies medicamine attrita et oculorum mollis petulantia? quo incessus tam compositus, &c.

pæa, Assuerus concubines, so costly, so long a dressing, as Cæsar was marshalling his army, or an hawk in pruning? [a] *Dum moliuntur, dum comuntur, annus est: A* [b] *gardiner takes not so much delight and pains in his garden, an horseman to dress his horse, scour his armour,* a marriner about his ship, a merchant his shop and shop-book, as they do about their faces, and all those other parts: such setting up with corks, streightning with whale-bones; why is it but as a day-net catcheth larks, to make yong men stoop unto them? Philocharus, a gallant in Aristænetus, advised his friend Poliænus, to take heed of such entisements; [c] *for it was the sweet sound and motion of his mistress spangles and bracelets, the smell of her oyntments, that captivated him first;*

Illa fuit mentis prima ruina meæ.

Quid sibi vult pixidum turba, saith [d] Lucian, *to what use are pins, pots, glasses, oyntments, irons, combes, bodkins, setting-sticks? Why bestow they all their patrimonies, and husbands yearly revenues, on such fooleries?* [e] bina patrimonia singulis auribus; *why use they dragons, waspes, snakes, for chains,* inamelled jewels on their necks, ears? *dignum potius foret ferro manus istas religari, atque utinam monilia vere dracones essent;* they had more need some of them be tied in bedlam with iron chains; have a whip for a fan, and hair-cloaths next to their skins; and instead of wrought smocks, have their cheeks stigmatised with a hot iron; I say, some of our Jesabels, instead of painting, if they were well served. But why is all this labour, all this cost, preparation, riding, running, far fetched, and dear bought stuffe? [f] *Because, forsooth, they would be fair and fine; and where nature is defective, supply it by art.*

[g] Sanguine quæ vero non rubet, arte rubet, (Ovid.)

and to that purpose they annoint and paint *their faces,* to make Helen of Hecuba

——parvamque exortamque puellam——Europen;

[a] Ter. [b] P. Aretine. Hortulanus non ita exercetur visendis hortis, eques equis, armis, nauta navibus, &c. [c] Epist. 4. Sonus armillarum bene sonantium, odor unguentorum, &c. [d] Tom. 4. dial. Amor. Vascula plena multæ infelicitatis omnem maritorum opulentiam in hæc impendunt, dracones pro monilibus habent, qui utinam vere dracones essent. Lucian. [e] Seneca. [f] Castilio de aulic. lib. 1. Mulieribus omnibus hoc imprimis in votis est, ut formosæ sint, aut si reipsa non sint, videantur tamen esse; et si quâ parte natura defuit, artis suppetias adjungunt: unde illæ faciei unctiones, dolor et cruciatus in arctandis corporibus, &c. [g] Ovid. epist. Med. Jasoni.

To this intent they *crush in their feet and bodies*; hurt and crucifie themselves, sometimes in laxe clothes, an hundred yards I think in a gown, a sleeve; and sometimes again so close, *ut nudos exprimant artus.* [a] Now long tails and trains, and then short, up, down, high, low, thick, thin, &c. now little or no bands; then as big as cart wheels; now loose bodies; then great fardingals and close girt, &c. Why is all this, but with the whore in the Proverbs, to intoxicate some or other? *oculorum decipulam,* [b] one therefore cals it *et Indicem libidinis,* the trap of lust, and sure token, as an ivy-bush is to a tavern.

Quod pulchros Glycere sumas de pixide vultus,
Quod tibi compositæ nec sine lege comæ:
Quod niteat digitis adamas, Beryllus in aure,
Non sum divinus, sed scio quid cupias.

O Glycere in that you paint so much,
Your hair is so bedeck't, in order such,
With rings on fingers, bracelets in your ear,
Although no prophet, tell I can, I fear.

To be admired, to be gazed on, to circumvent some novice; as many times they do; that instead of a lady he loves a cap and a feather; instead of a maid that should have *verum colorem, corpus solidum et succi plenum* (as Chærea describes his mistress in the [c] Poet); a painted face, a ruffe-band, fair and fine linnen, a coronet, a flowre,

[d] (Naturæque putat quod fuit artificis,)

a wrought waistcoate he dotes on, or a pied petticote; a pure die instead of a proper woman. For generally, as with rich furred conies, their cases are far better then their bodies, and like the bark of a cinnamon tree, which is dearer then the whole bulk, their outward accoutrements are far more pretious then their inward indowments. 'Tis too commonly so.

[e] Auferimur cultu, et gemmis, auroque teguntur
Omnia; pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

With gold and jewels all is covered,
And with a strange tire we are won,
(While she's the least part of her self)
And with such baubles quite undone.

[a] Modo caudatas tunicas, &c. Bossus. [b] Scribanius philos. Christ. cap. 6.
[c] Ter. Eunuc. Act. 2. Scen. 3. [d] Stroza fil. [e] Ovid.

Why do they keep in so long together, a whole winter sometimes, and will not be seen by torch or candle-light, and come abroad with all the preparation may be, when they have no business but only to shew themselves?

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.

[a] For what is beauty if it be not seen,
Or what is't to be seen if not admir'd,
And though admir'd, unless in love desir'd?

why do they go with such counterfeit gate, which [b] Philo Judæus, reprehends them for, and use (I say it again) such gestures, apish, ridiculous, undecent attires, *Sybaritical tricks, fucos genis, purpurissam venis, cerussam fronti, leges oculis, &c.* use those sweet perfumes, powders and oyntments in publike; flock to hear sermons so frequent; is it for devotion? or rather as [c] Basil tels them, to meet their sweet-hearts, and see fashions; for as he saith, commonly they come so provided to that place, with such curious complements, with such gestures and tires, as if they should go to a dancing school, a stage-play, or bawdy-house, fitter then a church,

When such a she-priest comes her mass to say,
Twenty to one they all forget to pray.

They make those holy temples consecrated to godly martyrs, and religious uses, the shops of impudence, dens of whores and theeves, and little better then brothel houses. When we shall see these things dayly done, their husbands bankrupts, if not cornutos, their wives light huswives, daughters dishonest; and hear of such dissolute acts, as dayly we do, how should we think otherwise? what is their end, but to deceive and inveagle yong men? As tow takes fire, such entising objects produce their effect; how can it be altered? When Venus stood before Anchises (as [d] Homer fains in one of his hymns) in her costly robes, he was instantly taken:

Cum ante ipsum staret Jovis filia, videns eam
Anchises, admirabatur formam, et stupendas vestes;
Erat enim induta peplo, igneis radiis splendidiore;
Habebat quoque torques fulgidos, flexiles hælices,
Tenerum collum ambiebant monilia pulchra,
Aurea, variegata. ———

[a] S. Daniel. [b] Lib. de victimis. Fracto incessu, obtuitu lascivo, calamistrata, cincinnata, fucata, recens lota, purpurissata, pretiosoque amicta palliolo, spirans unguenta, ut juvenum animos circumveniat. [c] Orat. in ebrios. Impudenter se masculorum aspectibus exponunt, insolenter comas jactantes, trahunt tunicas pedibus collidentes, oculoque petulanti, risu effuso, ad tripudium insanientes, omnem adolescentum intemperantiam in se provocantes, idque in templis memoriæ martyrum consecratis; pomœrium civitatis officinam fecerunt impudentiæ. [d] Hymno Veneri dicato.

When Venus stood before Anchises first,
He was amaz'd to see her in her tires;
For she had on a hood as red as fire,
And glittering chains, and ivy twisted spires;
About her tender neck were costly bruches,
And neck-laces of gold, inamell'd ouches.

So when Medea came in presence of Jason first, attended by her nymphs and ladies, as she is described by [a] Apollonius,

Cunctas vero ignis instar sequebatur splendor,*
Tantum ab aureis fimbriis resplendebat jubar,
Accenditque in oculis dulce desiderium.

A lustre followed them like flaming fire,
And from their golden borders came such beams,
Which in his eys provok'd a sweet desire.

Such a relation we have in [b] Plutarch; when the queens came and offered themselves to Anthony, [c] *with divers presents, and entising ornaments, Asiatick allurements, with such wonderful joy and festivity, they did so enveagle the Romans, that no man could contain himself; all was turned to delight and pleasure. The women transformed themselves to Bacchus shapes; the men-children to Satyrs and Pans; but Anthony himself was quite besotted with Cleopatra's sweet speeches, philters, beauty, pleasing tires: for when she sailed along the river Cydnus, with such incredible pomp, in a gilded ship, herself dressed like Venus, her maids like the Graces, her pages like so many Cupids; Anthony was amazed, and rapt beyond himself.* Heliodorus *lib.* 1. brings in Dameneta, stepmother to Cnemon, *whom she* [d] *saw in his scarfs, rings, robes and coronet, quite mad for the love of him.* It was Judith's pantofles that ravished the eys of Olofernes. And [e] Cardan is not ashamed to confess, that seeing his wife the first time, all in white, he did admire and instantly love her. If these outward ornaments were not of such force, why doth [f] Naomi give Ruth counsel how to please Boaz? and [g] Judith seeking to captivate Olofernes, washed and anointed her self with sweet oyntments, dressed her hair, and put on costly attires. The riot in this kinde hath been excessive in times past; no man almost came abroad, but curled and anointed;

[a] Argonaut. l. 4. [b] Vit. Anton. [c] Regia domo ornatuque certantes, sese ac formam suam Antonio offerentes, &c. Cum ornatu et incredibili pompa per Cydnum fluvium navigarent aurata puppi, ipsa ad similitudinem Veneris ornata, puellæ Gratiis similes, pueri Cupidinibus, Antonius ad visum stupefactus. [d] Amictum Chlamyde et coronis, quum primum aspexit Cnemonem, ex potestate mentis excidit. [e] Lib. de lib. prop. [f] Ruth. 3. 3. [g] Cap. 10. 3, 4.

[a] Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
Quantum vix redolent duo funera,

one spent as much as two funerals at once, and with perfumed hairs, [b] *et rosa canos odorati capillos Assyriaque nardo.* What strange thing doth [c] Sueton relate in this matter of Caligula's riot? And Pliny *lib.* 12. *et* 13. Read more in Dioscorides, Ulmus, Arnoldus, Randoletius *de fuco et decoratione*; for it is now an art, as it was of old, (so [d] Seneca records) *officinæ sunt odores coquentium.* Women are bad and men worse; no difference at all betwixt their and our times. [e] *Good manners,* (as Seneca complains) *are extinct with wantonness: in tricking up themselves, men go beyond women; they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance,* hic mulier, hæc vir, more like players, butterflies, baboons, apes, anticks, then men. So ridiculous, moreover, we are in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierome said of old, *Uno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiûm inseritur;* 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand okes, and an hundred oxen into a suit of apparel; to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shooe-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c. in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed. Heliogabalus is taxed by Lampridius, and admired in his age, for wearing jewels in his shooes; a common thing in our times; not for emperours and princes, but almost for serving-men and taylors: all the flowres, stars, constellations, gold and pretious stones do condescend to set out their shooes. To repress the luxury of those Roman matrons, there was [f] *Lex Valeria* and *Oppia,* and a Cato to contradict; but no laws will serve to repress the pride and insolency of our days; the prodigious riot in this kinde. Lucullus wardrope is put down by our ordinary citizens; and a cobler's wife in Venice, a courtesan in Florence, is no whit inferior to a queen, if our geographers say true: and why is all this? *Why do they glory in their jewels* (as [g] he saith) or exult and triumph *in the beauty of clothes? why is all this cost? to incite men the sooner to burning lust.* They pretend decency and ornament; but let them take heed, lest while they set out their bodies, they do not damn their souls; tis [h] Bernard's

[a] Juv. Sat. 6. [b] Hor. lib. 2. Od. 11. [c] Cap. 27. [d] Epist. 90.
[e] Quicquid est boni moris levitate extinguitur, et politura corporis muliebres munditias antecessimus, colores meretricios viri sumimus, tenero et molli gradu suspendimus gradum, non ambulamus; nat. quæst. lib. 7. cap. 31. [f] Liv. lib. 4. dec. 4. [g] Quid exultas in pulchritudine panni? quid gloriaris in gemmis ut facilius invites ad libidinosum incendium? Mat. Bossus de immoder. mulier. cultu. [h] Epist. 113. fulgent monilibus, moribus sordent, purpurata vestis, conscientia pannosa, cap. 3. 17.

counsel: *shine in jewels, stink in conditions; have purple robes, and a torn conscience.* Let them take heed of Esay's prophesie, that their slippers and tires be not taken from them, sweet balls, bracelets, earings, vailes, wimples, crisping-pins, glasses, fine linnen, hoods, lawns, and sweet savours, they become not bald, burnt, and stinke upon a sudden. And let maids beware, as [a] Cyprian adviseth, *lest while they wander too loosely abroad, they loose not their virginities:* and like Ægyptian temples, seem fair without, but prove rotten carcasses within. How much better were it for them to follow that good counsel of Tertullian? [b] *To have their eyes painted with chastity; the word of God inserted into their ears; Christ's yoke tied to their hair; to subject themselves to their husbands. If they would do so, they should be comely enough, cloathe themselves with the silk of sanctity, damask of devotion, purple of piety and chastity, and so painted, they shall have God himself to be a suiter: Let whores and queans prank up themselves;* [c] *let them paint their faces with minion and cerusse; they are but fuels of lust, and signs of a corrupt soul: if ye be good, honest, vertuous, and religious matrons, let sobriety, modesty and chastity be your honour, and God himself your love and desire. Mulier recte olet, ubi nihil olet;* then a woman smells best, when she hath no perfume at all; no crown, chain, or jewel (Guivarra adds) is such an ornament to a virgin, or vertuous woman, *quam virgini pudor,* as chastity is: more credit in a wise man's eye and judgement, they get by their plainness, and seem fairer then they that are set out with baubles, as a butchers meat is with pricks; puffed up and adorned, like so many jays, with variety of colours. It is reported of Cornelia, that vertuous Roman lady, great Scipio's daughter, Titus Sempronius wife, and the mother of the Gracchi, that being by chance in company with a *companion,* a strange gentlewoman (some light huswife, belike) that was dressed like a May lady, and as most of our gentlewomen are, *was* [d] more *sollicitous of her head tire, then of her health; that spent her time betwixt a comb and a glass; and had rather*

[a] De virginali habitu: Dum ornari cultius, dum evagari virgines volunt, desinunt esse virgines. Clemens Alexandrinus lib. de pulchr. animæ, ibid. [b] Lib. 2. de cultu mulierum. Oculos depictos verecundia, inserentes in aures sermonem Dei, annectentes crinibus jugum Christi, caput maritis subjicientes, sic facile et satis eritis ornatæ: vestite vos serico probitatis, byssino sanctitatis, purpura pudicitiæ; taliter pigmentatæ Deum habebitis amatorem. [c] Suas habeant Romanæ lascivias; purpurissa, ac cerussa ora perungant, fomenta libidinum, et corruptæ mentis indicia; vestrum ornamentum Deus sit, pudicitia, virtutis studium. Bossus Plautus. [d] Sollicitiores de capitis sui decore quam de salute, inter pectinem et speculum diem perdunt, concinniores esse malunt quam honestiores, et rempub. minus turbari curant quam comam. Seneca.

be fair then honest (as Cato said) *and have the common-wealth turned topsie turvie, then her tires marred;* and she did nought but brag of her fine robes and jewels, and provoked the Roman matron to shew hers: Cornelia kept her in talk till her children came from school; and, these, said she, are my jewels; and so deluded and put off a proud, vain, phantasticall huswife. How much better were it for our matrons to do as she did, to go civilly and decently, [a] *Honestæ mulieris instar quæ utitur auro pro eo quod est, ad ea tantum quibus opus est,* to use gold as it is gold, and for that use it serves, and when they need it, then to consume it in riot, begger their husbands, prostitute themselves, inveagle others, and peradventure damn their own souls? How much more would it be for their honour and credit? Thus doing, as Hierome said of Blesilla, [b] *Furius did not so triumph over the Gaules, Papyrius of the Samnites, Scipio of Numantia, as she did by her temperance; pulla semper veste, &c.* they should insult and domineer over lust, folly, vain-glory, all such inordinate, furious and unruly passions.

But I am over tedious, I confess, and whilst I stand gaping after fine clothes, there is another great allurement, (in the worlds eye at least) which had like to have stoln out of sight, and that is mony; *veniunt a dote sagittæ,* mony makes the match; [c] Μονὸν ἄργυρον βλέπουσιν: 'Tis like sauce to their meat, *cum carne condimentum,* a good dowry with a wife. Many men if they do but hear of a great portion, a rich heir, are more mad then if they had all the beauteous ornaments, and those good parts art and nature can afford; [d] they care not for honesty, bringing up, birth, beauty, person, but for mony.

[e] Canes et equos (ô Cyrne) quærimus
Nobiles, et a bona progenie;
Malam vero uxorem, malique patris filiam
Ducere non curat vir bonus,
Modo ei magnam dotem afferat.

Our dogs and horses still from the best breed
We carefully seek, and well may they speed:
But for our wives, so they prove wealthy,
Fair or foul, we care not what they be.

If she be rich, then she is fair, fine, absolute and perfect; then they burn like fire, they love her dearly, like pig and pye, and are ready to hang themselves if they may not have her. No-

[a] Lucian. [b] Non sic Furius de Gallis, non Papyrius de Samnitibus, Scipio de Numantia triumphavit, ac illa se vincendo in hac parte. [c] Anacreon 4. solum intuemur aurum. [d] Affer tecum si vis vivere mecum. [e] Theognis.

thing so familiar in these dayes, as for a yong man to marry an old wife, as they say, for a piece of gold; *asinum auro onustum*; and though she be an old crone, and have never a tooth in her head, neither good conditions, nor good face, a natural fool, but onely rich, she shall have twenty yong gallants to be suiters in an instant. As she said in Suetonius, *non me, sed mea ambiunt*, 'tis not for her sake, but for her lands or mony; and an excellent match it were (as he added) if she were away. So on the other side, many a yong lovely maid will cast away her self upon an old, doting, decrepit dizard;

[a] Bis puer effœto quamvis balbutiat ore,
Prima legit raræ tam culta roseta puellæ,

that is rheumatick and gouty; hath some twenty diseases; perhaps but one eye, one leg, never a nose, no hair on his head, wit in his brains, nor honesty; if he have land or [b] mony, she will have him before all other suiters,

[c] Dummodo sit dives barbarus ille placet.

If he be rich, he is the man, a fine man, and a proper man; she'l go to Jacaktres or Tidore with him; *Galesimus de monte aureo.* Sir Giles Goosecap, Sir Amorous La Fool, shall have her. And as Philemasium in [d] Aristænetus told Emmusus, *absque argento omnia vana*, hang him that hath no mony; *'tis to no purpose to talk of marriage without means*, [e] trouble me not with such motions; let others do as they will, *I'll be sure to have one shall maintain me fine and brave.* Most are of her minde. [f] *De moribus ultima fiet questio*, for his conditions, she shall enquire after them another time; or when all is done, the match made, and every body gone home. [g] Lucian's Lycia was a proper yong maid, and had many fine gentlemen to her suiters; Ethecles, a senators son, Melissus a merchant, &c. but she forsook them all for one Passius, a base, hirsute, bald-pated knave; but why was it? *His father lately died and left him sole heir of his goods and lands.* This is not amongst your dust-worms alone, poor snakes that will prostitute their souls for mony; but with this bait you may catch our most potent, puissant, and illustrious princes. That proud upstart domineering bishop of Ely, in the time of Richard

[a] Chaloner 1. 9. de Repub. Ang. [b] Uxorem ducat Danaen, &c. [c] Ovid. [d] Epist. 14. Formam spectant alii per gratias, ego pecuniam, &c. ne mihi negotium facesse. [e] Qui caret argento, frustra utitur argumento. [f] Juvenalis. [g] Tom. 4. merit. dial. Multos amatores rejecit, quia pater ejus nuper mortuus, ac dominus ipse factus bonorum omnium.

the first, viceroy in his absence, as [a] Nuburgensis relates it, to fortifie himself, and maintain his greatness, *propinquarum suarum connubiis, plurimos sibi potentes et nobiles devincire curavit*, married his poor kinswomen (which came forth of Normandy by droves) to the chiefest nobles of the land, and they were glad to accept of such matches, fair or foul, for themselves, their sons, nephews, &c. *Et quis tam præclaram affinitatem sub spe magnæ promotionis non optaret?* Who would not have done as much for mony and preferment? as mine author [b] adds. Vortiger, king of Britain, married Rowena the daughter of Hengist the Saxon prince, his mortall enemy; but wherefore? she had Kent for her dowry. Jagello the great duke of Lithuania, 1386. was mightily enamoured on Hedenga, insomuch that he turned Christian from a Pagan, and was baptized himself by the name of Uladislaus, and all his subjects, for her sake: but why was it? she was daughter and heir of Poland, and his desire was to have both kingdoms incorporated into one. Charls the great was an earnest suiter to Irene the empress, but, saith [c] Zonaras, *ob regnum*; to annex the empire of the east to that of the west. Yet what is the event of all such matches, that are so made for mony, goods, by deceit, or for burning lust, *quos fœda libido conjunxit*, what follows? they are almost mad at first, but 'tis a meer flash; as chaff and straw soon fired, burn vehemently for a while, yet out in a moment; so are all such matches made by those allurements of burning lust; where there is no respect of honesty, parentage, vertue, religion, education, and the like, they are extinguished in an instant, and instead of love comes hate; for joy, repentance and desperation it self. Franciscus Barbarus in his first book *de re uxoriâ, c. 5.* hath a story of one Philip of Padua that fell in love with a common whore; and was now ready to run mad for her: his father having no more sons let him enjoy her; [d] *but after a few days, the yong man began to loath, could not so much as endure the sight of her, and from one madness fell into another.* Such event commonly have all these lovers; and he that so marries, or for such respects, let them look for no better success, than Menelaus had with Helen; Vulcan with Venus; Theseus with Phædra; Minos with Pasiphae; and Claudius with Messalina; shame, sorrow, misery, melancholy, discontent.

[a] Lib. 3. cap. 14. Quis nobilium eo tempore, sibi aut filio aut nepoti uxorem accipere cupiens, oblatam sibi aliquam propinquarum ejus non acciperet obviis manibus? quarum turbam acciverat e Normannia in Angliam ejus rei gratia. [b] Alexander Gaguinus Sarmat. Europ. descript. [c] Tom. 3. Annal. [d] Libido statim deferbuit, fastidium cœpit, et quod in ea tantopere adamavit aspernatur, et ab ægritudine liberatus in angorem incidit.

SUBSECT. IV.

Importunity and opportunity of time, place, conference, discourse, singing, dancing, musick, amorous tales, objects, kissing, familiarity, tokens, presents, bribes, promises, protestations, tears, &c.

ALL these allurements hitherto are afar off, and at a distance; I will come nearer to those other degrees of love; which are, conference, kissing, dalliance, discourse, singing, dancing, amorous tales, objects, presents, &c. which as so many Syrens steal away the hearts of men and women. For as Tatius observes, l. 2. [a] *It is no sufficient trial of a maid's affection by her eys alone, but you must say something that shall be more available, and use such other forcible engins; therefore take her by the hand, wring her fingers hard, and sigh withall; if she accept this in good part, and seem not to be much averse, then call her mistress, take her about the neck and kiss her, &c.* But this cannot be done except they first get opportunity of living, or coming together; ingress, egress, and regress: letters and commendations may do much, outward gestures and actions: but when they come to live near one another, in the same street, village, or together in an house, love is kindled on a sudden. Many a serving-man by reason of this opportunity and importunity, inveagles his master's daughter; many a gallant loves a dowdy; many a gentleman runs upon his wife's maids; many ladies dote upon their men, as the queen in Ariosto did upon the dwarf; many matches are so made in haste, and they compelled as it were by [b] necessity so to love, which had they been free, come in company of others, seen that variety which many places afford, or compared them to a third, would never have looked one upon another. Or had not that opportunity of discourse and familiarity been offered, they would have loathed and contemned those, whom for want of better choice and other objects, they are fatally driven on; and by reason of their hot bloud, idle life, full diet, &c. are forced to dote upon them that come next. And many times those which at the first sight cannot fancy or affect each other, but are harsh and ready to disagree, offended with each other's

[a] De puellæ voluntate periculum facere solis oculis non est satis, sed efficacius aliquid agere oportet, ibique etiam machinam alteram adhibere: itaque manus tange, digitos constringe, atque inter stringendum suspira; si hæc agentem æquo se animo feret, neque facta hujusmodi aspernabitur, tum vero dominam appella, ejusque collum suaviare. [b] Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings.

carriage, like Benedict and Beatrice in the [a] comœdy; and in whom they finde many faults, by this living together in a house, conference, kissing, colling, and such like allurements, begin at last to dote insensibly one upon another.

It was the greatest motive that Potiphar's wife had to dote upon Joseph; and [b] Clitiphon upon Leucippe his unkle's daughter, because the plague being at Bizance, it was his fortune for a time to sojourn with her, to sit next her at the table, as he telleth the tale himself in Tatius *lib.* 2. (which though it be but a fiction, is grounded upon good observation, and doth well express the passions of lovers;) he had opportunity to take her by the hand, and after a while to kiss, and handle her paps, &c. [c] which made him almost mad. Ismenius, the orator, makes the like confession in Eustathius *lib.* 1. when he came first to Sosthenes' house, and sate at table with Cratistes his friend, Ismene, Sosthenes' daughter, waiting on them *with her breasts open, arms half bare.*

[d] Nuda pedem, discincta sinum, spoliata lacertos,

after the Greek fashion in those times,—[e] *nudos media plus parte lacertos,* (as Daphne was when she fled from Phœbus) which moved him much; was ever ready to give attendance on him, to fill him drink; her eys were never off him; *rogabundi oculi,* those speaking eys, courting eys, enchanting eys; but she was still smiling on him, and when they were risen, that she had gotten a little opportunity, [f] *she came and drank to him, and withall trod upon his toes, and would come and go, and when she could not speak for the company, she would wring his hand,* and blush when she met him: and by this means first she overcame him (*bibens amorem hauriebam simul*); she would kiss the cup and drink to him, and smile, *and drink where he drank on that side of the cup;* by which mutual compressions, kissings, wringing of hands, treading of feet, &c. *Ispam mihi videbar sorbillare virginem,* I sipt, and sipt, and sipt so long, till at length, I was drunk in love upon a sudden. Philocharinus [g] in Aristænetus, met a fair maid by chance, a meer stranger to him; he looked back at her; she looked back at him again, and smiled withall.

[h] Ille dies lethi primus, primusque malorum
Causa fuit ——

[a] Shakespeare. [b] Tatius lib. 1. [c] In mammarum attractu, non aspernanda inest jucunditas, et attrectatus, &c. [d] Mantuan. [e] Ovid. 1. Met. [f] Manus ad cubitum nuda, coram astans, fortius intuita, tenuem de pectore spiritum ducens, digitum meum pressit, et bibens pedem pressit; mutuæ compressiones corporum, labiorum commixtiones, pedum connexiones, &c. Et bibit eodem loco, &c. [g] Epist. 4. Respexi, respexit et illa subridens, &c. [h] Vir. Æn. 4.

It was the sole cause of his farther acquaintance, and love that undid him.

[a] O nullis tutum credere blanditiis.

This opportunity of time and place, with their circumstances, are so forcible motives, that it is unpossible almost for two young folks, equall in years, to live together, and not be in love; especially in great houses, prince's courts, where they are idle *in summo gradu*, fare well, live at ease, and cannot tell otherwise how to spend their time.

[b] Illic Hippolitum pone, Priapus erit.

Achilles was sent by his mother Thetis, to the iland of Scyros in the Ægean sea, (where Lycomedes then raigned) in his non-age, to be brought up; to avoid that hard destiny of the Oracle (he should be slain at the siege of Troy): and for that cause was nurtured in Geneseo, amongst the king's children in a woman's habit; but see the event! He comprest Deidamia the king's fair daughter, and had a fine son called Pyrrhus, by her. Peter Albelhardus, the philosopher, as he tells the tale himself, being set by Fulbertus her unkle, to teach Helonissa his lovely niece, and to that purpose sojourned in his house, and had committed *agnam tenellam famelico lupo*, (I use his own words), he soon got her good will, *plura erant oscula quam sententiæ*, and he read more of love then any other lecture; such pretty feats can opportunity plea; *primum domo conjuncti, inde animis, &c.* But when as I say, *nox, vinum, et adolescentia*, youth, wine, and night, shall concur, *nox amoris et quietis conscia*, 'tis a wonder they be not all plunged over head and ears in love; for youth is *benigna in amorem, et prona materies*, a very combustible matter, Naphthe itself, the fuell of love's fire, and most apt to kindle it. If there be seven servants in an ordinary house, you shall have three couple in some good liking at least; and amongst idle persons how should it be otherwise? *Living at* [c] Rome, saith Aretine's Lucretia, *in the flowre of my fortunes, rich, fair, yong, and so well brought up, my conversation, age, beauty, fortune, made all the world admire and love me.* Night alone, one occasion, is enough to set all on fire; and they are so cunning in great houses, that they make their best advantage of it: many a gentlewoman, that is guilty to her self of her imperfections, paintings, impostures, will not willingly be seen by day, but as [d] Castilio noteth, in the night,

[a] Propertius. [b] Ovid. amor. lib. 2. eleg. 2. [c] Romæ vivens flore fortunæ, et opulentiæ meæ, ætas, forma, gratia conversationis, maximè me fecerunt expetibilem, &c. [d] De Aulic. l. I. fol. 63.

Diem ut glis odit, tædarum lucem super omnia mavult, she hates the day like a dor-mouse; and above all things, loves torches and candle-light; and if she must come abroad in the day, she covets, as [a] in a mercer's shop, a very obfuscate and obscure sight. And good reason she hath for it: *Nocte latent mendæ,* and many an amorous gull is fetched over by that means. Gomesius *lib.* 3. *de sale gen. c.* 22. gives instance in a Florentine gentleman, that was so deceived with a wife: she was so radiently set out with rings, and jewels, lawns, scarfs, laces, gold, spangles, and gaudy devices, that the yong man took her to be a goddess (for he never saw her but by torchlight) but after the wedding solemnities, when as he viewed her the next morning without her tires, and in a clear day, she was so deformed, lean, yellow, riveld, &c. such a beastly creature in his eys, that he could not endure to look upon her. Such matches are frequently made in Italy, where they have no other opportunity to wooe but when they go to church; or, as [b] in Turkie, see them at a distance, they must enterchange few or no words, till such time they come to be married; and then, as Sardus *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. *de morib. gent.* and [c] Bohemus relate of those old Lacedemonians, *the bride is brought into the chamber, with her hair girt about her; the bridegroom comes in, and unties the knot, and must not see her at all by day-light, till such time as he is made a father by her.* In those hotter countries these are ordinary practises at this day; but in our northern parts amongst Germans, Danes, French, and Britaines, the continent of Scandia and the rest, we assume more liberty in such cases; we allow them, as Bohemus saith, to kiss coming and going, *et modo absit lascivia, in cauponam ducere,* to talk merrily, sport, play, sing, and dance, so that it be modestly done; go to the alehouse and tavern together. And 'tis not amiss, [d] though Chrysostome, Cyprian, Hierome, and some other of the fathers speak bitterly against it: but that is the abuse which is commonly seen at some drunken matches, dissolute meetings, or great unruly feasts. [e] *A young pittivanted, trim-bearded fellow,* saith Hierome, *will come with a company of complements, and hold you up by the arm as you go, and wringing your fingers, will so be entised, or entise: one drinks to you, another em-*

[a] Ut adulterini mercatorum panni. [b] Busbeq. epist. [c] Paranympha in cubiculum adducta capillos ad cutim referebat; sponsus inde ad eam ingressus cingulum solvebat, nec prius sponsam aspexit interdiu quam ex illa factus esset pater. [d] Serm. cont. concub. [e] Lib. 2. epist. ad filium, et virginem et matrem viduam epist. 10. Dabit tibi barbatulus quispiam manum, sustentabit lassam, et pressis digitis aut tentabitur aut tentabit, &c.

braceth, a third kisseth, and all this while the fidler plays or sings a lascivious song; a fourth singles you out to dance, [a] *one speaks by becks and signs, and that which he dares not say, signifies by passions; amongst so many and so great provocations of pleasure, lust conquers the most hard and crabbed minds; and scarce can a man live honest amongst feastings, and sports, or at such great meetings.* For as he goes on, [b] *she walks along, and with the ruffling of her clothes, makes men look at her; her shooes creek, her paps tied up, her waste pulled in to make her look small, she is straight girded, her hairs hang loose about her ears, her upper garment sometimes falls, and sometimes tarries, to shew her naked shoulders; and as if she would not be seen, she covers that in all haste, which voluntarily she shewed.* And not at feasts, playes, pageants, and such assemblies, [c] but as Chrysostome objects, these tricks are put in practise *at service time in churches, and at the communion itself.* If such dumb shews, signs, and more obscure significations of love can so move, what shall they do that have full liberty to sing, dance, kiss, coll, to use all manner of discourse and dalliance! What shall he do that is beleagred of all sides?

[d] Quem tot, tam roseæ petunt puellæ,
Quem cultæ cupiunt nurus, amorque
Omnis undique et undecunque et usque,
Omnis ambit Amor, Venusque, Hymenque:

After whom so many rosie maids enquire,
Whom dainty dames and loving wights desire,
In every place, still, and at all times sue,
Whom gods and gentle goddesses do wooe;

How shall he contain? The very tone of some of their voices, a pretty pleasing speech; an affected tone they use, is able of it self to captivate a yong man; but when a good wit shall concur, art and eloquence, fascinating speech, pleasant discourse, sweet gestures, the Syrens themselves cannot so enchant. [e] P. Jovius commends his Italian country-women, to have an excellent faculty in this kinde, above all other nations; and amongst them, the Florentine ladies: some prefer Roman

[a] Loquetur alius nutibus, et quicquid metuit dicere, significabit affectibus. Inter has tantas voluptatum illecebras etiam ferreas mentes libido domat. Difficile inter epulas servatur pudicitia. [b] Clamore vestium ad se juvenes vocat; capilli fasciolis comprimuntur crispati, cingulo pectus arctatur, capilli vel in frontem, vel in aures defluunt: palliolum interdum cadit ut nudet humeros, et quasi videri noluerit, festinans celat, quod volens detexerit. [c] Serm. cont. concub. In sancto et reverendo sacramentorum tempore multas occasiones, ut illis placeant qui eas vident, præbent. [d] Pont. Baia. l. 1. [e] Descr. Brit.

and Venetian curtesans, they have such pleasing tongues, and such [a] elegancy of speech, that they are able to overcome a saint.

Pro facie multis vox sua lena fuit.

Tantâ gratiâ vocis famam conciliabat, saith Petronius [b] in his fragment of pure impurities, I mean his Satyricon; *tam dulcis sonus permulcebat aëra, ut putares inter auras cantare Syrenum concordiam*; she sang so sweetly that she charmed the ayr, and thou wouldst have thought thou hadst heard a consort of Syrens. *O good God, when Lais speaks, how sweet it is!* Philocolus exclaims in Aristænetus, To hear a fair young gentlewoman play upon the virginals, lute, vial, and sing to it, which as Gellius observes, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. are *lascivientium deliciæ*, the chief delighte of lovers, must needs be a great entisement. Parthenis was so taken.

Mî vox ista avidâ haurit ab aure animam:

O sister Harpedona (she laments) I am undone, [c] *how sweetly he sings, I'll speak a bold word, he is the properest man that ever I saw in my life: O how sweetly he sings; I dye for his sake, O that he would love me again!* If thou didst but hear her sing, saith [d] Lucian, *thou wouldst forget father and mother, forsake all thy friends, and follow her.* Helena is highly commended by [e] Theocritus the poet for her sweet voice and musick; none could play so well as she, and Daphnis in the same Edyllion,

Quam tibi os dulce est, et vox amabilis ô Daphni,
Jucundius est audire te canentem, quam mel lingere!

How sweet a face hath Daphne, how lovely a voice!
Hony it self is not so pleasant in my choice.

A sweet voice and musick are powerful entisers. Those Samian singing wenches, Aristonica, Onanthe and Agathocleia, *regiis diadematibus insultarunt*, insulted over kings themselves, as [f] Plutarch contends.

Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat,

Argus had an hundred eys, all so charmed by one silly pipe, that

[a] Res est blanda canon discunt cantare puellæ pro facie, &c. Ovid. 3. de art. amandi. [b] Epist. l. 1. Cum loquitur Lais, quanta, O Dii boni, vocis ejus dulcedo! [c] Aristænetus lib. 2. epist. 5. Quam suave canit! verbum audax dixi, omnium quos vidi formosissimus, utinam amare me dignetur! [d] Imagines, si cantantem audieris, ita demulcebere, ut parentum et patriæ statim obliviscaris. [e] Edyl. 18. neque sane ulla sic Cytharam pulsare novit. [f] Amatorio Dialogo.

he lost his head. Clitiphon complains in [a] Tatius of Leucippe's sweet tunes; *he heard her play by chance upon the lute,* and sing a pretty song *to it, in commendations of a rose,* out of old Anacreon, belike;

Rosa honor decusque florum,
Rosa flos odorque Divum,
Hominum rosa est voluptas,
Deçus illa Gratiarum,
Florente amoris horâ,
Rosa suavium Diones, &c.

Rose the fairest of all flowers,
Rose delight of higher powers,
Rose the joy of mortal men,
Rose the pleasure of fine women,
Rose the Graces ornament,
Rose Dione's sweet content.

To this effect the lovely virgin with a melodious ayr upon her golden wired harp or lute, I know not well whether, plaid and sang, and that transported him beyond himself, *and that ravished his heart.* It was Jason's discourse as much as his beauty, or any other of his good parts, which delighted Medea so much.

——[b] Delectabatur enim
Animus simul formâ dulcibusque verbis.

It was Cleopatra's sweet voice, and pleasant speech which inveagled Anthony, above the rest of her entisements.

Verba ligant hominem, ut Taurorum cornua funes,

as bulls horns are bound with ropes, so are mens hearts with pleasant words. *Her words burn as fire, Eccles.* 9. 8. Roxolana bewitched Solyman the magnificent; and Shore's wife by this engine overcame Edward the fourth;

[c] Omnibus una omnes surripuit Veneres.

The wife of Bath in Chaucer confesseth all this out of her experience.

Some folk desire us for riches,
Some for shape, some for fairness,
Some for that she can sing or dance,
Some for gentleness, or for dalliance.

[a] Puellam Cythara canentem vidimus. [b] Apollonius. Argonaut. l. 3.
[c] Catullus.

[a] Peter Aretine's Lucretia telleth as much and more of her self; *I counterfeited honesty, as if I had been* virgo virginissima, *more then a vestal virgin; I looked like a wife, I was so demure and chaste, I did adde such gestures, tunes, speeches, signs and motions upon all occasions, that my spectators and auditors were stupified, enchanted, fastned all to their places, like so many stocks and stones.* Many silly gentlewomen are fetched over in like sort, by a company of guls and swaggering companions, that frequently bely noblemens favours; riming Coribantiasmi, Thrasonean Rhadomantes or Bombomachides, that have nothing in them but a few players ends and complements; vain braggadocians, impudent intruders, that can discourse at table of knights and lords combats, like [b] Lucian's Leontiscus, of other mens travels, brave adventures, and such common trivial news; ride, dance, sing old ballet tunes, and wear their clothes in fashion, with a good grace; a fine sweet gentleman, a proper man, who could not love him! She will have him though all her friends say no, though she beg with him. Some again are incensed by reading amorous toyes, Amadis de Gaul, Palmerin de Oliva, the Knight of the Sun, &c. or hearing such tales of [c] lovers, descriptions of their persons, lascivious discourses, such as Astyanassa, Helena's waiting woman, by the report of Suidas, writ of old, *de variis concubitus modis;* and after her, Philenis and Elephantine; or those light tracts of [d] Aristides Milesius (mentioned by Plutarch) and found by the Persians, in Crassus army, amongst the spoiles; Aretine's Dialogues, with ditties, love songs, &c. must needs set them on fire, with such like pictures, as those of Aretine, or wanton objects in what kind soever: *no stronger engin then to hear or read of love toyes, fables and discourses* ([e] one saith) *and many by this means are quite mad.* At Abdera in Thrace (Andromeda one of Euripides tragedies being played) the spectators were so much moved with the object, and those pathetical love speeches of Perseus, amongst the rest, *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men,* &c. that every man, almost, a good while after spake pure iambicks, and raved still on Perseus speech, *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men.* As car-men, boyes and prentises, when a new song is published with us, go singing that new tune still in the streets; they continually acted that tragical part of Perseus, and in every mans mouth

[a] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Lat. interp. Jasper. Barthio Germ. Fingebam honestatem plusquam virginis Vestalis; intuebar oculis uxoris, addebam gestus &c. [b] Tom 4. dial. merit. [c] Amatorius sermo vehemens vehementis cupiditatis incitatio est, Tatius l. 1. [d] De luxuria et deliciis compositi. [e] Æneas Silvius. Nulla machina validior quam lectio lascivæ historiæ; sæpe etiam hujusmodi fabulis ad furorem incenduntur.

1 Romeo and Juliet.

was *O Cupid;* in every street, *O Cupid;* in every house almost, *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men;* pronouncing still like stage-players, *O Cupid:* they were so possessed all with that rapture, and thought of that pathetical love-speech, they could not a long time after forget, or drive it out of their minds, but *O Cupid, Prince of Gods and men,* was ever in their mouths. This (belike) made Aristotle, *Polit. lib. 7. cap. 18.* forbid yong men to see comœdies, or to hear amorous tales.

> [a] Hæc igitur Juvenes nequam facilesque puellæ
> Inspiciant ———

let not yong folks meddle at all with such matters. And this made the Romans, as [b] Vitruvius relates, put Venus temple in the suburbs, *extra murum, ne adolescentes venereis insuescant,* to avoid all occasions and objects. For what will not such an object do? Ismenius as he walked in Sosthenes garden, being now in love, when he saw so [c] many lascivious pictures, *Thetis marriage,* and I know not what, was almost beside himself. And to say truth, with a lascivious object who is not moved, to see others dally, kiss, dance? And much more when he shall come to be an actor himself.

To kiss and to be kissed, which amongst other lascivious provocations, is as a burden in a song, and a most forcible battery, as infectious, [d] Xenophon thinks, as the poyson of a spider; a great allurement; a fire it self; *proœmium aut anticœnium,* the prologue of burning lust (as Apuleius adds) lust it self;

> [e] Venus quintâ parte sui nectaris imbuit.

A strong assault, that conquers captains, and those all commanding forces,

> [f] Domasque ferro sed domaris osculo.

[g] Aretine's Lucretia, when she would in kindness overcome a suiter of hers, and have her desire of him, *took him about the neck, and kissed him again and again;* and to that, which she could not otherwise effect, she made him so speedily and willingly condescend. And 'tis a continual assault,

> —— [h] hoc non deficit incipitque semper,

[a] Martial. l. 4. [b] Lib. 1. c. 7. [c] Eustathius l. 1. Picturæ parant animum ad Venerem, &c. Horatius ad res venereas intemperantior traditur; nam cubiculo suo sic specula dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocunque respexisset imaginem coitûs referrent. Suetonius vit. ejus. [d] Osculum ut phylangium inficit. [e] Hor. [f] Heinsius. [g] Applico me illi proximius et spisse deoseulata sagum peto. [h] Petronius catalect.

always fresh, and ready to [a] begin as at first; *basium nullo fine terminatur, sed semper recens est,* and hath a fiery touch with it.

——[b] Tenta modo tangere corpus,
Jam tua mellifluo membra calore fluent.

Especially when they shall be lasciviously given, as he feelingly said, [c] *et me pressulum deosculata Fotis, catenatis lacertis,* [d] *obtorto valgiter labello.*

[e] Valgiis suaviis,
Dum semiulco suavio
Meam puellam suavior,
Anima tunc ægra et saucia
Concurrit ad labia mihi.

The soul and all is moved; [f] *Jam pluribus osculis labra crepitabant, animarum quoque mixturam facientes, inter mutuos complexus animas anhelantes:*

[g] Hæsimus calentes,
Et transfudimus hinc et hinc labellis
Errantes animas, valete curæ.

They breath out their souls and spirits together with their kisses, saith [h] Balthazar Castilio; *change hearts and spirits, and mingle affections as they do kisses; and, it is rather a connexion of the minde then of the body.* And although these kisses be delightsome and pleasant, Ambrosian kisses,

[i] Suaviolum dulci dulcius Ambrosiâ,

such as [k] Ganymedes gave Jupiter, *Nectare suavius,* sweeter then [l] nectar, balsome, hony, [m] *Oscula merum amorem stillantia,* Love dropping kisses; for

The gilliflower, the rose is not so sweet,
As sugred kisses be, when lovers meet:

Yet they leave an irksome impression, like that of aloes or gaul;

[n] Ut mî ex Ambrosiâ mutatum jam foret illud
Suaviolum tristi tristius Helleboro.

[a] Catullus ad Lesbiam: Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum, &c. [b] Petronius. [c] Apuleius l. 10. et Catalect. [d] Petronius. [e] Apuleius. [f] Petronius Proseleos ad Circen. [g] Petronius. [h] Animus conjungitur, et spiritus etiam noster per osculum effluit; alternatim se in utriusque corpus infundentes commiscent; Animæ potius quam corporis connectio. [i] Catullus. [k] Lucian. Tom. 4. [l] Non dat basia, dat Nera neetar, dat rores animæ suaveolentes, dat nardum, thymumque cinnamumque et mel, &c. Secundus bas. 4. [m] Eustathius lib. 4. [n] Catullus.

At first Ambrose itself was not sweeter,
At last black hellebor was not so bitter.

They are deceitful kisses:

[a] Quid me mollibus implicas lacertis?
Quid fallacibus osculis inescas? &c.

Why dost within thine arms me lap,
And with false kisses me intrap?

They are destructive, and the more the worse:

[b] Et quæ me perdunt, oscula mille dabat;

They are the bane of these miserable lovers. There be honest kisses, I deny not; *osculum charitatis*, friendly kisses, modest kisses, vestall-virgin kisses, officious and ceremonial kisses, &c. *Osculi sensus, brachiorum amplexus*, kissing and embracing are proper gifts of nature to a man: but these are too lascivious kisses,

[c] Implicuitque suos circum mea colla lacertos, &c.

too continuate, and too violent, [d] *Brachia non hederæ, non vincunt oscula conchæ*; they cling like ivy; close as an oyster; bill as doves; meretricious kisses, biting of lips, *cum additamento: tam impresso ore* (saith [e] Lucian) *ut vix labia detrahant, inter deosculandum mordicantes, tum et os aperientes quoque et mammas attrectantes, &c.* such kisses as she gave to Gyton, *innumera oscula dedit non repugnanti puero, cervicem invadens*, innumerable kisses, &c. More then kisses, or too homely kisses: as those that [f] he spake of, *Accepturus ab ipsa Venere 7 suavia, &c.* with such other obscenities, that vain lovers use, which are abominable and pernicious. If, as Peter de Ledesmo *cas. cons.* holds, every kiss a man gives his wife after marriage, be *mortale peccatum*, a mortal sin; or that of [g] Hierome, *Adulter est quisquis in uxorem suam ardentior est amator*, or that of Thomas Secund. *Secund. quæst.* 154. *artic.* 4. *contactus et osculum sit mortale peccatum*; or that of Durand. *Rational. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *abstinere debent conjuges a complexu, toto tempore quo solennitas nuptiarum interdicitur*, what shall become of all such [h] immodest kisses and obscene actions, the fore-runners of brutish lust, if not lust it self! What shall

[a] Buchanan. [b] Ovid. art. am. Eleg. 18. [c] Ovid. [d] Cum capita liment solitis morsiunculis, et cum mammillarum pressiunculis. Lip. od. ant. lec. lib. 3. [e] Tom. 4, dial. meretr. [f] Apuleius Miles. 6. Et unum blandientis linguæ admulsum longe mellitum: et post lib. 11. Arctius eam complexus cœpi suaviari jamque pariter patentis oris inhalitu cinnameo et occursantis linguæ illisu nectareo, &c. [g] Lib. 1. advers. Jovin. cap. 30. [h] Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cætera sumpsit, &c.

become of them, that often abuse their own wives? But what have I to do with this?

That which I aim at, is to shew you the progress of this burning lust: to epitomize therefore all this which I have hitherto said, with a familiar example out of that elegant Musæus; observe but with me those amorous proceedings of Leander and Hero: they began first to look one on the other with a lascivious look;

> Oblique intuens inde nutibus,——
> Nutibus mutis inducens in errorem mentem puellæ.
> Et illa e contra nutibus mutuis juvenis
> Leandri quod amorem non renuit, &c. *Inde*
> Adibat in tenebris tacite quidem stringens
> Roseos puellæ digitos, ex imo suspirabat
> Vehementer——— *Inde*
> Virginis autem bene olens collum osculatus,
> Tale verbum ait amoris ictus stimulo,
> Preces audi et amoris miserere mei, &c.
> Sic fatus recusantis persuasit mentem puellæ.
>
> With becks and nods he first began,
> To try the wenche's mind,
> With becks and nods and smiles again
> An answer he did find.
> And in the dark he took her by the hand,
> And wrung it hard, and sighed grievously,
> And kiss'd her too, and woo'd her as he might,
> With, pitty me, sweet heart, or else I die:
> And with such words and gestures as there past,
> He won his mistress favour at the last.

The same proceedings is elegantly described by Apollonius in his Argonauticks, betwixt Jason and Medea; by Eustathius, in the ten books of the loves of Ismenius and Ismene; Achilles Tatius, betwixt his Clitiphon and Leucippe; Chaucer's neat poeme of Troilus and Cresseide; and in that notable tale in Petronius, of a souldier and a gentlewoman of Ephesus, that was so famous all over Asia for her chastity, and that mourned for her husband: the souldier wooed her with such rhetorick as lovers used to do,—*placitone etiam pugnabis amori? &c.* at last, *frangi pertinaciam passa est*, he got her good will, not only to satisfie his lust, [a] but to hang her dead husbands body on the cross which he watched, in stead of the thief's that was newly stoln away, whilest he woo'd her in her cabin. These are tales, you will say; but they have most significant morals, and do well express those ordinary proceedings of doting lovers.

[a] Corpus placuit mariti sui tolli ex arca, atque illi quæ vacabat cruci adfigi.

Many such allurements there are, nods, jests, winks, smiles, wrastlings, tokens, favours, symbols, letters, valentines, &c. For which cause, belike, Godfridus *lib.* 2. *de amor.* would not have women learn to write. Many such provocations are used when they come in presence, [a] they will and will not.

> Malo me Galatea petit lasciva puella,
> Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.
>
> My mistress with an apple wooes me,
> And hastily to covert goes
> To hide her self, but would be seen
> With all her heart before, God knows.

Hero so tripped away from Leander as one displeased;

> [b] Yet as she went, full often lookt behind,
> And many poor excuses did she finde
> To linger by the way, ——

but if he chance to overtake her, she is most averse, nice and coy,

> Denegat et pugnat, sed vult super omnia vinci.
>
> She seems not won, but won she is at length,
> In such wars women use but half their strength.

Sometimes they lye open, and are most tractable and coming, apt, yielding and willing to embrace, to take a green gown, with that shepardess in Theocritus, *Edyl.* 27. to let their coats, &c. to play and dally, at such seasons, and to some, as they spy their advantage; and then coy, close again, so nice, so surly, so demure, you had much better tame a colt, catch or ride a wild horse, then get her favour, or win her love; not a look, not a smile, not a kiss for a kingdome. [c] Aretine's Lucretia was an excellent artisan in this kinde, as she tels her own tale; *Though I was by nature and art most beautiful and fair, yet by these tricks I seem'd to be far more amiable then I was: for that which men earnestly seek and cannot attain, draws on their affection with a most furious desire.* I had a suitor lov'd me dearly (said she) and the [d] more he gave me, the more eagerly he wooed me, the more I seem'd to neglect, to scorn

[a] Novi ingenium mulierum, nolunt ubi velis, ubi nolis cupiunt ultro. Ter. Eunuc. act. 4. sc. 7. [b] Marlow. [c] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. donat. a Gasp. Barthio Germano: Quanquam natura et arte eram formosissima, isto tamen astu tanto speciosior videbar, quod enim oculis cupitum ægre præbetur, multo magis affectus humanos incendit. [d] Quo majoribus me donis propitiabat, eo pejoribus illum modis tractabam, ne basium impetravit, &c.

him; and (which I commonly gave others) I would not let him see me, converse with me, no not have a kiss. To gull him the more, and fetch him over (for him onely I aimed at) I personated my own servant, to bring in a present from a Spanish count, whilst he was in my company, as if he had been the counts servant; which he did excellently well perform: [a] *Comes de monte Turco, my lord and master hath sent your ladiship a small present, and part of his hunting, a piece of venison, a phesant, a few partridges, &c. (all which she bought with her own mony) commends his love and service to you, desiring you to accept of it in good part, and he means very shortly to come and see you.* Withall she shewed him rings, gloves, scarfs, coronets which others had sent her, when there was no such matter, but onely to circumvent him. [b] By these means (as she concludes) *I made the poor gentleman so mad, that he was ready to spend himself, and venture his dearest bloud for my sake.* Philinna, in [c] Lucian, practised all this long before, as it shall appear unto you by her discourse; for when Diphilus her sweet-heart came to see her (as his daily custome was) she frowned upon him, would not vouchsafe him her company, but kissed Lamprias his corrivall, at the same time [d] before his face: but why was it? To make him (as she telleth her mother that chid her for it) more jealous; to whetten his love; to come with a greater appetite; and to know that her favour was not so easie to be had. Many other tricks she used besides this (as she there confesseth) for she would fall out with, and anger him of set purpose, pick quarrels upon no occasion, because she would be reconciled to him again. *Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio*, as the old saying is; the falling out of lovers is the renewing of love; and according to that of Aristænetus, *jucundiores amorum post injurias deliciæ*, love is increased by injuries, as the sun beams are more gratious after a cloud. And surely this aphorism is most true; for as Ampelis informs Crisis in the said Lucian, [e] *If a lover be not jealous, angry, waspish, apt to fall out, sigh and swear, he is no true lover.* To kiss and coll, hang about her neck, protest, swear and wish, are but ordinary symptomes, *incipientis adhuc et crescentis amoris signa*; but if he be jealous,

[a] Comes de monte Turco Hispanus has de Venatione suâ partes misit, jussitque peramanter orare, ut hoc qualecunque donum suo nomine accipias. [b] His artibus hominem ita excantabam, ut pro me ille ad omnia paratus, &c. [c] Tom. 4. dial. meret. [d] Relicto illo, ægre ipsi interim faciens, et omnino difficilis. [e] Si quis enim nec Zelotypus irascitur, nec pugnat aliquando amator, nec perjurat, non est habendus amator, &c. Totus hic ignis Zelotypia constat, &c. Maximi amores inde nascuntur. Sed si persuasum illi fuerit te solum habere, elanguescit illico amor suus.

angry, apt to mistake, &c. *bene speres licet*, sweet sister, he is thine own; yet if you let him alone, humour him, please him, &c. and that he perceive once he hath you sure, without any corrivall, his love will languish, and he will not care so much for you. Hitherto (saith he) can I speak out of experience; Demophantus, a rich fellow, was a suiter of mine; I seem'd to neglect him, and gave better entertainment to Calliades the painter, before his face; *principio abiit, verbis me insectatus*, at first he went his way all in a chafe, cursing and swearing, but at last he came submitting himself, vowing and protesting that he loved me most dearly, I should have all he had, and that he would kill himself for my sake. Therefore I advise thee (dear sister Crisis) and all maids, not to use your suiters over kindly; *insolentes enim sunt hoc cum sentiunt*, 'twill make them proud and insolent; but now and then reject them, estrange thy self, *et si me audies semel atque iterum exclude*, shut him out of doors, once or twice; let him dance attendance; follow my counsell, and by this means [a] you shall make him mad, come off roundly, stand to any conditions, and do whatsoever you will have him. These are the ordinary practises; yet in the said Lucian, Melissa me thinks, had a trick beyond all this; for when her suiter came coldly on, to stir him up, she writ one of his corrivals names and her own in a paper, *Melissa amat Hermotimum, Hermotimus Melissam*, causing it to be stuck upon a post, for all gazers to behold, and lost it in the way where he used to walk; which when the silly novice perceived, *statim ut legit credidit*, instantly apprehended it was so, came raving to me, &c. [b] *and so when I was in despair of his love, four months after I recovered him again.* Eugenia drew Timocles for her valentine, and wore his name a long time after in her bosome: Camæna singled out Pamphilus to dance, at Myson's wedding (some say) for there she saw him first; Fælicianus overtook Cælia by the high way side, offered his service, thence came farther acquaintance, and thence came love. But who can repeat half their devices? What Aretine experienced, what conceited Lucian, or wanton Aristænetus? They will deny and take, stiffly refuse, and yet earnestly seek the same; repel to make them come with more eagerness; fly from if you follow; but if averse, as a shadow they will follow you again, *fugientem sequitur, sequentem fugit:* with a regaining retrait, a gentle reluctancy, a smiling threat, a pretty pleasant peevish-

[a] Venientem videbis ipsum denuo inflammatum et prorsus insanientem. [b] Et sic cum fere de illo desperassem, post menses quatuor ad me rediit.

ness, they will put you off, and have a thousand such several entisements. For as he saith,

> [a] Non est forma satis, nec quæ vult bella videri,
> Debet vulgari more placere suis.
> Dicta, sales, lusus, sermones, gratia, risus,
> Vincunt naturæ candidioris opus.
>
> 'Tis not enough though she be fair of hew,
> For her to use this vulgar complement:
> But pretty toyes, and jests, and sawes, and smiles,
> Are far beyond what beauty can attempt.

[b] For this cause, belike, Philostratus in his images, makes divers loves, *some yong, some of one age, some of another, some winged, some of one sex, some of another, some with torches, some with golden apples, some with darts, gins, snares, and other engins in their hands,* as Propertius hath prettily painted them out, *lib.* 2. *et* 29. and which some interpret, divers entisements, or divers affections of lovers; which if not alone, yet joyntly may batter and overcome the strongest constitutions.

It is reported of Decius, and Valerianus, those two notorious persecutors of the church, that when they could enforce a yong christian by no means (as [c] Hierome records) to sacrifice to their idols, by no torments or promises, they took another course to tempt him: they put him into a fair garden, and set a yong curtesan to dally with him; [d] *she took him about the neck and kissed him, and that which is not to be named, manibusque attrectare,* &c. and all those entisements which might be used; that whom torments could not, love might batter and beleaguer. But such was his constancy, she could not overcome; and when this last engin would take no place, they left him to his own ways. At [e] Barclye in Glocester-shire, there was in times past a nunnery (saith Gualterus Mapes, an old historiographer of ours, that lived 400 years since) *of which there was a noble and a fair lady abbess: Godwin, that subtile earl of Kent, travelling that way, (seeking not her but hers) leaves a nephew of his, a proper yong gallant (as if he had been sick) with her, till he came back again; and gives the yong man charge so long to counterfeit, till he had de-*

[a] Petronius Catalect. [b] Imagines Deorum, fol. 327. varios amores facit, quos aliqui interpretantur multiplices affectus et illecebras, alios puellos, puellas, alaios, alios poma aurea, alios saggittas, alios laqueos, &c. [c] Epist. lib. 3. vita Pauli Eremitæ. [d] Meretrix speciosa cepit delicatius stringere colla complexibus, et corpore in libidinem concitato, &c. [e] Camden in Glocestershire, huic præfuit nobilis et formosa Abbatissa: Godwinus comes indolo subtilis, non ipsam, sed sua cupiens, reliquit nepotem suum forma elegantissimum, tanquam infirmum donec reverteretur, instruit, &c.

flowred the abbess, and as many besides of the nuns as he could; and leaves him withall, rings, jewels, girdles, and such toyes to give them still, when they came to visit him. The yong man willing to undergo such a business, plaid his part so well, that in short space he got up most of their bellies; and when he had done, told his lord how he had sped: [a] *his lord makes instantly to the court, tells the king how such a nunnery was become a bawdy house, procures a visitation, gets them to be turned out, and begs the lands to his own use.* This story I do therefore repeat, that you may see of what force these entisements are, if they be opportunely used; and how hard it is even for the most averse and sanctified souls, to resist such allurements. John Major in the life of John the Monk, that lived in the dayes of Theodosius, commends the hermite to have been a man of singular continency, and of a most austere life; but one night, by chance, the divel came to his cell in the habit of a yong market wench that had lost her way, and desired for God's sake some lodging with him. [b] *The old man let her in; and after some common conference of her mishap, she began to inveagle him with lascivious talk and jests, to play with his beard, to kiss him, and do worse, till at last she overcame him. As he went to address himself to that business, she vanished on a sudden, and the divels in the ayr laughed him to scorn.* Whether this be a true story, or a tale, I will not much contend; it serves to illustrate this which I have said.

Yet were it so, that these of which I have hitherto spoken, and such like intising baits be not sufficient, there be many others, which will of themselves intend this passion of burning lust; amongst which, *dancing* is none of the least; and it is an engin of such force, I may not omit it. *Incitamentum libidinis*, Petrarch calls it, the spur of lust; *a* [c] *circle of which the divel himself is the center.* [d] *Many women that use it, have come dishonest home; most indifferent; none better.* [e] Another terms it, *the companion of all filthy delights and entisements; and 'tis not easily told what inconveniences come by it, what scurrile talk, obscene actions*; and many times such

[a] Ille impiger regem adit, Abbatissam et suas prægnantes edocet, exploratoribus missis probat, et iis ejectis, a domino suo manerium accepit. [b] Post sermones de casu suo suavitate sermonis conciliat animum hominis, manumque inter colloquia et risus ad barbam protendit et palpare cœpit cervicem suam et osculari; quid multa? captivum ducit militem Christi. Complexura evanescit, dæmones in aëre monachum riserunt. [c] Choræa circulus, cujus centrum diabolus. [d] Multæ inde impudicæ domum rediere, plures ambiguæ, melior nulla. [e] Turpium deliciarum comes est externa saltatio; neque certe facile dictu quæ mala hinc visus hauriat, et quæ pariat colloquia, monstrosos, inconditos gestus, &c.

monstrous gestures, such lascivious motions, such wanton tunes, meretricious kisses, homely embracings,

> ——— [a] (ut Gaditana canoro
> Incipiat prurire choro, plausuque probatæ
> Ad terram tremulæ descendant clune puellæ,
> Irritamentum Veneris languentis) ———

that it will make the spectators mad. When that epitomizer of [b] Trogus had to the full described, and set out king Ptolomie's riot, as a chief engin and instrument of his overthrow, he adds *tympanum et tripudium*, fidling and dancing; *the king was not a spectator onely, but a principall actor himself.* A thing nevertheless frequently used, and part of a gentlewoman's bringing up, to sing, dance, and play on the lute, or some such instrument, before she can say her *Pater Noster*, or ten commandements. 'Tis the next way their parents think, to get them husbands; they are compelled to learn, and by that means, [c] *incestos amores de tenero meditantur ungue*; 'tis a great allurement as it is often used, and many are undone by it. Thais in Lucian, inveagled Lamprias in a dance. Herodias so far pleased Herod, that she made him swear to give her what she would ask, John Baptist's head in a platter. [d] Robert duke of Normandy, riding by Falais, spied Arlette a fair maid, as she danced on a green; and was so much enamoured with the object, that [e] he must needs lye with her that night. Owen Tudor won queen Catharine's affection in a dance; falling by chance, with his head in her lap. Who cannot parallel these stories out of his experience? Speusippus a noble gallant in [f] that greek Aristænetus, seeing Panareta a fair yong gentlewoman dancing by accident, was so far in love with her, that for a long time after he could think of nothing but Panareta; he came raving home full of Panareta: *Who would not admire her, who would not love her, that should but see her dance as I did? O admirable, O divine Panareta! I have seen old and new Rome, many fair cities, many proper women, but never any like to Panareta! they are dross, dowdies all to Panareta! O how she danced, how she tript, how she turn'd, with what a grace! happy is that man that shall enjoye her. O most incomparable, onely, Panareta!* When Xenophon in Symposio, or banquet, had discoursed of love, and

[a] Juv. Sat. 11. [b] Justin, l. 10. Adduntur instrumenta luxuriæ, tympana et tripudia; nec tam spectator rex, sed nequitiæ magister, &c. [c] Hor. l. 3. od. 6.
[d] Havarde vita ejus. [e] Of whom he begat William the Conqueror; by the same token she tore her smock down, saying, &c. [f] Epist. 26. Quis non miratus est saltantem? Quis non vidit et amavit? veterem et novam vidi Romam, sed tibi similem non vidi Panareta; felix qui Panareta fruitur, &c.

used all the engins that might be devised to move Socrates; amongst the rest, to stir him the more, he shuts up all with a pleasant interlude or dance of Dionysius and Ariadne. [a]First, Ariadne *dressed like a bride came in and took her place; by and by Dionysius entred, dancing to the musick. The spectators did all admire the yong mans carriage; and Ariadne her self was so much affected with the sight, that she could scarse sit. After a while Dionysius beholding Ariadne, and incensed with love, bowing to her knees, embraced her first, and kissed her with a grace; she embraced him again, and kissed him with like affection, &c. as the dance required; but they that stood by and saw this, did much applaud and commend them both for it. And when Dionysius rose up, he raised her up with him, and many pretty gestures, embraces, kisses, and love complements passed between them; which when they saw fair Bacchus and beautiful Ariadne, so sweetly and so unfainedly kissing each other, so really embracing, they swore they loved indeed, and were so enflamed with the object, that they began to rouse up themselves, as if they would have flown. At the last, when they saw them still, so willingly embracing, and now ready to go to the bride-chamber, they were so ravished with it, that they that were unmarried, swore they would forthwith marry; and those that were married, called instantly for their horses, and gallopped home to their wives.* What greater motive can there be then this burning lust? What so violent an oppugner? Not without good cause therefore, so many general councels condemn it; so many fathers abhor it; so many grave men speak against it: *use not the company of a woman,* saith Siracides, 9. 4. *that is a singer, or a dancer; neither hear, least thou be taken in her craftiness. In circo non tam cernitur quam discitur libido.* [b]Hædus holds, lust in theaters is not seen, but learned. Gregory Nazianzen, that eloquent divine ([c]as he relates the story himself) when a noble friend of his solemnly invited him, with other bishops, to his daughter Olympia's wedding, refused to come: [d]*for it is absurd to see an old gouty bishop sit amongst dancers;* he

[a] Principio Ariadne velut sponsa prodit, ac sola recedit; prodiens illico Dionysius ad numeros cantante tibia saltabat; admirati sunt omnes saltantem juvenem, ipsaque Ariadne, ut vix potuerit conquiescere; postea vero cum Dionysius eam aspexit, &c. Ut autem surrexit Dionysius, erexit simul Ariadnem, licebatque spectare gestus osculantium, et inter se complectentium; qui autem spectabant, &c. Ad extremum videntes eos mutuis amplexibus implicatos et jamjam ad thalamum ituros; qui non duxerant uxores jurabant uxores se ducturos; qui autem duxerant, conscensis equis et incitatis, ut iisdem fruerentur, domum festinârunt. [b] Lib. 4. de contemnend. amoribus. [c] Ad Anysium epist. 57. [d] Intempestivum enim est, et a nuptiis abhorrens, inter saltantes podagricum videre senem, et Episcopum.

held it unfit to be a spectator; much less an actor. *Nemo saltat sobrius*, Tully writes; he is not a sober man that danceth; for some such reason (belike) Domitian forbad the Roman senators to dance; and for that fact, removed many of them from the senate. But these, you will say, are lascivious and pagan dances, 'tis the abuse that causeth such inconvenience, and I do not well therefore to condemn, speak against, or *innocently to accuse the best and pleasantest thing* (so [a] Lucian calls it) *that belongs to mortall men.* You misinterpret; I condemn it not; I hold it notwithstanding an honest disport, a lawful recreation, if it be opportune, moderately and soberly used: I am of Plutarch's mind, [b] *that which respects pleasure alone, honest recreation, or bodily exercise, ought not to be rejected and contemned:* I subscribe to [c] Lucian; *'tis an elegant thing, which cheareth up the mind, exerciseth the body, delights the spectators, which teacheth many comely gestures, equally affecting the ears, eys, and soul it self.* Salust discommends singing and dancing in Sempronia, not that she did sing or dance, but that she did it in excess; 'tis the abuse of it: and Gregorie's refusal doth not simply condemn it, but in some folks. Many will not allow men and women to dance together, because it is a provocation to lust: they may as well, with Lycurgus and Mahomet, cut down all vines, forbid the drinking of wine, for that it makes some men drunk.

> [d] Nihil prodest quod non lædere posset idem:
> Igne quid utilius?———

I say of this, as of all other honest recreations; they are like fire, good and bad, and I see no such inconvenience, but that they may so dance, if it be done at due times, and by fit persons: and conclude with Wolfongus [e] Hider, and most of our modern divines: *Si decoræ, graves, verecundæ, plena luce bonorum virorum et matronarum honestarum, tempestive fiant, probari possunt, et debent. There is a time to mourn, a time to dance*, Eccles. 3. 4. Let them take their pleasures then, and as [f] he said of old, *yong men and maids flourishing in their age, fair and lovely to behold, well attired*

[a] Rem omnium in mortalium vitâ optimam innocenter accusare. [b] Quæ honestam voluptatem respicit, aut corporis exercitium, contemni non debet. [c] Elegantissima res est, quæ et mentem acuit, corpus exerceat, et spectantes oblectet, multos gestus decoros docens, oculos, aures, animum ex æquo demulcens. [d] Ovid. [e] System. moralis Philosophiæ. [f] Apuleius. 10. Puelli, puellæque virenti florentes ætatulâ, formâ conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gratiosi, Græcanicam saltantes Pyrrhicam, dispositis ordinationibus, decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem flexi, nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, nunc in quadrum cuneati, nunc inde separati, &c.

and of comely carriage, dancing a Greek galliard, and as their dance required, kept their time, now turning, now tracing, now apart, now altogether, now a courtesie, then a caper, &c. and it was a pleasant sight, to see those pretty knots, and swimming figures. The sun and moon (some say) dance about the earth; the three upper planets about the sun as their center, now stationary, now direct, now retrograde, now in *apogæo*, then *in perigæo*, now swift, then slow, occidentall, orientall, they turn round, jumpe and trace, ♀ and ☿ about the sun with those thirty three Maculæ or burbonian planet; *circa Solem saltantes Cytharedum*, saith Fromundus. Four Medicean stars dance about Jupiter; two Austrian about Saturn, &c. and all (belike) to the musick of the sphears. Our greatest counsellors, and staid senators, at sometimes, dance; as David before the ark, 2 Sam. 6. 14. Miriam, Exod. 15. 20. Judith, 15. 13. (though the divel hence perhaps hath brought in those bawdy Bacchanals) and well may they do it. The greatest souldiers, as [a]Quintilianus, [b]Æmilius Probus, [c]Cœlius Rhodiginus, have proved at large, still use it in Greece, Rome, and the most worthy senators, *cantare, saltare.* Lucian, Macrobius, Libanus, Plutarch, Julius, Pollux, Athenæus, have written just tracts in commendation of it. In this our age it is in much request in those countries, as in all civil commonwealths, as Alexander *ab Alexandro, lib.* 4. *cap.* 10. *et lib.* 2. *cap.* 25. hath proved at large; [d]amongst the Barbarians themselves, nothing so pretious; all the world allows it.

> [e]Divitias contemno tuas, rex Crœse, tuamque
> Vendo Asiam, unguentis, flore, mero, Choreis.

[f]Plato in his Common-wealth, will have dancing-schools to be maintained, *that young folks might meet, be acquainted, see one another, and be seen;* nay more, he would have them dance naked; and scoffs at them that laugh at it. But Eusebius *præpar. Evangel. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. and Theodoret *lib.* 9. *curat. græc. affect.* worthily lash him for it; and well they might: for as one saith, [g]*The very sight of naked parts, causeth enormous, exceeding concupiscences, and stirs up both men and women to burning lust.* There is a mean in all things: this is my censure in brief; dancing is a pleasant recreation of body and mind, if sober and modest (such as our

[a] Lib. 1. cap. 11. [b] Vit. Epaminondæ. [c] Lib. 5. [d] Read P. Martyr Ocean Decad. Benzo, Lerius, Hacluit, &c. [e] Angerianus Erotopædium.
[f] 10. Leg. τῆς γὰρ τοιαυτῆς σπουδῆς ἕνεκα &c. hujus causa oportuit disciplinam constitui, ut tam pueri quam puellæ choreas celebrent, spectenturque ac spectent, &c. [g] Aspectus enim nudorum corporum tam mares quam fœminas irritare solet ad enormes lasciviæ appetitus.

Christian dances are) if tempestively used; a furious motive to burning lust, if, as by Pagans heretofore, unchastely abused. But I proceed.

If these allurements do not take place, (for [a]Simierus, that great master of dalliance shall not behave himself better) the more effectually to move others, and satisfie their lust, they will swear and lye, promise, protest, forge, counterfeit, brag, bribe, flatter and dissemble of all sides. 'Twas Lucretia's counsel in Aretine, *Si vis amicâ frui, promitte, finge, jura, perjura, jacta, simula, mentire*, and they put it well in practice, as Apollo to Daphne,

> ——[b] mihi Delphica tellus
> Et Claros et Tenedos, Patareaque regia servit,
> Jupiter est genitor——

> Delphos, Claros and Tenedos serve me,
> And Jupiter is known my sire to be.

[c]The poorest swaines will do as much;

> [d]Mille pecus nivei sunt et mihi vallibus agni.

I have a thousand sheep, good store of cattle, and they are all at her command,

> ——[e]Tibi nos, tibi nostra supellex,
> Ruraque servierint——

house, land, goods, are at her service, as he is himself. Dinomachus, a senators son in [f]Lucian, in love with a wench inferior to him in birth and fortunes, the sooner to accomplish his desire, wept unto her, and swore he loved her with all his heart, and her alone; and that, as soon as ever his father died (a very rich man and almost decrepit) he would make her his wife. The maid by chance made her mother acquainted with the business, who being an old fox, well experienced in such matters, told her daughter, now ready to yeeld to his desire, that he meant nothing less; for dost thou think he will ever care for thee, being a poor wench, [g]that may have his choice of all the beauties in the city, one noble by birth, with so many talents, as yong, better qualified, and fairer then thy self? daughter beleeve him not: the maid was abasht, and so the matter broke off. When Jupiter wooed Juno first (Lilius Giraldus relates it out of an old Comment on Theocritus) the

[a] Camden Annal. Anno 1578, fol. 276. Amatoriis facetiis et illecebris exquisitissimus. [b] Met. 1. Ovid. [c] Erasmus egl. Mille mei Siculis errant in montibus agni. [d] Virg. [e] Lœchæus. [f] Tom. 4. merit. dial. Amare se jurat et lachrimatur dicitque uxorem me ducere velle, quum pater oculos clausisset, [g] Quum dotem alibi multo majorem aspiciet, &c.

better to effect his suite, he turned himself into a cuckow; and spying her one day walking alone, separated from the other goddesses, caused a tempest suddenly to arise, for fear of which, she fled to shelter: Jupiter to avoid the storm likewise flew into her lap, *in virginis Junonis gremium devolavit*, whom Juno for pitty covered in her [a] *apron*. But he turned himself forthwith into his own shape, began to embrace and offer violence unto her, *sed illa matris metu abnuebat*, but she by no means would yeeld, *donec pollicitus connubium obtinuit*, till he vowed and swore to marry her, and then she gave consent. This fact was done at Thornax hill, which ever after was called Cuckow hill; and in perpetuall remembrance, there was a temple erected to Telia Juno in the same place. So powerfull are fair promises, vows, oathes and protestations. It is an ordinary thing too, in this case, to belie their age, which widdows usually do, that mean to marry again; and batchelours too, sometimes,

> [b] Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
> Claudere lustrum;

to say they are yonger then they are. Charmides, in the said Lucian, loved Philematium, an old maid of 45 years, [c] she swore to him she was but 32 next December. But to dissemble in this kinde, is familiar of all sides, and often it takes.

> [d] Fallere credentem res est operosa puellam,

'tis soon done, no such great mastery,

> Egregiam vero laudem, et spolia ampla,——

And nothing so frequent as to belie their estates; to prefer their suites; and to advance themselves. Many men, to fetch over a yong woman, widdows, or whom they love, will not stick to crack, forge and fain any thing comes next; bid his boy fetch his cloak, rapier, gloves, jewels, &c. in such a chest, scarlet-golden-tissue breeches, &c. when there is no such matter; or make any scruple to give out, as he did in Petronius, that he was master of a ship, kept so many servants; and, to personate their part the better, take upon them to be gentlemen of good houses; well descended and allied; hire apparell at brokers; some scavinger or prick-louse taylors to attend upon them for the time; swear they have great possessions, [e] bribe, lye, cog, and foist, how dearly they love, how bravely they will maintain

[a] Or upper garment. Quem Juno miserata veste contexit. [b] Hor.
[c] Dejeravit illa secundum supra trigesimum ad proximum Decembrem completuram se esse. [d] Ovid. [e] Nam donis vincitur omnis amor. Catullus 1. el. 5.

her, like any lady, countess, dutchess, or queen; they shall have gowns, tires, jewels, coaches, and caroches, choice diet,

> The heads of parrats, tongues of nightingals,
> The brains of peacocks, and of estriches,
> Their bath shall be the juyce of gilliflowres,
> Spirit of roses, and of violets,
> The milk of unicorns, &c.

as old Volpone courted Cælia in the [a] comœdy, when as, they are no such men, not worth a groat, but meer sharkers, to make a fortune, to get their desire, or else pretend love to spend their idle hours, to be more welcome, and for better entertainment. The conclusion is, they mean nothing less;

> [b] Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere curant:
> Sed simul ac cupidæ mentis satiata libido est,
> Dicta nihil metuêre, nihil perjuria curant.
>
> Oathes, vows, promises, are much protested;
> But when their minde, and lust is satisfied,
> Oathes, vows, promises, are quite neglected.

though he solemnly swear by the genius of Cæsar, by Venus shrine, Hymen's deity, by Jupiter, and all the other gods, give no credit to his words. For when lovers swear, Venus laughs, *Venus hæc perjuria ridet;* [c] Jupiter himself smiles, and pardons it withall, as grave [d] Plato gives out; of all perjury, that alone for love matters is forgiven by the gods. If promises, lies, oathes, and protestations will not avail, they fall to bribes, tokens, gifts, and such like feates. [e] *Plurimus auro conciliatur amor:* as Jupiter corrupted Danäe with a golden shower, and Liber Ariadne with a lovely crown, (which was afterwards translated into the heavens, and there for ever shines;) they will rain chickins, florens, crowns, angels, all maner of coines and stamps in her lap. And so must he certainly do that will speed; make many feasts, banquets, invitations, send her some present or other every foot. *Summo studio parentur epulæ* (saith [f] Hædus) *et crebræ fiant largitiones;* he must be very bountiful and liberal, seek and sue, not to her onely, but to all her followers, friends, familiars, fidlers, panders, parasites, and houshold servants; he must insinuate himself, and surely will, to all, of all sorts, messengers, porters, carriers; no man must be unrewarded, or unrespected.

[a] Fox. act. 3. sc. 3. [b] Catullus. [c] Perjuria ridet amantum Jupiter, et ventos irrita ferre jubet, Tibul. lib. 3. et 6. [d] In Philebo. Pejerantibus his Dii soli ignoscunt. [e] Catul. [f] Lib. 1. de contemnendis amoribus.

x Juliet

I had a suiter (saith [a] Aretine's Lucretia) that when he came to my house, flung gold and silver about, as if it had bin chaff. Another suiter I had, was a very cholerick fellow; but I so handled him, that for all his fuming, I brought him upon his knees: If there had been an excellent bit in the market, any novelty, fish, fruit, or fowl, muskadel, or malmesey, or a cup of neat wine in all the city, it was presented presently to me, though never so dear, hard to come by, yet I had it: the poor fellow was so fond at last, that I think, if I would, I might have had one of his eys out of his head. A third suiter was a merchant of Rome; and his manner of wooing was, with [b] exquisite musick, costly banquets, poems, &c. I held him off, till at length he protested, promised, and swore *pro virginitate regno me donaturum*, I should have all he had, house, goods and lands, *pro concubitu solo;* [c] Neither was there ever any conjurer, I think, to charm his spirits, that used such attention, or mighty words, as he did exquisite phrases; or general of any army, so many stratagems to win a city, as he did tricks and devices to get the love of me. Thus men are active and passive; and women not far behind them in this kinde: *audax ad omnia fœmina, quæ vel amat, vel odit.*

[d] For half so boldly there can non,
Swear and lye as women can.

[e] They will crack, counterfeit and collogue, as well as the best, with handkerchiefs, and wrought nightcaps, purses, posies, and such toyes: as he justly complained,

[f] Cur mittis violas? nempe ut violentius urar;
Quid violas violis me violenta tuis? &c.

Why dost thou send me violets, my dear?
To make me burn more violent I fear;
With violets too violent thou art,
To violate and wound my gentle heart.

When nothing else will serve, the last refuge is their tears. *Hæc scripsi* (*testor amorem*) *mixta lachrymis et suspiriis*, 'twixt tears and sighs, I write this (I take love to witness) saith [g] Chelidonia to Philonius. *Lumina quæ modo fulmina, jam*

[a] Dial. Ital. Argentum ut paleas projiciebat. Biliosum habui amatorem qui supplex flexis genibus, &c. Nullus recens allatus terræ fructus, nullum cupediarum genus tam carum erat, nullum vinum Creticum pretiosum, quin ad me ferret illico; credo alterum oculum pignori daturus, &c. [b] Post musicam opiperas epulas, et tantis juramentis, donis, &c. [c] Nunquam aliquis umbrarum conjurator tanta attentione, tamque potentibus verbis usus est, quam ille exquisitis mihi dictis, &c. [d] Chaucer. [e] Ah crudele genus nec tutum fœmina nomen! Tibul. l. 3. eleg. 4. [f] Jovianus Pon. [g] Aristænetus lib. 2. epist. 13.

[x] Mr. Bickerstaff

flumina lachrymarum, those burning torches are now turn'd to floods of tears. Aretine's Lucretia, when her sweet heart came to town [a] wept in his bosome, *that he might be perswaded those tears were shed for joye of his return.* Quartilla in Petronius, when nought would move, fell a weeping; and as Balthazar Castilio paints them out, [b] *To these crocodiles tears, they will add sobs, fiery sighs, and sorrowful countenance; pale colour, leanness; and if you do but stir abroad, these fiends are ready to meet you at every turn, with such a sluttish neglected habit, dejected look, as if they were now ready to dye for your sake; and how, saith he, shall a yong novice thus beset, escape?* But beleeve them not.

——— [c] animam ne crede puellis,
Namque est fœmineâ tutior unda fide.

Thou thinkest, peradventure, because of her vows, tears, smiles, and protestations, she is solely thine; thou hast her heart, hand, and affection, when as indeed there is no such matter; as the [d] Spanish bawde said, *gaudet illa habere unum in lecto, alterum in portâ, tertium qui domi suspiret*, she will have one sweet heart in bed, another in the gate, a third sighing at home, a fourth, &c. Every yong man she sees and likes, hath as much interest, and shall as soon injoye her as thy self. On the other side, which I have said, men are as false, let them swear, protest, and lye;

[e] Quod vobis dicunt, dixerunt mille puellis.

They love, some of them, those eleven thousand virgins at once; and make them beleeve, each particular, he is besotted on her; or love one till they see another, and then her alone: like Milo's wife in Apuleius, *lib.* 2. *Si quem conspexerit speciosæ formæ juvenem, venustate ejus sumitur, et in eum animum intorquet.* 'Tis their common complement in that case; they care not what they swear, say, or do. One while they slight them, care not for them, rail down right, and scoffe at them; and then again they will run mad, hang themselves, stab and kill, if they may not injoye them. Henceforth therefore,

——— nulla viro juranti fœmina credat,

let not maids beleeve them. These tricks and counterfeit pas-

[a] Suaviter flebam, ut persuasum habeat lachrymas præ gaudio illius reditus mihi emanare. [b] Lib. 3. His accedunt, vultus suburistis, color pallidus, gemebunda vox, ignita suspiria, lachrimæ prope innumerabiles. Istæ se statim umbræ offerunt tanto squalore, et in omni fere diverticulo, tanta macie, ut illas jamjam moribundas putes. [c] Petronius. [d] Cœlestina act. 7. Barthio interpret. Omnibus arridet, et a singulis amari se solam dicit. [e] Ovid.

sions are more familiar with women, [a] *finem hic dolori faciet aut vitæ dies, miserere amantis,* quoth Phædra to Hippolitus. Joessa in [b] Lucian, told Pythias *a yong man,* to move him the more, that if he would not have her, she was resolv'd to make away her self. *There is a Nemesis, and it cannot chuse but grieve and trouble thee, to hear that I have either strangled or drowned my self for thy sake.* Nothing so common to this sexe, as oathes, vows, and protestations; and as I have already said, tears, which they have at command: for they can so weep, that one would think, their very hearts were dissolved within them, and would come out in tears, their eys are like rocks, which still drop water, *diariæ lachrymæ et sudoris in modum turgeri promptæ,* saith [c] Aristænetus, they wipe away their tears like sweat; weep with one eye, laugh with the other; or as children [d] weep and cry, they can both together.

> [e] Neve puellarum lachrymis moveare memento,
> Ut flerent oculos erudîre suos.
>
> Care not for womens tears, I counsel thee,
> They teach their eys as much to weep as see.

And as much pitty is to be taken of a woman weeping, as of a goose going bare-foot. When Venus lost her son Cupid, she sent a cryer about, to bid every one that met him take heed.

> [f] Si flentem aspicias, ne mox fallâre, caveto;
> Sin arridebit, magis effuge; et oscula si fors
> Ferre volet, fugito: sunt oscula noxia, in ipsis
> Suntque venena labris, &c.
>
> Take heed of Cupid's tears, if cautelous,
> And of his smiles and kisses I thee tell,
> If that he offer't, for they be noxious,
> And very poyson in his lips doth dwell.

[g] A thousand years, as Castilio conceives, *will scarce serve to reckon up those allurements and guiles, that men and women use to deceive one another with.*

[a] Seneca. Hippol. [b] Tom. 4. dial. meret. Tu vero aliquando mœrore afficieris ubi audieris me a meipsa laqueo tui causa suffocatam aut in puteum precipitatam. [c] Epist. 20. l. 2. [d] Matronæ flent duobus oculis, moniales quatuor, virgines uno, meretrices nullo. [e] Ovid. [f] Imagines Deorum fol. 332. e Moschi amore fugitivo, quem Politianus Latinum fecit. [g] Lib. 3. Mille vix anni sufficerent ad omnes illas machinationes, dolosque commemorandos, quos viri et mulieres ut se invicem circumveniant, excogitare solent.

SUBSECT. V.

Bawdes, Philters, causes.

WHEN all other engins fail, that they can proceed no farther of themselves, their last refuge is to flye to bawdes, panders, magical philters, and receipts; rather then fail, to the divel himself.

Flectere si nequeunt superos, Acheronta movebunt.

And by those indirect means, many a man is overcome, and precipitated into this malady, if he take not good heed. For these bawdes first; they are every where so common, and so many, that as he said of old Croton, [a] *omnes hic aut captantur, aut captant*, eather inveagle or be inveagled, we may say of most of our cities, there be so many professed, cunning bawdes in them. Besides, bawdry is become an art, or a liberal science, as Lucian calls it; and there be such tricks and subtleties, so many nurses, old women, panders, letter-carriers, beggers, physicians, friers, confessors, employed about it, that *nullus tradere stylus sufficiat*, one saith.

——— [b] trecentis versibus
Suas impuritias traloqui nemo potest.

Such occult notes, stenography, polygraphy, *Numtius animatus*, or magnetical telling of their minds, which [c] Cabeus the Jesuit, by the way, counts fabulous and false; cunning conveyances in this kinde, that neither Juno's jealousie, nor Danäe's custody, nor Argo's vigilancy can keep them safe. 'Tis the last and common refuge to use an assistant, such as that Catanean Philippa was to Jone queen of Naples; a [d] bawdes help, an old woman in the business, as [e] Myrrha did when she doted on Cyniras, and could not compass her desire, the old Jade her nurse was ready at a pinch; *dic inquit, opemque me sine ferre tibi——et in hâc mea (pone timorem) sedulitas erit apta tibi*, fear it not, if it be possible to be done, I will effect it: *non est mulieri mulier insuperabilis*, as [f] Cælestina said; let him or her be never so honest, watched, and reserved, 'tis hard but one of these old women will get access: and scarse shall you find, as [g] Austin observes,

[a] Petronius. [b] Plautus Tritemius. [c] De Magnet. Philos. lib. 4. cap. 10. [d] Catul. eleg. 5. lib. 1. Venit in exitium callida lena meum. [e] Ovid. 10. met. [f] Parobosc. Barthii. [g] De vit. Erem. c. 3. ad sororem. Vix aliquam reclusarum hujus temporis solam invenies, ante cujus fenestram non anus garrula, vel nugigerula mulier sedet, quæ eam fabulis occupet, rumoribus pascat, hujus vel illius monachi, &c.

in a nunnery, a maid alone; *if she cannot have egress, before her window you shall have an old woman, or some prating gossip, tell her some tales of this clerk, and that monk, describing or commending some yong gentleman or other unto her.* As I was walking in the street (saith a good fellow in Petronius) to see the town served one evening, [a] *I spied an old woman in a corner, selling of cabbages and roots* (as our hucksters do plums, apples, and such like fruits;) *mother* (quoth he) *can you tell where I dwell? she being well pleased with my foolish urbanity, replied, and why, sir, should I not tell? with that she rose up and went before me; I took her for a wise woman; and by and by she led me into a by-lane, and told me there I should dwell; I replyed again, I knew not the house; but I perceived on a sudden by the naked queans, that I was now come into a bawdy-house; and then too late, I began to curse the treachery of this old jade.* Such tricks you shall have in many places; and amongst the rest, it is ordinary in Venice, and in the island of Zante, for a man to be bawde to his own wife. No sooner shall you land, or come on shore, but as the comical poet hath it,

> [b] Morem hunc meretrices habent,
> Ad portum mittunt servulos, ancillulas,
> Si qua peregrina navis in portum aderit,
> Rogant cujatis sit, quod ei nomen siet,
> Post illæ extemplo sese adplicent.

These white divels have their panders, bawdes and factors in every place, to seek about, and bring in customers; to tempt, and way-lay novices and silly travellers. And when they have them once within their clutches, as Ægidius Maserius in his comment upon Valerius Flaccus describes them, [c] *with promises and pleasant discourse, with gifts, tokens, and taking their opportunities, they lay nets which Lucretia cannot avoid; and baits that Hippolitus himself would swallow: they make such strong assaults and batteries, that the Goddess of Virginity cannot withstand them: give gifts, and bribes to move Penelope, and with threats able to terrifie Susanna. How many Proserpinas with those catchpoles doth Pluto take? These are*

[a] Agreste olus anus vendebat, et rogo inquam, mater, nunquid scis ubi ego habitem? delectata illa urbanitate tam stulta, et quid nesciam, inquit? consurrexitque et cœpit me præcedere; divinam ego putabam, &c. nudas video meretrices et in lupanar me adductum, sero execratus aniculæ insidias. [b] Plautus Menech. [c] Promissis everberant, molliunt dulciloquiis, et opportunum tempus aucupantes laqueos ingerunt quos vix Lucretia vitaret; escam parant quam vel satur Hippolitus sumeret, &c. Hæ sane sunt virgæ soporiferæ quibus contactæ animæ ad Orcum descendunt; hoc gluten quo compactæ mentium alæ evolare nequeunt, dæmonis ancillæ, quæ sollicitant, &c.

the sleepy rods, with which their souls touched, descend to hell; this the glew or lime with which the wings of the minde once taken, cannot flye away; the divels ministers to allure, entise, &c. Many yong men and maids, without all question, are inveagled by these Eumenides and their associates. But these are trivial and well known. The most slye, dangerous, and cunning bawdes, are your knavish physicians, empyricks, mass-priests, monks, [a] jesuits, and friers. Though it be against Hippocrates oath, some of them will give a dram, promise to restore maidenheads, and do it without danger; make an abort if need be, keep down their paps, hinder conception, procure lust, make them able with Satyrions, and now and then step in themselves. No monastery so close, house so private, or prison so well kept, but these honest men are admitted to censure and ask questions; to feel their pulse, be at their bed side, and all under pretence of giving physick. Now as for monks, confessors, and friers, as he said,

> [b] Non audet Stygius Pluto tentare quod audet
> Effrenis Monachus, plenaque fraudis anus.
>
> That Stygian Pluto dares not tempt or do,
> What an old hag or monk will undergo:

Either for himself to satisfie his own lust; for another, if he be hired thereto, or both at once, having such excellent means. For under colour of visitation, auricular confession, comfort and penance, they have free egress and regress, and corrupt, God knows how many. They have so many trades, some of them, practice physick, use exoreisms, &c.

> [c] That wherein was wont to walk an elfe,
> There now walks the limiter himselfe,
> In every bush and under every tree,
> There nrens no other incubus but he.

[d] In the mountains betwixt Dauphine and Savoy, the friers perswaded the good wives to counterfeit themselves possessed, that their husbands might give them free access; and were so familiar in those dayes with some of them, that, as one [e] observes, *wenches could not sleep in their beds for necromantick friers:* and the good abbess, in Bocace, may in some sort witness, that rising betimes, mistook and put on the frier's breeches instead of her vail or hat. You have heard the story;

[a] See the practices of the Jesuits, Anglice edit. 1630. [b] Æn. Sil. [c] Chaucer in the wife of Bath's tale. [d] H. Stephanus Apol. Herod. lib. 1. cap. 21.
[e] Bale. Puellæ in lectis dormire non poterant.

I presume of [a]Paulina, a chast matron in Ægesippus, whom one of Isis priests did prostitute to Mundus a yong knight, and made her beleeve it was their god Anubis. Many such pranks are played by our Jesuits; sometimes in their own habits, sometimes in others, like souldiers, courtiers, citizens, schollars, gallants, and women themselves. Proteus like, in all forms and disguises, that go abroad in the night, to inescate and beguile yong women, or to have their pleasure of other mens wives: and if we may believe [b]some relations, they have wardrops of several suits in their colledges for that purpose. Howsoever in publike, they pretend much zeal, seem to be very holy men, and bitterly preach against adultery, fornication, there are no verier bawdes or whoremasters in a country; [c] *Whose souls they should gain to God, they sacrifice to the divel.* But I spare these men for the present.

The last battering engins, are philters, amulets, spells, charms, images, and such unlawful means; if they cannot prevail of themselves by the help of bawds, panders, and their adherents, they will flye for succour to the divel himself. I know there be those that deny the divel can do any such thing, (Crato, *epist.* 2. *lib. med.*) and many divines, that there is no other fascination then that which comes by the eys, of which I have formerly spoken; and if you desire to be better informed, read Camerarius *oper. subcis. cent.* 2. c. 5. It was given out of old, that a Thessalian wench had bewitched king Phillip to dote upon her, and by philters enforced his love; but when Olympia the queen saw the maid of an excellent beauty, well brought up, and qualified: These, quoth she, were the philters which inveagled king Phillip; those the true charms, as Henry to Rosamund:

> [d]One accent from thy lips, the blood more warms,
> Then all their philters, exorcisms and charms.

With this alone Lucretia brags in [e]Aretine, she could do more then all philosophers, astrologers, alchymists, necromancers, witches, and the rest of the crew. As for hearbs and philters, I could never skill of them, *The sole philter that ever I used, was kissing and embracing, by which alone I made men rave like beasts stupified, and compelled them to worship me like an idol.* In our times 'tis a common thing,

[a] Idem Josephus lib. 18. cap. 4. [b] Liber edit. Augustæ Vindelicorum An. 1608.
[c] Quarum animas lucrari debent Deo, sacrificant diabolo. [d] M. Drayton Her. epist. [e] Pornodidascalo dial. Ital. Latin. fact. a Gasp. Barthio. Plus possum quam omnes philosophi, astrologi, necromantici, &c. sola saliva inungens, 1. amplexu et basiis tam furiose furere, tam bestialiter obstupefieri coegi, ut instar Idoli me adorarint.

saith Erastus in his book *de Lamiis*, for witches to take upon them the making of these philters, [a] *to force men and women to love and hate whom they will; to cause tempests, diseases,* &c. by charms, spels, characters, knots.

——[b] hic Thessala vendit philtra.

S[t]. Hierome proves that they can do it, (as in Hilarius life, *epist. lib.* 3.) he hath a story of a yong man, that with a philter made a maid mad for the love of him; which maid was after cured by Hilarian. Such instances I finde in John Nider, *Formicar. lib.* 5. *cap.* 5. Plutarch records of Lucullus that he died of a philter; and that Cleopatra used philters to inveagle Anthony, amongst other allurements. Eusebius reports as much of Lucretius the poet. Panormitan. *lib.* 4. *de gest. Alphonsi*, hath a story of one Stephan a Neapolitian knight, that by a philter was forced to run mad for love. But of all others, that which [c] Petrarch *epist. famil. lib.* 1. *ep.* 5. relates of Charls the great, is most memorable: He foolishly doted upon a woman of mean favour and condition, many years together; wholly delighting in her company, to the great grief and indignation of his friends and followers. When she was dead, he did embrace her corps, as Apollo did the bay-tree, for his Daphne, and caused her coffin (richly embalmed and decked with jewels) to be carried about with him, over which he still lamented. At last a venerable bishop that followed his court, pray'd earnestly to God (commiserating his lord and masters case) to know the true cause of this mad passion, and whence it proceeded; it was revealed to him, in fine, *that the cause of the emperors mad love lay under the dead womans tongue.* The bishop went hastily to the carkass, and took a small ring thence; upon the removal, the emperour abhorr'd the corse, and instead [d] of it, fell as furiously in love with the bishop; he would not suffer him to be out of his presence: which when the bishop perceived, he flung the ring into the midst of a great lake, where the king then was. From that houre the emperour neglecting all his other houses, dwelt at [e] Ache, built a fair house in the midst of the marsh, to his infinite expence, and a [f] temple by it, where after he was buried, and in which city all his posterity ever since use to be

[a] Sagæ omnes sibi arrogant notitiam, et facultatem in amorem alliciendi quos velint; odia inter conjuges serendi, tempestates excitandi, morbos infligendi, &c. [b] Juvenalis Sat. [c] Idem refert Hen. Kornmannus de mir. mort. lib. I. cap. 14. Perdite amavit mulierculam quandam, illius amplexibus acquiescens, summa cum indignatione suorum et dolore. [d] Et inde totus in Episcopum furere, illum colere. [e] Aquisgranum, vulgo Aixe. [f] Immenso sumptu templum et ædes, &c.

crowned. Marcus the heretick is accused by Irenæus to have inveagled a yong maid by this means; and some writers speak hardly of the lady Eleanor Cobham, that by the same art, she circumvented Humphrey duke of Glocester to be her husband. Sycinius Æmilianus summoned [a] Apuleius to come before Cneius Maximus, proconsul of Africk, that he being a poor fellow, *had bewitched by philters, Pudentilla, an ancient rich matron, to love him;* and being worth so many thousand sesterces, to be his wife. Agrippa *lib.* 1. *cap.* 48. *occult. philos.* attributes much in this kinde to philters, amulets, images: and Salmutz. *com. in Pancirol. Tit.* 10. *de Horol.* Leo Afer. *lib.* 3. saith, 'tis an ordinary practice at Fez in Africk; *præstigiatores ibi plures, qui cogunt amores et concubitus:* as skilful all out as that Hyperboréan magitian, of whom Cleodemus, in [b] Lucian, tells so many fine feats, perform'd in this kind. But Erastus, Wierus, and others, are against it; they grant, indeed, such things may be done, but (as Wierus discourseth, *lib.* 3. *de Lamiis cap.* 37.) not by charms, incantations, philters, but the divel himself; *lib.* 5. *cap.* 2. he contends as much; so doth Freitagius *noc. med. cap.* 74. Andreas Cisalpinus *cap.* 5. and so much Sigismundus Schereczius *cap.* 9. *de hirco nocturno,* proves at large. [c] *Unchast women by the help of these witches, the divels kitchen maids, have their loves brought to them in the night, and carried back again by a phantasm, flying in the air, in the likeness of a goat. I have heard* (saith he) *divers confess, that they have been so carried on a goats back to their sweet hearts, many miles in a night.* Others are of opinion that these feats, which most suppose to be done by charms and philters, are meerly effected by natural causes; as, by man's blood chimically prepared, which much avails, saith Ernestus Burgranius, *in Lucernâ vitæ et mortis Indice, ad amorem conciliandum et odium,* (so huntsmen make their dogs love them, and farmers their pullen) 'tis an excellent philter, as he holds; *sed vulgo prodere grande nefas,* but not fit to be made common: and so be *Mala insana,* mandrake roots, mandrake [d] apples, pretious stones, dead mens cloaths, candles, *mala bacchica, panis porcinus, Hippomanes,* a certain hair in a [e] wolf's tail, &c. of which Rhasis, Dioscorides, Porta, Wecker, Rubeus, Mizaldus, Albertus, treate: a swallows heart, dust of a doves heart, *multum va-*

[a] Apolog. Quod Pudentillam viduam ditem et provectioris ætatis fœminam cantaminibus in amorem sui pellexisset. [b] Philopseudo, Tom. 3. [c] Impudicæ mulieres opera veneficarum, diaboli coquarum, amatores suos ad se noctu ducunt et reducunt, ministerio hirci in aëre volantis: multos novi qui hoc fassi sunt, &c. [d] Mandrake apples, Lemnius lib. herb. bib. c. 2. [e] Of which read Plin. lib. 8. cap. 22. et lib. 13. c. 25. et Quintilianum lib. 7.

* Alla dea

lent linguæ viperarum, cerebella asinorum, tela equina, palliola quibus infantes obvoluti nascuntur, funis strangulati hominis, lapis de nido aquilæ, &c. See more in Sckenkius *observat. medicinal. lib.* 4. *&c.* which are as forcible, and of as much vertue, as that fountain Salmacis in [a] Vitruvius, Ovid, Strabo, that made all such mad for love that drank of it; or that hot bath at [b] Aix in Germany, wherein Cupid once dipt his arrows, which ever since hath a peculiar vertue to make lovers all that wash in it. But hear the poets own description of it:

Unde hic fervor aquis terrâ erumpentibus udâ?
Tela olim hic ludens ignea tinxit amor;
Et gaudens stridore novo, Fervete perennes,
Inquit, et hæc pharetræ sint monumenta meæ.
Ex illo fervet, rarusque hic mergitur hospes,
Cui non titillet pectora blandus amor.

These above-named remedies have, happily, as much power as that bath of Aix, or Venus inchanted girdle; in which, saith [c] Natales Comes, *love-toyes and dalliance, pleasantness, sweetness, perswasions, subtilties, gentle speeches and all witchcraft to enforce love, was contained.* Read more of these in Agrippa *de occult. Philos. lib.* 1. *cap.* 50 *et* 45. Malleus *malefic. part.* 1. *quæst.* 7. Delrio *tom.* 2. *quæst.* 3. *lib.* 3. Wierus, Pomponatius, *cap.* 8. *de incantat.* Ficinus *lib.* 13. *Theol. Plat. Calcagninus, &c.*

MEMB. IV. SUBSECT. I.

Symptomes or signs of Love-Melancholy; in Body, Minde; good, bad, &c.

SYMPTOMES are either of body or minde: of body; paleness, leanness, driness, &c. [d] *Pallidus omnis amans, color hic est aptus amanti,* as the poet describes lovers: *fecit amor maciem,* love causeth leanness. [e] Avicenna *de Ilishi c.* 33. *makes hollow eys, driness, symptomes of this disease, to go smiling to themselves, or acting as if they saw or heard some delectable object.* Valleriola *lib.* 2. *observat. cap.* 7.

[a] Lib. 11. c. 8. Venere implicat eos, qui ex eo bibunt. Idem Ov. Met. 4. Strabo. Geog. l. 14. [b] Lod. Guicciardini's descript. Ger. in Aquisgrano. [c] Baltheus Veneris, in quo suavitas, et dulcia colloquia, benevolentiæ, et blanditiæ, suasiones, fraudes et veneficia includebantur. [d] Ovid. Facit hunc amor ipse colorem. Met. 4. [e] Signa ejus sunt profunditas oculorum, privatio lachrymarum, suspiria, sæpe rident sibi, ac si quod delectabile viderent, aut audirent.

Laurentius *cap.* 10. Æliauus Montaltus *de Her. amore.* Langius *epist.* 24. *lib.* 1. *epist. med.* deliver as much; *corpus exangue pallet, corpus gracile, oculi cavi,* lean, pale;

——— ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem,

hollow ey'd, their eys are hidden in their heads;

[a] Tenerque nitidi corporis cecidit decor;

They pine away, and look ill with waking, cares, sighs,

Et qui tenebant signa Phœbeæ facis
Oculi, nihil gentile nec patrium micant.

With groans, griefs, sadness, dulness,

——— [b] Nulla jam Cereris subit
Cura aut salutis, ———

want of appetite, &c. A reason of all this, [c] Jason Pratensis gives; *because of the distraction of the spirits, the liver doth not perform his part, nor turns the aliment into bloud as it ought; and for that cause, the members are weak for want of sustenance; they are lean and pine, as the hearbs of my garden do this month of May, for want of rain.* The green sickness, therefore, often happeneth to yong women; a cachexia or an evil habit to men; besides their ordinary sighs, complaints and lamentations, which are too frequent. As drops from a still,

——— ut occluso stillat ab igne liquor,

doth Cupid's fire provoke tears from a true lovers eys,

[d] The mighty Mars did oft for Venus shreek,
Privily moistning his horrid cheek
With womanish tears, ———

——— [e] ignis distillat in undas,
Testis erit largus qui rigat ora liquor,

with many such like passions. When Chariclea was enamored on Theagines, as [f] Heliodorus sets her out, *she was half distracted, and spake she knew not what; sighed to herself, lay much awake, and was lean upon a sudden:* and when she was besotted on her son-in-law, [g] *pallor deformis, marcentes*

[a] Seneca Hip. [b] Seneca Hip. [c] De morbis cerebri de erot. amore. Ob spirituum distractionem hepar officio suo non fungitur, nec vertit alimentum in sanguinem, ut debeat. Ergo membra debilia, et penuria alibilis succi marcescunt, squalentque ut herbæ in horto meo hoc mense Maio Zeriscæ, ob imbrium defectum. [d] Faery Queen l. 3. cant. 11. [e] Amator Emblem. 3. [f] Lib. 4. Animo errat, et quidvis obvium loquitur, vigilias absque causa sustinet, et succum corporis subito amisit. [g] Apuleius.

oculi, &c. she had ugly paleness, hollow eys, restless thoughts, short wind, &c. Eurialus, in an epistle sent to Lucretia his mistress, complains amongst other grievances, *tu mihi et somni et cibi usum abstulisti*, thou hast taken my stomack and my sleep from me. So he describes it aright;

> [a] His sleep, his meat, his drink, is him bereft,
> That lean he wareth, and dry as a shaft,
> His eys hollow and grisly to behold,
> His hew pale and ashen to unfold,
> And solitary he was ever alone,
> And waking all the night, making mone.

Theocritus *Edyl.* 2. makes a fair maid of Delphos in love with a yong man of Minda, confess as much;

> Ut vidi ut insanii, ut animus mihi male affectus est,
> Miseræ mihi forma tabescebat, neque amplius pompam
> Ullam curabam, aut quando domum redieram
> Novi, sed me ardens quidam morbus consumebat,
> Decubui in lecto dies decem, et noctes decem,
> Defluebant capite capilli, ipsaque sola reliqua
> Ossa et cutis. ———

> No sooner seen I had, but mad I was,
> My beauty fail'd, and I no more did care
> For any pomp; I knew not where I was,
> But sick I was, and evil I did fare;
> I lay upon my bed ten dayes and nights,
> A sceleton I was in all mens sights.

All these passions are well expressed, by [b] that heroical poet, in the person of Dido;

> At non infælix animi Phænissa, nec unquam
> Solvitur in somnos, oculisque ac pectore amores
> Accipit; ingeminant curæ, rursusque resurgens
> Sævit amor, &c. ———

> Unhappy Dido could not sleep at all,
> But lies awake, and takes no rest:
> And up she gets again, whilst care and grief,
> And raging love torments her brest.

Accius Sanazarius *Egloga* 2. *de Galatea*, in the same manner, fains his Lycoris [c] tormenting her self for want of sleep; sighing, sobbing, and lamenting; and Eustathius in his

[a] Chaucer in the Knights tale. [b] Virg. Æn. 4. [c] Dum vaga passim sydera fulgent, numerat longas tetricus horas, et sollicito nixus cubito suspirando viscera rumpit.

Ismenias, much troubled, and [a] *panting at heart, at the sight of his mistress*; he could not sleep; his bed was thorns. [b] All make leanness, want of appetite, want of sleep, ordinary symptomes; and by that means they are brought often so low, so much altered, and changed, that as [c] he jested in the comœdy, *one can scarce know them to be the same men.*

Attenuant juvenum vigilatæ corpora noctes,
Curaque et immenso qui fit amore dolor.

Many such symptomes there are of the body, to discern lovers by;

———[d] quis enim bene celet amorem?

Can a man, saith Solomon, *Prov.* 6. 27. carry fire in his bosome and not burn? it will hardly be hid, though they do all they can to hide it, it must out,

plus quam mille notis——

it may be described,

[e] Quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis æstuat ignis.

'Twas Antiphanes the comœdian's observation of old, love and drunkenness cannot be concealed, *celare alia possis, hæc præter duo, vini potum, &c.* words, looks, gestures, all will betray them: but two of the most notable signs are observed by the pulse and countenance. When Antiochus the son of Seleucus, was sick for Stratonice his mother-in-law, and would not confess his grief, or the cause of his disease, Erasistratus the physician found him, by his pulse and countenance, to be in love with her, [f] *because, that when she came in presence, or was named, his pulse varied, and he blushed besides.* In this very sort, was the love of Callicles the son of Polycles, discovered by Panacæus the physician, as you may read the story at large in [g] Aristænetus. By the same signs, Galen brags, that he found out Justa, Boëthius the consuls wife, to dote on Pylades the player; because at his name, still, she both altered pulse and countenance, as [h] Polyarchus did at the name of Argenis. *Franciscus Valesius,* l. 3. *controv.* 13. *med. contr.* denies there is any such *pulsus amatorius*; or, that love may be so discerned; but Avicenna confirms this of Galen, out of his experience, *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 1.

[a] Saliebat crebro trepidum cor ad aspectum Ismenes. [b] Gordonius, c. 20. Amittunt sæpe cibum, potum, et maceratur inde totum corpus. [c] Ter. Eunuch. Dii boni, quid hoc est, adeone homines mutari ex amore, ut non cognoscas eundem esse! [d] Ovid. [e] Ovid. Met. 4. [f] Ad ejus nomen rubebat, et ad aspectum pulsus variebatur. Plutar. [g] Epist. 13. [h] Barck. lib. 1. Oculi medico tremore errabant.

and Gordonius, *cap.* 20. [a] *Their pulse, he saith, is inordinate and swift, if she go by, whom he loves.* Langius *epist.* 24. *lib.* 1. *med. epist.* Nevisanus *lib.* 4. *numer.* 66. *syl. nuptialis*; Valescus de Taranta, Guianerius, *tract.* 15. Valleriola sets down this for a symptome; [b] *Difference of pulse, neglect of business, want of sleep, often sighs, blushings, when there is any speech of their mistress, are manifest signs.* But amongst the rest, Josephus Struthius that Polonian, in the fift book *cap.* 17. of his doctrine of pulses, holds, that this, and all other passions of the minde, may be discovered by the pulse. [c] *And if you will know,* saith he, *whether the men suspected be such or such, touch their arteries, &c.* And in his fourth book, 14. chapter, he speaks of this particular love pulse; [d] *Love makes an unequall pulse, &c.* he gives instance of a gentlewoman, [e] a patient of his, whom by this means, he found to be much enamored, and with whom: he named many persons, but at the last when his name came whom he suspected, [f] *her pulse began to vary, and to beat swifter, and so by often feeling her pulse, he perceived what the matter was.* Apollonius Argonaut, *lib.* 4. poetically setting down the meeting of Jason and Medea, makes them both to blush at one anothers sight, and at the first they were not able to speak.

——[g] totus Parmeno
Tremo, horreoque postquam aspexi hanc;

Phædria trembled at the sight of Thais; others sweat, blow short,

Crura tremunt ac poplites,——

are troubled with palpitation of heart upon the like occasion, *cor proximum ori*, saith [h] Aristænetus, their heart at their mouth, leaps, these burn and freeze, (for love is fire, ice, hot, cold, itch, feaver, frenzy, plurisy, what not) they look pale, red, and commonly blush at their first congress; and sometimes through violent agitation of spirits, bleed at nose, or when she is talked of: which very sign [i] Eustathius makes an argument of Ismene's affection; that when she met her sweet-heart by chance, she changed her countenance, to a maiden-blush. 'Tis a common thing amongst lovers, as [k] Arnulphus that merry-

[a] Pulsus eorum velox et inordinatus, si mulier quam amat forte transeat. [b] Signa sunt cessatio ab omni opere insueto, privatio somni, suspiria crebra, rubor cum sit sermo de re amatâ, et commotio pulsûs. [c] Si noscere vis an homines suspecti tales sint, tangito eorum arterias. [d] Amor facit inæquales inordinatos. [e] In nobilis cujusdam uxore quum subolfacerem adulteri amore fuisse correptam et quam maritus, &c. [f] Cepit illico pulsus variari et ferri celerius, et sic inveni. [g] Eunuch. act. 2. sc. 2. [h] Epist. 7. lib. 2. Tener sudor et creber anhelitus, palpitatio cordis, &c. [i] Lib. 1. [k] Lexoviensis Episcopus.

conceited Bishop, hath well expressed in a facete epigram of his:

Alterno facies sibi dat responsa rubore,
Et tener affectum prodit utrique pudor, &c.

Their faces answer, and by blushing say,
How both affected are, they do bewray.

But the best conjectures are taken from such symptomes as appear, when they are both present; all their speeches, amorous glances, actions, lascivious gestures will bewray them; they cannot contain themselves, but that they will be still kissing. [a] Stratocles the physician upon his wedding day, when he was at dinner, *Nihil prius sorbillavit, quam tria basia puellæ pangeret*, could not eat his meat for kissing the bride, &c. First a word, and then a kiss; then some other complement, and then a kiss; then an idle question, then a kiss; and when he hath pumped his wits dry, can say no more, kissing and colling are never out of season:

[b] Hoc non deficit incipitque semper,

'tis never at an end; [c] another kiss, and then another, another, and another, &c.

—— huc ades O Thelayra——Come kiss me Corinna!

[d] Centum basia centies.
Centum basia millies,
Mille basia millies,
Et tot millia millies,
Quot guttæ Siculo mari,
Quot sunt sydera cœlo,
Istis purpureis genis,
Istis turgidulis labris,
Ocellisque loquaculis,
Figam continuo impetu;
O formosa Neæra. As Catullus to Lesbia.
Da mihi basia mille, deinde centum,
Dein mille altera, da secunda centum,
Dein usque altera millia, deinde centum.

——— [e] first give an hundred,
Then a thousand, then another
Hundred, then unto the other
Add a thousand, and so more, &c.

'Till you equall with the store, all the grass, &c. So Venus did

[a] Theodorus prodromus Amaranto dial. Gaulimo interpret. [b] Petron. Catal.
[c] Sed unum ego usque et unum Petam a tuis labellis, postque unum et unum et unum, dari rogabo. Lœchæus Anacreon. [d] Jo. Secundus bas. 7. [e] Translated or imitated by M. B. Jonson, our arch poet in his 119 Ep.

by her Adonis; the moon with Endymion; they are still dallying and colling, as so many doves;

Columbatimque labra conserentes labiis;

and that with alacrity and courage;

[a] Affligunt avide corpus, junguntque salivas
Oris, et inspirant prensantes dentibus ora.

[b] *Tam impresso ore ut vix inde labra detrahant, cervice reclinata, as Lamprias in Lucian kissed Thais; Philippus her* [c] *in Aristænetus, amore lymphato tam furiose adhæsit, ut vix labra solvere esset, totumque os mihi contrivit;* [d] Aretine's Lucretia, by a suiter of hers was so saluted; and 'tis their ordinary fashion.

——— dentes illudunt sæpe labellis,
Atque premunt arcte adfigentes oscula———

They cannot, I say, contain themselves; they will be still not only joyning hands, kissing, but embracing, treading on their toes, &c. diving into their bosomes, and that *libenter, et cum delectatione,* as [e] Philostratus confesseth to his mistress; and Lamprias in Lucian, *Mammillas premens, per sinum clam dextrâ, &c.* feeling their paps, and that scarce honestly sometimes: as the old man in the [f] comœdy well observed of his son, *Non ego te videbam manum huic puellæ in sinum inserere?* Did not I see thee put thy hand into her bosome? go to, with many such love tricks. [g] Juno in *Lucian Deorum, Tom. 3. dial. 3.* complains to Jupiter of Ixion, [h] *he looked so attentively on her, and sometimes would sigh and weep in her company, and when I drank by chance and gave Ganymede the cup, he would desire to drink still in the very cup that I drank of, and in the same place where I drank, and would kiss the cup, and then look steddily on me, and sometimes sigh, and then again smile.* If it be so they cannot come neer to dally, have that opportunity, familiarity, or acquaintance to confer and talk together; yet if they be in presence, their eye will bewray them; *Ubi amor ibi oculus,* as the common saying is, where I look I like, and where I like I love; but they will lose themselves in her looks.

Alter in alterius jactantes lumina vultus,
Quærebant taciti noster ubi esset amor.

[a] Lucret. l. 4. [b] Lucian. dial. Tom. 4. Meret. sed et aperientes, &c. [c] Epist. 16. [d] Deducto ore longo me basio demulcet. [e] In deliciis mammas tuas tango, &c. [f] Terent. [g] Tom. 4. meret. dial. [h] Attente adeo in me aspexit, et interdum ingemiscebat, et lachrymabatur. Et si quando bibens, &c.

They cannot look off whom they love; they will *impregnare eam ipsis oculis*, deflowre her with their eys; be still gazing, staring, stealing faces, smiling, glancing at her, as [a] Apollo on Leucothöe, the Moon on her [b] Endymion, when she stood still in Caria, and at Latmos caused her chariot to be stayed. They must all stand and admire, or if she go by, look after her as long as they can see her; she is *animæ auriga*, as Anacreon calls her; they cannot go by her door or window, but as an adamant, she draws their eys to it; though she be not there present, they must needs glance that way, and look back to it. Aristænetus of [c] Exithemus, Lucian in his Imagin. of himself, and Tatius of Clitiphon say as much; *Ille oculos de Leucippe* [d] *nunquam dejiciebat*; and many lovers confess, when they came in their mistress presence, they could not hold off their eys, but looked wistly and steddily on her, *inconnivo aspectu*, with much eagerness and greediness; as if they would look thorow, or should never have enough sight of her.

——— Fixis ardens obtutibus hæret;

So she will do by him, drink to him with her eys, nay drink him up, devoure him, swallow him, as Martial's Mamurra is remembred to have done:

Inspexit molles pueros, oculisque comedit, &c.

There is a pleasant story, to this purpose, in *Navigat. Vertom. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5. The Sultan of Sana's wife in Arabia, because Vertomannus was fair and white could not look off him, from sun-rising to sun-setting, she could not desist; she made him one day come into her chamber, *et geminæ horæ spatio intuebatur, non a me unquam aciem oculorum avertebat, me observans veluti Cupidinem quendam*, for two hours space she still gazed on him. A yong man in [e] Lucian fell in love with Venus picture, he came every morning to her temple, and there continued all day long, [f] from sun-rising to sun-set, unwilling to go home at night, sitting over against the goddess picture, he did continually look upon her, and mutter to himself I know not what. If so be they cannot see them whom they love, they will still be walking and waiting about their mistress doors, taking all opportunity to see them, as in [g] Longus Sophista, Daphnis and Cloe, two lovers, were still hovering at

[a] Quique omnia cernere debes Leucothöen spectas, et virgine figis in una quos mundo debes oculos, Ovid. Met. 4. [b] Lucian, Tom. 3. Quoties ad Cariam venis currum sistis, et desuper aspectas. [c] Ex quo te primum vidi Pythia alio oculos vertere non fuit. [d] Lib. 4. [e] Dial. amorum. [f] Ad occasum Solis ægre domum rediens, atque totum diem ex adverso Deæ sedens recto, in ipsam perpetuo oculorum ictus direxit, &c. [g] Lib. 3.

one anothers gates; he sought all occasions to be in her company, to hunt in summer, and catch birds in the frost, about her fathers house, in the winter, that she might see him, and he her. [a] *A kings palace was not so diligently attended,* saith Aretine's Lucretia, *as my house was when I lay in Rome,* the porch and street was ever full of some, walking or riding, on set purpose to see me; their eye was still upon my window, as they passed by; they could not choose but look back to my house when they were past, and sometimes hem or cough, or take some impertinent occasion to speak aloud, that I might look out and observe them. 'Tis so in other places; 'tis common to every lover; 'tis all his felicity to be with her, to talk with her, he is never well but in her company, and will walk [b] *seven or eight times a day, through the street where she dwells, and make sleeveless errands to see her;* plotting still where, when, and how to visit her:

[c] Levesque sub nocte susurri,
Compositâ repetuntur horâ.

And when he is gone, he thinks every minute an hour, every hour as long as a day, ten days a whole year, till he see her again.

[d] Tempora si numeres, bene quæ numeramus amantes.

And if thou be in love, thou wilt say so too, *Et longum formosa vale,* farewell sweet-heart, *vale, charissima Argenis,* &c. Farewell my dear Argenis, once more farewell, farewell. And though he is to meet her by compact, and that very shortly, perchance to-morrow, yet loath to depart, he'l take his leave again, and again, and then come back again, look after, and shake his hand, wave his hat afar off. Now gone, he thinks it long till he see her again, and she him; the clocks are surely set back, the hour's past,

[e] Hospita Demophoon tua te Rodopheia Phillis,
Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror;

she looks out at window still, to see whether he come; [f] and by report, Phillis went nine times to the sea-side that day, to see if her Demophoon were approaching; and [g] Troilus to the city gates, to look for his Cressid. She is ill at ease, and sick till she see him again; peevish in the mean time, discontent,

[a] Regum palatium non tam diligenti custodia septum fuit, ac sedes meas stipabant, &c. [b] Uno et eodem die sexties vel septies ambulant per eandem plateam, ut vel unico amicæ suæ fruantur aspectu, lib. 3. Theat. mundi. [c] Hor. [d] Ovid. [e] Ovid. [f] Hyginus, fab. 59. Eo die dicitur nonies ad littus currisse. [g] Chaucer.

heavy, sad, and why comes he not? where is he? why breaks he promise? why tarries he so long? sure he is not well; sure he hath some mischance; sure he forgets himself and me; with infinite such. And then confident again, up she gets, out she looks, listens and enquires, harkens, kens, every man afar off is sure he, every stirring in the street, now he is there, that's he, *male Auroræ, male Soli dicit, dejeratque, &c.* the longest day that ever was; so she raves, restless and impatient; for *Amor non patitur moras*, love brooks no delayes; the time's quickly gone that's spent in her company, the miles short, the way pleasant, all weather is good whilst he goes to her house, heat or cold, though his teeth chatter in his head, he moves not, wet or dry, 'tis all one, wet to the skin, he feels it not, cares not, at least, for it, but will easily endure it and much more, because it is done with alacrity, and for his mistress sweet sake; let the burden be never so heavy, love makes it light. [a] Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and it was quickly gone, because he loved her. None so merry, if he may happily enjoy her company; he is in heaven for the time; and if he may not, dejected in an instant, solitary, silent, he departs weeping, lamenting, sighing, complaining.

But the symptomes of the minde in lovers are almost infinite; and so diverse, that no art can comprehend them; though they be merry sometimes, and rapt beyond themselves for joy, yet most part, love is a plague, a torture, an hell, a bitter sweet passion at last; [b] *Amor melle et felle est fœcundissimus, gustum dat dulcem et amarum.* 'Tis *suavis amaricies, dolentia delectabilis, hilare tormentum*;

> [c] Et me melle beant suaviora,
> Et me felle necant amariora;

Like a summer fly or Sphines wings, or a rainbow of all colours,

> Quæ ad Solis radios conversæ aureæ erant,
> Adversus nubes cæruleæ, quale jubar Iridis,

fair, fowle, and full of variation, though most part, irksome and bad. For in a word, the Spanish inquisition is not comparable to it; a *torment* and [d] *execution* it is, as he cals it in the poet, an unquenchable fire, and what not? [e] From it, saith Austin, arise *biting cares, perturbations, passions, sorrows,*

[a] Gen. 29. 20. [b] Plautus Cistel. [c] Stobæus e græco. [d] Plautus; Credo ego ad hominis carnificinam amorem inventum esse. [e] De civitat. lib. 22. cap. 20. Ex eo oriuntur mordaces curæ, perturbationes, mœrores, formidines, insana gaudia, discordiæ, lites, bella, insidiæ, iracundiæ, inimicitiæ, fallaciæ, adulatio, fraus, furtum, nequitia, impudentia.

fears, suspitions, discontents, contentions, discords, wars, treacheries, enmities, flattery, cosening, riot, lust, impudence, cruelty, knavery, &c.

——— [a] dolor, querelæ,
Lamentatio, lachrymæ perennes,
Languor, anxietas, amaritudo;
Aut si triste magis potest quid esse,
Hos tu das Comites Neæra vitæ.

These be the companions of lovers, and the ordinary symptomes, as the poet repeats them.

[b] In amore hæc insunt vitia,
Suspitiones, inimicitiæ, audaciæ,
Bellum, pax rursum, &c.
[c] Insomnia, ærumna, error, terror, et fuga,
Excogitantia, excors immodestia,
Petulantia, cupiditas, et malevolentia;
Inhæret etiam aviditas, desidia, injuria,
Inopia, contumelia et dispendium, &c.

In love these vices are; suspicions,
Peace, war, and impudence, detractions,
Dreams, cares, and errors, terrors and affrights,
Immodest pranks, devices, sleights and flights,
Heart-burnings, wants, neglects; desire of wrong,
Loss continual, expence and hurt among.

Every poet is full of such catalogues of love symptomes; but fear and sorrow may justly challenge the chief place. Though *Hercules de Saxonia cap.* 3. *Tract. de melanch.* will exclude fear from Love-Melancholy, yet I am otherwise perswaded. [d] *Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.* 'Tis full of fear, anxiety, doubt, care, peevishness, suspition, it turns a man into a woman, which made Hesiod (belike) put fear and paleness Venus daughters:

——— Marti clypeos atque arma secanti
Alma Venus peperit Pallorem, unaque Timorem:

because fear and love are still linked together. Moreover, they are apt to mistake, amplifie, too credulous sometimes, too full of hope and confidence, and then again very jealous, unapt to believe or entertain any good news. The comical Poet hath prettily painted out this passage amongst the rest in a [e] dia-

[a] Marullus, l. 1. [b] Ter. Eunuch. [c] Plautus Mercat. [d] Ovid.
[e] Adelph. Act. 4. scen. 5. M. Bono animo es, duces uxorem hanc, Æschines. Æ. Hem, pater, num tu ludis me nunc? M. Egone te, quamobrem? Æ. Quod tam misere cupio, &c.

logue betwixt Mitio and Æschines, a gentle father and a love-sick son. M. *Be of good chear, my son, thou shalt have her to wife.* Æ. *Ah father, do you mock me now?* M. *I mock thee, why?* Æ. *That which I so earnestly desire, I more suspect and fear.* M. *Get you home, and send for her to be your wife.* Æ. *What, now, a wife? now, father!* &c. These doubts, anxieties, suspitions, are the least part of their torments; they break, many times, from passions to actions; speak fair and flatter; now most obsequious and willing, by and by, they are averse; wrangle, fight, swear, quarrel, laugh, weep: and he that doth not so by fits, [a] Lucian holds, is not throughly touched with this loadstone of love. So their actions and passions are intermixt; but of all other passions, sorrow hath the greatest share. [b] Love to many is bitterness it self; *rem amaram*, Plato calls it; a bitter potion, an agony, a plague,

> Eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi;
> Quæ mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus,
> Expulit ex omni pectore lætitias.
>
> O take away this plague, this mischief from me,
> Which as a numbnesse over all my body,
> Expels my joyes, and makes my soul so heavy.

Phædria had a true touch of this, when he cryed out,

> ———[c] O Thais, utinam esset mihi
> Pars æqua amoris tecum, ac pariter fieret ut
> Aut hoc tibi doleret itidem, ut mihi dolet.
>
> O Thais, would thou hadst of these my pains a part,
> Or as it doth me now, so it would make thee smart.

So had that yong man, when he roared again for discontent;

> [d] Jactor, crucior, agitor, stimulor,
> Versor in amoris rota miser,
> Exanimor, feror, distrahor, deripior,
> Ubi sum, ibi non sum; ubi non sum, ibi est animus.
>
> I am vext and toss'd, and rack't on Loves wheel;
> Where not, I am; but where am, do not feel.

The Moon in [e] Lucian, made her mone to Venus, that she was almost dead for love, *pereo equidem amore*, and after a long tale, she broke off abruptly and wept, [f] *O Venus, thou*

[a] Tom. 4. dial. amorum. [b] Aristotle 2. Rhet. puts love therefore in the irascible part. Ovid. [c] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1. sc. 2. [d] Plautus. [e] Tom. 3. [f] Scis quod posthac dicturus fuerim.

knowest my poor heart. Charmides in [a] Lucian, was so impatient, that he sob'd and sighed, and tore his hair, and said he would hang himself; *I am undone, O sister Tryphena, I cannot endure these love pangs, what shall I do? Vos O Dii Averrunci, solvite me his curis,* O yee Gods, free me from these cares and miseries, out of the anguish of his soul, [b] Theocles prays. Shall I say, most part of a lovers life is full of agony, anxiety, fear and grief, complaints, sighs, suspitions and cares, (high ho, my heart is wo) full of silence and irksome solitariness!

> Frequenting shady bowers in discontent,
> To the ayr his fruitless clamors he will vent;

except at such times that he hath *lucida intervalla,* pleasant gales, or sudden alterations; as if his mistress smile upon him, give him a good look, a kiss, or that some comfortable message be brought him, his service is accepted, &c.

He is then too confident and rapt beyond himself, as if he had heard the nightingale in the spring before the cuckow; or as [c] Calisto was at Melebæa's presence, *Quis unquam hac mortali vitâ tam gloriosum corpus vidit? humanitatem transcendere videor, &c.* who ever saw so glorious a sight; what man ever enjoyed such delight? More content cannot be given of the Gods, wished, had, or hoped, of any mortal man. There is no happiness in the world comparable to his, no content, no joy to this, no life to love, he is in paradise.

> [d] Quis me uno vivit fœlicior? aut magis hâc est
> Optandum vitâ dicere quis poterit?
>
> Who lives so happy as my self? what bliss
> In this our life, may be compar'd to this?

He will not change fortune in that case with a prince.

> [e] Donec gratus eram tibi,
> Persarum vigui rege beatior.

The Persian kings are not so joviall as he is; [f] *O festus dies hominis,* O happy day; so Chærea exclaims when he came from Pamphila his sweetheart, well pleased;

> Nunc est profecto interfici cum perpeti me possem,
> Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita aliquâ ægritudine;

[a] Tom. 4. dial. meret. Tryphena, Amor me perdit, neque malum hoc amplius sustinere possum. [b] Aristænetus, lib. 2. epist. 8. [c] Cœlestina, act. 1. Sancti majore lætitiâ non fruuntur. Si mihi Deus omnium votorum mortalium summam concedat, non magis, &c. [d] Catullus de Lesbia. [e] Hor. ode 9. lib. 3. [f] Act. 3. scen. 5. Eunuch. Ter.

a
† Whose Shadows the fore alter Batchelor loves
Being Pafs-Lovers"

He could find in his heart to be killed instantly, lest if he live longer, some sorrow or sickness should contaminate his joyes. A little after, he was so merrily set upon the same occasion, that he could not contain himself.

> [a] O populares, ecquis me vivit hodie fortunatior?
> Nemo hercle quisquam; nam in me Dii plane potestatem
> Suam omnem ostendêre;

Is't possible, O my countrymen, for any living to be so happy as my self? No sure, it cannot be; for the Gods have shewed all their power, all their goodness in me. Yet, by and by, when this yong gallant was crossed in his wench, he laments, and cries, and roars down-right.

> Occidi——

I am undone:

> Neque virgo est usquam, neque ego, qui e conspectu illam amisi meo.
> Ubi quæram, ubi investigem, quem percuncter, quam insistam viam?

The virgin's gone, and I am gone; she's gone, she's gone, and what shall I do? where shall I seek her, where shall I find her, whom shall I ask? what way, what course shall I take? what will become of me?

> ——[b] vitales auras invitus agebat;

he was weary of his life, sick, mad and desperate; [c] *utinam mihi esset aliquid hic, quo nunc me præcipitem darem.* 'Tis not Chærea's case, this alone, but his, and his, and every lover's in the like state. If he hear ill news, have bad success in his suit, she frown upon him, or that his mistress in his presence respect another more, (as [d] Hædus observes) *Prefer another suiter, speak more familiarly to him, or use more kindly then himself; if by nod, smile, message, she discloseth herself to another, he is instantly tormented, none so dejected as he is,* utterly undone, a castaway, [e] *In quem fortuna omnia odiorum suorum crudelissima tela exonerat,* a dead man, the scorn of fortune, a monster of fortune, worse then naught, the losse of a kingdom had been less. [f] Aretine's Lucretia made very good proof of this, as she relates it her self. *For when I made some of my suiters beleeve I would betake my self to a nunnery, they took on, as if they had lost father and mother,*

[a] Act. 5. scen. 9. [b] Mantuan. [c] Ter. And. act. 3. sc. 4. [d] Lib. 1. de contemn. amoribus. Si quem alium respexerit amica suavius et familiarius, si quem alloquuta fuerit, si nutu, nuncio, &c. statim cruciatur. [e] Calisto in Cœlestina. [f] Pornodidasc. dial. Ital. Patre et matre se singultu orbos censebant, quod meo contubernio carendum esset.

because they were for ever after to want my company. Omnes labores leves fuere, all other labour was light; [a] but this might not be endured,

Tui carendum quod erat——

for I cannot be without thy company, mournfull Amyntas, painfull Amyntas, carefull Amyntas; better a metropolitan city were sackt, a royall army overcome, an invincible armado sunk, and twenty thousand kings should perish, then her little finger ake; so zealous are they, and so tender of her good. "They would all turn friers for my sake (as she follows it), in hope, by that means, to meet, or see me again, as my confessors, at stool-ball, or at barly-break": And so afterwards; when an importunate suiter came, [b] *If I had bid my maid say, that I was not at leisure, not within, busy, could not speak with him, he was instantly astonished, and stood like a pillar of marble; another went swearing, chafing, cursing, foaming.*

[c] Illa sibi vox ipsa Jovis violentior irâ, cum tonat, &c.

the voyce of a mandrake had been sweeter musick; *but he to whom I gave entertainment, was in the elysian fields, ravished for joye, quite beyond himself.* 'Tis the generall humor of all lovers; she is their stern, pole-star, and guide.

[d] Deliciumque animi, deliquiumque sui.

As a tulipant to the sun (which our herbalists call Narcissus) when it shines, is *Admirandus flos ad radios Solis se pandens,* a glorious flower exposing it self; [e] but when the sun sets, or a tempest comes, it hides it self, pines away, and hath no pleasure left, (which Carolus Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, in a cause not unlike, sometimes used for an imprese) so do all inamorates to their mistress; she is their sun, their *Primum mobile,* or *animi informans;* this, [f] one hath elegantly expressed by a windmill, still moved by the winde, which otherwise hath no motion of it self.

Sic tua ni spiret gratia, truncus ero.

He is wholly animated from her breath; his soul lives in her body; [g] *sola claves habet interitûs et salutis,* she keeps the keys of his life; his fortune ebbes and flowes with her favour; a gracious or bad aspect turns him up or down;

[a] Ter. Tui carendum quod erat. [b] Si responsum esset dominam occupatam esse aliisque vacaret, ille statim vix hoc audito velut in marmor obriguit, alii se damnare, &c. At cui favebam, in campis Elysiis esse videbatur, &c. [c] Mantuan. [d] Lœchæus. [e] Sole se occultante, aut tempestate veniente, statim clauditur ac languescit. [f] Emblem. amat. 13. [g] Calisto de Melibœa.

Mens mea lucescit Lucia luce tuâ.

Howsoever his present state be pleasing or displeasing, 'tis continuate so long as [a] he loves; he can do nothing, think of nothing but her; desire hath no rest, she is his Cynosure, Hesperus and Vesper, his morning and evening star, his goddess, his mistress, his life, his soul, his every thing; dreaming, waking, she is always in his mouth; his heart, eys, ears, and all his thoughts, are full of her. His Laura, his Victorina, his Columbina, Flavia, Flaminia, Cælia, Delia or Isabella, (call her how you will;) she is the sole object of his senses, the substance of his soul, *nidulus animæ suæ*; he magnifies her above measure, *totus in illa*, full of her, can breath nothing but her. *I adore Melibæa*, saith love-sick [b] Calisto, *I believe in Melibæa, I honour, admire and love my Melibæa;* his soul was sowced, imparadised, imprisoned in his lady. When [c] Thais took her leave of Phædria,

——— mi Phædria, et nunquid aliud vis?

Sweet heart (she said) will you command me any further service? he readily replied, and gave this in charge,

——— egone quid velim?
Dies noctesque ames me, me desideres,
Me somnies, me expectes, me cogites,
Me speres, me te oblectes, mecum tota sis,
Meus fac postremo animus, quando ego sum tuus.

Dost ask (my dear) what service I will have?
To love me day and night is all I crave;
To dream on me, to expect, to think on me,
Depend and hope, still covet me to see,
Delight thy self in me, be wholly mine,
For know, my love, that I am wholly thine.

But all this needed not, you will say; if she affect once, she will be his, settle her love on him, on him alone,

———[d] illum absens absentem
Auditque videtque———

she can, she must think and dream of nought else but him, continually of him, as did Orpheus on his Euridice,

Te dulcis conjux, te solo in littore mecum,
Te veniente die, te discedente canebam.

[a] Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat. [b] Cœlestina act. 1. credo in Melibæam, &c. [c] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 1. sc. 2. [d] Virg. 4. Æn.

On thee, sweet wife, was all my song,
Morn, evening, and all along.

And Dido upon her Æneas;

——et quæ me insomnia terrent,
Multa viri virtus, et plurima currit Imago.

And ever and anon, she thinks upon the man
That was so fine, so fair, so blith, so debonair.

Clitiphon, in the first book of Achilles Tatius, complaineth, how that his mistress Leucippe tormented him much more in the night, then in the day. [a] *For all day long he had some object or other to distract his senses; but in the night all ran upon her: all night long he lay* [b] *awake, and could think of nothing else but her; he could not get her out of his minde; towards morning sleep took a little pitty on him, he slumbered awhile, but all his dreams were of her.*

——[c] te nocte sub atrâ
Alloquor, amplector, falsaque in imagine somni,
Gaudia solicitam palpant evanida mentem.

In the dark night I speak, embrace and finde,
That fading joyes deceive my careful minde.

The same complaint Eurialus makes to his Lucretia: [d] *day and night I think of thee, I wish for thee, I talk on thee, call on thee, look for thee, hope for thee, delight my self in thee, day and night I love thee.*

[e] Nec mihi vespere
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente Solem;

Morning, evening, all is alike with me, I have restless thoughts;

[f] Te vigilans oculis, animo te nocte requiro.

Still I think on thee. *Anima non est ubi animat, sed ubi amat.* I live and breath in thee, I wish for thee.

[g] O niveam quæ te poterit mihi reddere lucem,
O mihi felicem terque quaterque diem.

O happy day that shall restore thee to my sight. In the mean

[a] Interdiu oculi, et aures occupatæ distrahunt animum, at noctu solus jactor, ad Auroram somnus paulum misertus, nec tamen ex animo puella abiit, sed omnia mihi de Leucippe somnia erant. [b] Totâ hac nocte somnum hisce oculis non vidi. Ter. [c] Buchanan. Sylv. [d] Æn. Silv. Te dies, noctesque amo, te cogito, te desidero, te voco, te expecto, te spero, tecum oblecto me, totus in te sum. [e] Hor. lib. 2. ode 9. [f] Petronius. [g] Tibullus l. 3. Eleg. 3.

time, he raves on her; her sweet face, eys, actions, gestures, hands, feet, speech, length, bredth, highth, depth, and the rest of her dimensions, are so survaied, measured, and taken, by that Astrolabe of phantasie, and that so violently sometimes, with such earnestness and eagerness, such continuance, so strong an imagination, that at length he thinks he sees her indeed; he talks with her, he imbraceth her, Ixion-like *pro Junone nubem*, a cloud for Juno, as he said. *Nihil præter Leucippen cerno, Leucippe mihi perpetuo in oculis, et animo versatur*; I see and meditate of naught but Leucippe. Be she present or absent, all is one;

> [a] Et quamvis aberat placidæ præsentia formæ,
> Quem dederat præsens forma, manebat amor.

That impression of her beauty is still fixed in his minde,

> ——— [b] hærent infixi pectore vultus.

as he that is bitten with a mad dog, thinks all he sees dogs, dogs in his meat, dogs in his dish, dogs in his drink: his mistress is in his eys, ears, heart, in all his senses. Valleriola had a merchant, his patient, in the same predicament, and [c] Ulricus Molitor out of Austin, hath a story of one, that through vehemency of this love passion, still thought he saw his mistress present with him; she talked with him; *Et commisceri cum eâ vigilans videbatur*, still embracing him.

Now if this passion of love can produce such effects, if it be pleasantly intended, what bitter torments shall it breed, when it is with fear and continual sorrow, suspition, care, agony, (as commonly it is) still accompanied, what an intolerable [d] pain must it be?

> ——Non tam grandes
> Gargara culmos, quot demerso
> Pectore curas longâ nexas
> Usque catenâ, vel quæ penitus
> Crudelis amor vulnera miscet.
>
> Mount Gargarus hath not so many stems,
> As lovers brest hath grievous wounds,
> And linked cares, which love compounds.

When the king of Babylon would have punished a courtier of his, for loving a yong lady of the royal blood, and far above his fortunes, [e] Apollonius in presence, by all means perswaded

[a] Ovid. Fast. 2, ver. 775. [b] Virg. Æn. 4. [c] De Pythonissa. [d] Juno, nec ira Deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hostis, quantum tute potis animis illapsus. Silius Ital. 13. bel. Punic. de amore. [e] Philostratus vita ejus. Maximum tormentum quod excogitare, vel docere te possum, est ipse amor.

to let him alone; *For to love and not enjoy was a most unspeakable torment;* no tyrant could invent the like punishment; as a gnat at a candle, in a short space, he would consume himself. For love is a perpetual [a] *flux, angor animi,* a warfare, *militat omnis amans,* a grievous wound is love still, and a lovers heart is Cupid's quiver, a consuming [b] fire, [c] *accede ad hunc ignem,* &c. an inextinguishable fire.

——— [d] alitur et crescit malum,
Et ardet intus, qualis Ætnæo vapor
Exundat antro ———

As Ætna rageth, so doth love, and more then Ætna, or any material fire.

——— [e] Nam amor sæpe Lyparco
Vulcano ardentiorem flammam incendere solet.

Vulcan's flames are but smoak to this; For fire, saith [f] Xenophon, burns them alone that stand neer it, or touch it; but this fire of love burneth and scorcheth afar off, and is more hot and vehement then any material fire; [g] *Ignis in igne furit;* 'tis a fire in a fire; the quintessence of fire. For when Nero burnt Rome, as Calisto urgeth, he fired houses, consumed mens bodies and goods; but this fire devours the soule it self, and [h] *one soul is worth 100000 bodies.* No water can quench this wild fire.

——— [i] In pectus cœcos absorbuit ignes,
Ignes qui nec aqua perimi potuêre, nec imbre
Diminui, neque graminibus, magicisque susurris.

A fire he took into his brest,
Which water could not quench,
Nor hearb, nor art, nor magick spells
Could quell, nor any drench.

Except it be tears and sighs; for so, they may chance find a little ease.

[k] Sic candentia colla, sic patens frons,
Sic me blanda tui Neæra ocelli,
Sic pares minio genæ perurunt,
Ut ni me lachrymæ rigent perennes,
Totus in tenues eam favillas.

[a] Ausonius. c. 35. [b] Et cæco carpitur igne; et mihi sese offert ultro meus ignis Amyntas. [c] Ter. Eunuch. [d] Sen. Hippol. [e] Theocritus edyl. 2. Levibus cor est violabile telis. [f] Ignis tangentes solum urit, at forma procul astantes inflammat. [g] Nonnius. [h] Major illa flamma quæ consumit unam animam, quam quæ centum millia corporum. [i] Mant. ecl. 2. [k] Marullus Epig. lib. 1.

So thy white neck, Neæra, me poor soule
Doth scorch, thy cheeks, thy wanton eys that roul:
Were it not for my dropping tears that hinder,
I should be quite burnt up forthwith to cinder.

This fire strikes like lightning; which made those old Græcians paint Cupid in many of their [a] temples, with Jupiter's thunderbolts in his hands: for it wounds, and cannot be perceived how, whence it came, where it pierced;

[b] Urimur, et cœcum pectora vulnus habent,

And can hardly be discerned at first.

——[c] Est mollis flamma medullas,
Et tacitum insano vivit sub pectore vulnus.

A gentle wound, an easie fire it was,
And slye at first, and secretly did pass.

But by and by it began to rage and burn amain;

——[d] Pectus insanum vapor,
Amorque torret, intus sævus vorat
Penitus medullas, atque per venas meat
Visceribus ignis mersus, et venis latens,
Ut agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes.

This fiery vapour rageth in the veins,
And scorcheth entrals; as when fire burns
An house, it nimbly runs along the beames,
And at the last the whole it overturns.

Abraham Hoffemannus *lib.* 1. *amor. conjugal. cap.* 2. *pag.* 22. relates out of Plato, how that Empedocles the philosopher was present at the cutting up of one that died for love, [e] *his heart was combust, his liver smoakie, his lungs dried up, insomuch that he verily believed his soul was either sod or rosted, through the vehemency of loves fire.* Which (belike) made a modern writer of amorous emblems, express loves fury, by a pot hanging over the fire, and Cupid blowing the coals. As the heat consumes the water,

[f] Sic sua consumit viscera cœcus amor;

so doth love dry up his radical moisture. Another compares love to a melting torch, which stood too neer the fire.

[a] Imagines Deorum. [b] Ovid. [c] Æneid. 4. [d] Seneca. [e] Cor totum combustum, jecur suffumigatum, pulmo arefactus, ut credam miseram illam animam bis elixam aut combustam, ob maximum ardorem, quem patiuntur ob ignem amoris. [f] Embl. Amat. 4 et 5.

[a] Sic quo quis propior suæ puellæ est,
Hoc stultus propior suæ ruinæ est.
The neerer he unto his mistress is,
The neerer he unto his ruine is.

So that to say truth, as [b] Castilio describes it, *The beginning, middle, end of love, is nought else but sorrow, vexation, agony, torment, irksomness, wearisomness; so that to be squalid, ugly, miserable, solitary, discontent, dejected, to wish for death, to complain, rave, and to be peevish, are the certain signes, and ordinary actions of a love-sick person.* This continual pain and torture makes them forget themselves, if they be far gone with it, or in doubt, or despair of obtaining; eagerly bent to neglect all ordinary business.

——— [c] pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes æquataque machina cœlo.

Love-sick Dido left her works undone; so did [d] Phædra;

——— Palladis telæ vacant,
Et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus.

Faustus in [e] Mantuan, took no pleasure in any thing he did;

Nulla quies mihi dulcis erat, nullus labor ægro
Pectore, sensus iners, et mens torpore sepulta,
Carminis occiderat studium. ———

And 'tis the humour of them all, to be careless of their persons, and their estates, as the shepheard in [f] Theocritus, *Et hæc barba inculta est, squalidique capilli*, their beards flag, and they have no more care of pranking themselves, or of any business; they care not as they say, which end goes forward.

[g] Oblitusque greges, et rura domestica totus
[h] Uritur, et noctes in luctum expendit amaras.
Forgetting flocks of sheep and country farms,
The silly shepheard always mourns and burns.

Love-sick [i] Chærea when he came from Pamphila's house, and had not so good welcome as he did expect, was all amort; Parmeno meets him, *quid tristis es?* Why art thou so sad, man? *unde es?* whence com'st, how do'st? but he sadly replies, *Ego hercle nescio neque unde eam, neque quorsum eam, ita prorsus oblitus sum mei*; I have so forgotten myself, I neither know where I am, nor whence I come, nor whither I will, nor what I do. P. [k] *How so?* Ch. *I am in love. Prudens sciens.*

[a] Grotius. [b] Lib. 4. Nam istius amoris neque principia, neque media aliud habent quid, quam molestias, dolores, cruciatus, defatigationes, adeo ut miserum esse mærore, gemitu, solitudine torqueri, mortem optare, semperque debacchari, sunt certa amantium signa et certæ actiones. [c] Virg. Æn. 4. [d] Seneca Hip. act. [e] Eclog. 1. [f] Edyl. 14. [g] Mant. Eclog. 2. [h] Ov. Met. 13. de Polyphemo: Uritur oblitus pecorum, antrorumque suorum; jamque tibi formæ, &c. [i] Ter. Eunuch. [k] Qui quæso? Amo.

——[a] vivus vidensque pereo, nec quid agam scio.

[b] *He that erst had his thoughts free* (as Philostratus Lemnius in an epistle of his, describes this fiery passion) *and spent his time like an hard student, in those delightsome philosophicall precepts; he that with the sun and moone wandred all over the world, with stars themselves ranged about, and left no secret, or small mystery in nature unsearched; since he was enamored, can doe nothing now but think and meditate of love matters, day and night composeth himself how to please his mistress; all his study, endeavour, is to approve himself to his mistress, to win his mistress favour, to compass his desire, to be counted her servant.* When Peter Abelhardus, that great scholler of his age,

([c] Cui soli patuit scibile quicquid erat,)

was now in love with Heloissa, he had no mind to visit, or frequent schools and schollers any more. *Tædiosum mihi valde fuit* (as [d] he confesseth) *ad scholas procedere, vel in iis morari*, all his minde was on his new mistress.

Now to this end and purpose, if there be any hope of obtaining his suit, to prosecute his cause, he will spend himself, goods, fortunes, for her; and though he lose and alienate all his friends, be threatned, be cast off, and disinherited; for as the poet saith, [e] *Amori quis legem det?* though he be utterly undone by it, disgraced, go a begging, yet for her sweet sake, to enjoy her, he will willingly, beg, hazzard all he hath, goods, lands, shame, scandall, fame, and life it self.

Non recedam neque quiescam, noctu et interdiu,
Prius profecto quam aut ipsam, aut mortem investigavero.

I'll never rest or cease my suit,
Till she or death do make me mute.

Parthenis in [f] Aristænetus, was fully resolved to do as much. *I may have better matches, I confess; but, farewell shame, farewell honour, farewell honesty, farewell friends and fortunes, &c. O Harpedona, keep my counsel; I will leave all for his sweet sake; I will have him, say no more,* contra gentes, *I am resolved, I will have him.* [g] Gobrias the captain, when he had espied Rhodanthe, the fair captive maid, fell upon his knees before Mystilus the generall, with tears, vows, and all the rhe-

[a] Ter. Eunuch. [b] Qui olim cogitabat quæ vellet, et pulcherrimis Philosophiæ præceptis operam insumpsit, qui universi circuitiones cœlique naturam, &c. Hanc unam intendit operam, de sola cogitat, noctes et dies se componit ad hanc, et ad acerbam servitutem redactus animus, &c. [c] Pars Epitaphii ejus. [d] Epist. prima.
[e] Boethius, lib. 3. Met. ult. [f] Epist. lib. 6. Valeat pudor, valeat honestas, valeat honor. [g] Theodor. prodromus, lib. 3. Amor. Mystili genibus obvolutus, ubertimque lachrymans, &c. Nihil ex tota præda præter Rhodanthen virginem accipiam.

torick he could; by the scars he had formerly received, the good service he had done, or what soever else was dear unto him, besought his governour he might have the captive virgin to be his wife, *virtutis suæ spolium*, as a reward of his worth and service; and moreover, he would forgive him the mony which was owing, and all reckonings besides due unto him; *I ask no more, no part of booty, no portion, but Rhodanthe to be my wife.* And when as he could not compass her by faire means, he fell to treachery, force and villany, and set his life at stake at last, to accomplish his desire. 'Tis a common humour this, a generall passion of all lovers to be so affected; and which Æmilia told Aretine a courtier, in Castilio's discourse, [a] *surely Aretine, if thou werst not so indeed, thou didst not love: ingenuously confess; for if thou hadst been throughly enamored, thou wouldst have desired nothing more then to please thy mistress. For that is the law of love, to will and nill the same;*

[b] Tantum velle et nolle, velit nolit quod amica.

Undoubtedly this may be pronounced of them all; they are very slaves, drudges for the time, mad men, fools, dizards, [c] *atrabilarii*, beside themselves, and as blind as beetles. Their [d] dotage is most eminent; *Amare simul et sapere ipsi Jovi non datur*, as Seneca holds; Jupiter himself cannot love and be wise both together; the very best of them, if once they be overtaken with this passion, the most staid, discreet, grave, generous and wise, otherwise able to govern themselves, in this commit many absurdities, many indecorums, unbefitting their gravity and persons.

[e] Quisquis amat servit, sequitur captivus amantem,
Fert domitâ cervice jugum——

Sampson, David, Solomon, Hercules, Socrates, &c. are justly taxed of indiscretion in this point; the middle sort are betwixt hawk and buzzard; and although they do perceive and acknowledge their own dotage, weakness, fury, yet they cannot withstand it; as well may witness those expostulations and confessions of Dido in Virgil.

[f] Incipit effari mediâque in voce resistit. *Phædra in Seneca.*
[g] Quod ratio poscit, vincit ac regnat furor,
Potensque totâ mente dominatur Deus. *Myrrha in* [h] *Ovid.*
Illa quidem sentit, fœdoque repugnat amori,

[a] Lib. 2. Certe vix credam, et bona fide fateare Aretine, te non amasse adeo vehementer; si enim vere amasses, nihil prius aut potius optasses, quam amatæ mulieri placere. Ea enim amoris lex est idem velle et nolle. [b] Stroza sil. Epig. [c] Quippe hæc omnia ex atra bile et amore proveniunt. Jason Pratensis. [d] Immensus amor ipsa stultitia est. Cardan. lib. 1. de sapientia. [e] Mantuan. [f] Virg. Æn. 4. [g] Seneca Hippol. [h] Met. 10.

Et secum, quo mente feror, quid molior, inquit,
Dii precor, et pietas, &c.

She sees and knows her fault, and doth resist,
Against her filthy lust she doth contend,
And whither go I, what am I about?
And God forbid; yet doth it in the end. Again,

——— Pervigil igne
Carpitur indomito, furiosaque vota retrectat,
Et modo desperat, modo vult tentare, pudetque
Et cupit, et quid agat, non invenit, &c.

With raging lust she burns, and now recals
Her vow, and then despairs; and when 'tis past,
Her former thoughts she'l prosecute in hast;
And what to do she knows not at the last.

She will and will not, abhors; and yet as Medea did, doth it:

——— Trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido,
Mens aliud suadet; video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor. ———

Reason pulls one way, burning lust another;
She sees and knows what's good, but she doth neither.

[a] O fraus, amorque, et mentis emotæ furor,
Quo me abstulistis?

The major part of lovers are carried headlong like so many brute beasts; reason counsells one way; thy friends, fortunes, shame, disgrace, danger, and an ocean of cares that will certainly follow; yet this furious lust, *præcipitates*, counterpoiseth, weighs down on the other; though it be their utter undoing, perpetuall infamy, loss, yet they will do it, and become at last *insensati*, void of sense; degenerate into dogs, hogs, asses, brutes; as Jupiter into a bull, Apuleius an asse, Lycaon a wolf, Tereus a lap-wing, [b] Calisto a bear, Elpenor and Grillus into swine by Circe. For what else may we think those ingenious poets to have shadowed in their witty fictions and poems? but, that a man, once given over to his lust (as [c] Fulgentius interprets that of Apuleius, Alciat of Tereus) *is no better then a beast.*

[d] Rex fueram, sic crista docet, sed sordida vita
Immundam e tanto culmine fecit avem.

I was a king, my crown a witness is,
But by my filthiness am come to this.

Their blindness is all out as great, as manifest as their weakness and dotage; or rather an inseparable companion, an ordi-

[a] Buchanan. [b] An immodest woman is like a bear. [c] Feram induit dum rosas comedat, idem ad se redeat. [d] Alciatus de upupa Embl. Animal immundum upupa stercora amans; ave hâc nihil fœdius, nihil libidinosius. Sabin in Ovid. Met.

nary sign of it. [a] Love is blind, as the saying is, Cupid's blind, and so are all his followers.

Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam.

Every lover admires his mistress, though she be very deformed of her self, ill-favored, wrinkled, pimpled, pale, red, yellow, tan'd, tallow-faced, have a swoln juglers platter face, or a thin, lean, chitty face, have clouds in her face, be crooked, dry, bald, goggle-ey'd, blear-ey'd or with staring eys, she looks like a squis'd cat, hold her head still awry, heavy, dull, hollow-ey'd, black or yellow about the eys, or squint-ey'd, sparrow-mouthed, Persean hook-nosed, have a sharp fox nose, a red nose, China flat, great nose, *nare simo patuloque*, a nose like a promontory, gubber-tushed, rotten teeth, black, uneven, brown teeth, beetle browed, a witches beard, her breath stink all over the room, her nose drop winter and summer, with a Bavarian poke under her chin, a sharp chin, lave eared, with a long cranes neck, which stands awry too, *pendulis mammis her dugs like two double jugs*, or else no dugs in the other extream, bloody-faln-fingers, she have filthy long unpaired nailes, scabbed hands or wrists, a tan'd skin, a rotten carcass, crooked back, she stoops, is lame, splea-footed, *as slender in the middle as a cow in the wast*, gowty legs, her ankles hang over her shooes, her feet stink, she breed lice, a meer changeling, a very monster, an aufe imperfect, her whole complexion savours, an harsh voyce, incondite gesture, vile gate, a vast virago, or an ugly tit, a slug, a fat fustilugs, a trusse, a long lean rawbone, a skeleton, a sneaker (*si qua latent meliora puta*), and to thy judgement looks like a mard in a lanthorn, whom thou couldst not fancy for a world, but hatest, loathest, and wouldst have spit in her face, or blow thy nose in her bosome, *remedium amoris* to another man, a dowdy, a slut, a scold, a nasty, rank, rammy, filthy, beastly quean, dishonest peradventure, obscene, base, beggerly, rude, foolish, untaught, peevish, Irus' daughter, Thersite's sister, Grobian's scholler; if he love her once, he admires her for all this, he takes no notice of any such errours, or imperfections of body or mind.

[b] Ipsa hæc delectant, veluti Balbinum Polypus Agnæ;

he had rather have her then any woman in the world. If he were a king, she alone should be his queen, his empress. O that he had but the wealth and treasure of both the Indies to endow her with; a carrack of diamonds, a chain of pearl, a cascanet of jewels (a pair of calf skin gloves of four pence a pair were fitter), or some such toye, to send her for a token; she

[a] Love is like a false glasse, which represents every thing fairer then it is. [b] Hor. sat. lib. 1. sat. 3.

should have it with all his heart; he would spend myriades of crowns for her sake. Venus herself, Panthea, Cleopatra, Tarquin's Tanaquil, Herod's Mariamne, or [a] Mary of Burgundy if she were alive, would not match her.

> [b] Vincet vultus hæc Tyndarios,
> Qui moverunt horrida bella.

Let Paris himself be judge; renowned Helena comes short; that Rodopheian Phillis, Larissean Coronis, Babylonian Thysbe, Polixena, Laura, Lesbia, &c. your counterfeit ladies were never so fair as she is.

> [c] Quicquid erit placidi, lepidi, grati, atque faceti,
> Vivida cunctorum retines Pandora Deorum.
>
> What e're is pretty, pleasant, facete, well,
> What e're Pandora had, she doth excell.

> [d] Dicebam Triviæ formam nihil esse Dianæ.

Diana was not to be compar'd to her, nor Juno, nor Minerva, nor any goddess. Thetis feet were as bright as silver; the ancles of Hebe clearer then chrystall; the arms of Aurora as ruddy as the rose; Juno's breasts as white as snow; Minerva wise; Venus fair; but what of this? Dainty, come thou to me. She is all in all:

> ——— [e] Cælia ridens
> Est Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.

> [f] Fairest of fair, that fairnesse doth excell.

Ephemerus in Aristænetus, so far admireth his mistress good parts, that he makes proclamation of them, and challengeth all comers in her behalf. [g] *Who ever saw the beauties of the East, or of the West? let them come from all quarters, all, and tell truth, if ever they saw such an excellent feature as this is.* A good fellow in Petronius cryes out, no tongue can [h] tell his ladies fine feature, or expresse it. *Quicquid dixeris minus erit, &c.*

> No tongue can her perfections tell,
> In whose each part, all tongues may dwell.

Most of your lovers are of his humour and opinion. She is *nulli secunda*, a rare creature, a phœnix, the sole commandress of his thoughts, queen of his desires, his only delight: as [i] Triton now feelingly sings, that love-sick sea-god.

[a] The daughter and heir of Carolus Pugnax. [b] Seneca in Octavia. [c] Lœchæus. [d] Mantuan. Ecl. 1. [e] Angerianus. [f] Faery Queen Cant. lir. 4. [g] Epist. 12. Quis unquam formas vidit orientis, quis occidentis, veniant undique omnes, et dicant veraces, an tam insignem viderint formam. [h] Nulla vox formam ejus possit comprehendere. [i] Calcagnini dial. Galat.

Candida Leucothöe placet, et placet atra Melæne,
Sed Galatea placet longe magis omnibus una.

Fair Leucothe, black Melæne please me well,
But Galatea doth by ods the rest excell.

All the gracious elogies, metaphors, hyperbolical comparisons of the best things in the world, the most glorious names; whatsoever, I say, is pleasant, amiable, sweet, grateful, and delicious, are too little for her.

Phœbo pulchrior et sorore Phœbi.

His Phœbe is so fair, she is so bright,
She dims the suns lustre, and the moons light.

Stars, suns, moones, mettals, sweet smelling flowers, odours, perfumes, colours, gold, silver, ivory, pearls, pretious stones, snow, painted birds, doves, hony, suger, spice, cannot expresse her; [a]so soft, so tender, so radiant, sweet, so fair is she.

——— Mollior cuniculi capillo, &c.

[b]Lydia bella, puella candida,
Quæ bene superas lac, et lilium,
Albamque simul rosam et rubicundam,
Et expolitum ebur Indicum.

Fine Lydia my mistress white and fair,
The milk, the lilly do not thee come neer;
The rose so white, the rose so red to see,
And Indian ivory comes short of thee:

Such a description our English Homer makes of a fair lady.

[c]That Emilia that was fairer to be seen,
Then is lilly upon the stalk green:
And fresher then May with flowers new,
For with the rose colour strove her hew,
I not which was the fairer of the two.

In this very phrase [d]Polyphemus courts Galatea.

Candidior folio nivei Galatea ligustri,
Floridior prato, longâ procerior alno,
Splendidior vitro, tenero lascivior hædo, &c.
Mollior et cygni plumis, et lacte coacto.

Whiter Galet then the white withie-wind,
Fresher then a field, higher then a tree,
Brighter then glass, more wanton then a kid,
Softer then swans down, or ought that may be.

[a] Catullus. [b] Petronii Catalect. [c] Chaucer in the knight's tale.
Ovid. Met. 13.

So she admires him again, in that conceited dialogue of Lucian, which John Secundus, an elegant Dutch modern poet, hath translated into verse. When Doris and those other sea nymphs, upbraided her with her ugly mishapen lover Polyphemus, she replyes; they speak out of envy and malice:

> Et plane invidia huc mera vos stimulare videtur,
> Quod non vos itidem ut me Polyphemus amet;

Say what they could, he was a proper man. And as Heloissa writ to her sweet-heart Peter Abelhardus, *Si me Augustus orbis imperator uxorem expeteret, mallem tua esse meretrix quam orbis imperatrix;* she had rather be his vassal or quean, then the worlds empress or queen.

> —— non si me Jupiter ipse forte velit, ——

she would not change her love for Jupiter himself.

To thy thinking she is a most loathsome creature; and as when a countrey fellow discommended once that exquisite picture of Helena, made by Zeuxis, [a] for he saw no such beauty in it; Nicomachus, a love-sick spectator, replyed, *Sume tibi meos oculos et Deam existimabis;* take mine eys, and thou wilt think she is a Goddess; dote on her forthwith; count all her vices, vertues; her imperfections, infirmities, absolute and perfect: If she be flat-nosed, she is lovely; if hook-nosed, kingly; if dwarfish and little, pretty; if tall, proper and man-like, our brave Brittish Bunduica; if crooked, wise; if monstrous, comely; her defects are no defects at all; she hath no deformities. *Immo nec ipsum amicæ stercus fœtet;* Though she be nasty, fulsome as Sostratus' bitch, or Parmeno's sow: thou hadst as lieve have a snake in thy bosome, a toad in thy dish, and callest her witch, divel, hag, with all the filthy names thou canst invent; he admires her on the other side; she is his idoll, lady, mistress, [b] Venerilla, queen, the quintessence of beauty, an angel, a star, a goddess.

> [c] Thou art my Vesta, thou my Goddess art,
> Thy hallowed Temple onely is my heart.

The fragrancy of a thousand curtesans is in her face; *Nec pulchræ effigies hæc Cypridis aut Stratonices;* 'Tis not Venus picture that, nor the Spanish Infanta's, as you suppose, (good Sir) no princess, or kings daughter; no, no, but his divine mistress forsooth, his dainty Dulcinea, his dear Antiphila,

[a] Plutarch. Sibi dixit tam pulchram non videri, &c. [b] Quanto quam Lucifer, aurea Phœbe, tanto virginibus conspectior omnibus Herce. Ovid. [c] Mich. Drayton, Son. 30.

to whose service he is wholly consecrate, whom he alone adores.

> [a] Cui comparatus indecens erit pavo,
> Inamabilis sciurus, et frequens phœnix.
>
> To whom confer'd, a peacocks undecent,
> A squirrels harsh, a phœnix too frequent.

All the graces, veneries, elegances, pleasures attend her. He prefers her before a myriade of court ladies,

> [b] He that commends Phillis or Neræa,
> Or Amarillis, or Galatea,
> Tityrus or Melibæa, by your leave,
> Let him be mute, his love the praises have.

Nay, before all the gods and goddesses themselves. So [c] Quintus Catullus admired his squint ey'd friend Roscius.

> Pace mihi liceat (Cœlestes) dicere vestrâ,
> Mortalis visus pulchrior esse Deo.
>
> By your leave gentle Gods, this I'll say true,
> There's none of you that have so fair an hew.

All the bumbast epithetes, patheticall adjuncts, incomparably fair, curiously neat, divine, sweet, dainty, delitious, &c. pretty diminutives, *corculum*, *suaviolum*, &c. pleasant names may be invented, bird, mouse, lamb, puss, pigeon, pigsney, kid, hony, love, dove, chicken, &c. he puts on her.

> [d] Meum mel, mea suavitas, meum cor,
> Meum suaviolum, mei lepôres.

My life, my light, my jewell, my glory. [e] *Margareta speciosa, cujus respectu omnia mundi pretiosa sordent*; my sweet Margaret, my sole delight and darling. And as [f] Rhodomant courted Isabella;

> By all kind words, and gestures that he might,
> He calls her his dear heart, his sole belov'd,
> His joyfull comfort, and his sweet delight.
> His mistress, and his goddess, and such names,
> As loving knights apply to lovely dames.

Every cloth she wears, every fashion pleaseth him above measure; her hand,

> O quales digitos, quas habet illa manus!

[a] Martial. l. 5. Epig. 38. [b] Ariosto. [c] Tully lib. 1. de nat. Deor. pulchrior Deo, et tamen erat oculis perversissimis. [d] Marullus ad Neæram epig. 1. lib. [e] Barthius. [f] Ariosto, lib. 29. hist. 8.

pretty foot, pretty coronets, her sweet carriage, sweet voyce, tone, O that pretty tone, her divine and lovely looks, her every thing, lovely, sweet, amiable, and pretty, pretty, pretty. Her very name (let it be what it will) is a most pretty pleasing name: I beleeve now there is some secret power and vertue in names, every action, sight, habit, gesture; he admires, whether she play, sing, or dance, in what tyres soever she goeth, how excellent it was, how well it became her, never the like seen or heard.

[a] Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.

Let her wear what she will, do what she will, say what she will;

[b] Quicquid enim dicit, seu facit, omne decet.

He applauds and admires every thing she wears, saith or doth;

[c] Illam quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia vertit,
Composuit furtim subsequiturque decor;
Seu solvit crines, fusis decet esse capillis,
Seu compsit, comptis est reverenda comis.

What ere she doth, or whither ere she go,
A sweet and pleasing grace attends, forsooth;
Or loose, or bind her hair, or comb it up,
She's to be honoured in what she doth.

[d] *Vestem induitur, formosa est; exuitur, tota forma est*; let her be dressed or undressed, all is one; she is excellent still; beautiful, fair, and lovely to behold. Women do as much by men; nay more, far fonder, weaker, and that by many parasanges. *Come to me, my dear Lycias* (saith Musarium in [e] Aristænetus) *come quickly, sweet-heart; all other men are satyres, meer clowns, block-heads to thee, no body to thee*: Thy looks, words, gestures, actions, &c. *are incomparably beyond all others.* Venus was never so much besotted on her Adonis; Phædra so delighted in Hippolitus; Ariadne in Theseus; Thysbe in her Pyramus, as she is enamored on her Mopsus.

Be thou the marygold, and I will be the sun;
Be thou the frier, and I will be the nun.

I could repeat centuries of such. Now tell me what greater dotage, or blindnesse can there be then this in both sexes? and yet their *slavery* is more eminent, a greater sign of their folly then the rest.

[a] Tibullus. [b] Marul. lib. 2. [c] Tibullus l. 4. de Sulpitiâ. [d] Aristænetus, Epist. 1. [e] Epist. 24. Veni cito charissime Lycia, cito Veni; præ te Satyri omnes videntur non homines, nullo loco solus es, &c.

They are commonly slaves, captives, voluntary servants; *Amator amicæ mancipium*, as [a] Castilio terms him; his mistress servant, her drudge, prisoner, bond-man, what not? *He composeth himself wholly to her affections, to please her; and as Æmilia said, makes himself her lackey. All his cares, actions, all his thoughts, are subordinate to her will and commandement*; her most devote, obsequious, affectionate servant and vassall. *For love* (as [b] Cyrus in Xenophon well observed) *is a meer tyranny; worse then any disease; and they that are troubled with it, desire to be free and cannot, but are harder bound then if they were in iron chains.* What greater captivity or slavery can there be (as [c] Tully expostulates) then to bee in love? *Is he a free man over whom a woman domineers, to whom she prescribes lawes, commands, forbids what she will her self? That dares deny nothing she demands; she asks, he gives; she calls, he comes; she threatens, he fears*; Nequissimum hunc servum puto; *I account this man a very drudge.* And as he follows it, [d] *Is this no small servitude for an enamorite to be every hour combing his head, stifning his beard, perfuming his hair, washing his face with sweet waters, painting, curling, and not to come abroad but sprucely crowned, decked and apparelled?* Yet these are but toyes in respect to go to the barber, baths, theatres, &c. he must attend upon her where ever she goes; run along the streets by her doors and windows to see her; take all opportunities, sleeveless errands, disguise, counterfeit shapes, and as many forms as Jupiter himself ever took; and come every day to her house (as he will surely do if he be truly enamored) and offer her service, and follow her up and down from room to room, as Lucretia's suiters did; he cannot contain himself, but he will do it; he must and will be where she is, sit next her, still talking with her. [e] *If I did but let my glove fall by chance* (as the said Aretine's Lucretia brags) *I had one of my suiters, nay, two or three at once, ready to stoop and take it up, and kiss it; and with a low congy, deliver it unto me: If I would walk, another was ready to sustain me by the arm. A third to pro-*

[a] Lib. 3. de aulico; Alterius affectui se totum componit, totus placere studet, et ipsius animam amatæ pedissequam facit. [b] Cyropæd. l. 5. Amor servitus, et qui amant optant eo liberari non secus ac alio quovis morbo, neque liberari tamen possunt, sed validiore necessitate ligati sunt quam si in ferrea vincula conjecti forent. [c] In paradoxis; An ille mihi liber videtur cui mulier imperat? cui leges imponit, præscribit, jubet, vetat quod videtur. Qui nihil imperanti negat, nihil audet, &c. poscit? dandum; vocat? veniendum; minatur? extimiscendum. [d] Illane parva est servitus amatorum singulis fere horis pectine capillum, calamistroque barbam componere, faciem aquis redolentibus diluere, &c. [e] Si quando in pavimentum incautius quid mihi excidisset, elevare inde quam promptissime, nec nisi osculo compacto mihi commendare, &c.

vide fruits, pears, plums, cherries, or whatsoever I would eat or drink. All this and much more he doth in her presence; and when he comes home, as Troilus on his Cressid, 'tis all his meditation to recount with himself his actions, words, gestures; what entertainment he had, how kindly she used him in such a place, how she smiled, how she graced him, and that infinitely pleased him; then he breaks out, O sweet Areusa! O my dearest Antiphila! O most divine looks! O lovely graces! and thereupon instantly he makes an epigram, or a sonet to five or seven tunes, in her commendation; or else he ruminates how she rejected his service, denied him a kiss, disgraced him, &c. and that as effectually torments him. And these are his exercises betwixt comb and glass, madrigals, elegies, &c. these his cogitations till he see her again. But all this is easie and gentle, and the least part of his labour and bondage; no hunter will take such pains for his game, fowler for his sport, or souldier to sack a city, as he will for his mistress favour.

> Ipsa comes veniam, neque me salebrosa movebunt
> Saxa, nec obliquo dente timendus aper.

As Phædra to Hippolitus. No danger shall affright. For if that be true the poets fain, Love is the son of Mars and Venus; as he hath delights, pleasures, elegancies from his mother, so hath he hardness, valour and boldness from his father. And 'tis true that Bernard hath; *Amore nihil mollius, nihil violentius*, nothing so boisterous, nothing so tender as love. If once therefore enamored, he will go, run, ride many a mile to meet her, day and night, in a very dark night, endure scorching heat, cold, wait in frost and snow, rain, tempests, till his teeth chatter in his head; those northern winds and showrs cannot cool, or quench, his flames of love. *Intempestâ nocte non deterretur*, he will, take my word, he will sustain hunger, thirst, *Penetrabit omnia, perrumpet omnia, love will find out a way*, through thick and thin he will to her; *Expeditissimi montes videntur amnes tranabiles*; he will swim through an ocean, ride post over the Alpes, Apenine or Pirenean hills,

> [a] Ignem marisque fluctus, atque turbines
> Venti paratus est transire, ———

though it rain daggers with their points downward, light or dark, all is one:

> Roscida per tenebras Faunus ad antra venit;

for her sweet sake he will undertake Hercules twelve labours;

[a] Plutarchus amat. dial.

endure, hazard, &c. he feels it not. [a] *What shall I say* (saith Hædus) *of their great dangers they undergo, single combats they undertake, how they will venture their lives, creep in at windows, gutters, climb over walls to come to their sweet-hearts,* (anointing the doors and hinges with oyl, because they should not creak, tread soft, swim, wade, watch, &c.) *and if they be surprised, leap out at windows, cast themselves headlong down, bruising or breaking their legs or arms, and sometimes loosing life it self,* as Calisto did for his lovely Melibæa. Hear some of their own confessions, protestations, complaints, proffers, expostulations, wishes, brutish attempts, labours in this kind. Hercules served Omphale, put on an aprone, took a distaffe and spun; Thraso the souldier was so submisse to Thais that he was resolved to do whatsoever she enjoyned. [b] *Ego me Thaidi dedam, et faciam quod jubet,* I am at her service. Philostratus in an epistle to his mistress; [c] *I am ready to dye, sweet-heart, if it be thy will; allay his thirst whom thy star hath scorched and undone; the fountains and rivers deny no man drink that comes; the fountain doth not say thou shalt not drink, nor the apple thou shalt not eat, nor the fair meadow walk not in me, but thou alone wilt not let me come near thee, or see thee; contemned and despised, I dye for grief.* Polienus, when his mistress Circe did but frown upon him, in Petronius, drew his sword, and bad her [d] kill, stab, or whip him to death; he would strip himself naked, and not resist. Another will take a journey to Japan, *Longæ navigationis molestias non curans:* A third (if she say it) will not speak a word for a twelvemonths space; her command shall be most inviolably kept: A fourth will take Hercules club from him, and with that centurion in the Spanish [e] Cælestina, will kill ten men for his mistress Areusa, for a word of her mouth, he will cut bucklers in two, like pippins, and flap down men like flies; *Elige quo mortis genere illum occidi cupis?* [f] Galeatus of Mantua did a little more: for when he was almost mad for love of a fair maid in the city, she, to try him (belike) what he would do for her sake, bad him, in jest, leap into the river Po, if he loved her;

[a] Lib. 1. de contem. amor. Quid referam eorum pericula et clades, qui in amicarum ædes per fenestras ingressi, stillicidiaque egressi, indeque deturbati, sed aut præcipites, membra frangunt, collidunt, aut animam amittunt. [b] Ter. Eunuch. Act. 5. Scen. 8. [c] Paratus sum ad obeundam mortem, si tu jubeas; hanc sitim æstuantis sedà, quem tuum sydus perdidit, aquæ et fontes non negant, &c. [d] Si occidere placet, ferrum meum vides, si verberibus contenta es, curro nudus ad pœnam. [e] Act. 15. 18. Impera mihi; occidam decem viros, &c. [f] Gasper Ens. Puellam misere deperiens, per jocum, ab ea in Padum desilire jussus, statim e ponte se præcipitavit. Alius, Ficino, insano amore ardens, ab amicâ jussus se suspendere; illico fecit.

he forthwith did leap headlong off the bridge, and was drowned. Another at Ficinum, in like passion, when his mistress by chance (thinking no harm I dare sware) bad him go hang; the next night, at her doors hanged himself. [a] *Mony* (saith Xenophon) *is a very acceptable and welcome guest, yet I had rather give it my dear Clinia, then take it of others; I had rather serve him, then command others; I had rather be his drudge, then take my ease, undergo any danger for his sake, then live in security. For I had rather see Clinia then all the world besides; and had rather want the sight of all other things, then him alone; I am angry with the night and sleep, that I may not see him; and thank the light and sun, because they shew me my Clinia. I will run into the fire for his sake; and if you did but see him, I know that you likewise would run with me.* So Philostratus to his mistress, [b] *Command me what you will, I will do it; bid me go to sea, I am gone in an instant; take so many stripes, I am ready; run through the fire, and lay down my life and soule at thy feet, 'tis done.* So did Æolus to Juno:

——— Tuus, ô regina, quod optas
Explorare labor, mihi jussa capessere fas est.

O queen, it is thy pains to enjoyn me still,
And I am bound to execute thy will.

And Phædra to Hippolitus:

Me vel sororem, Hippolite, aut famulam voca,
Famulamque potius, omne servitium feram.

O call me sister, call me servant, chuse,
Or rather servant, I am thine to use.

[c] Non me per altas ire si jubeas nives,
Pigeat gelatis ingredi Pindi jugis,
Non si per ignes ire, aut infesta agmina
Cuncter, paratus [d] ensibus pectus dare,
Te tunc jubere, me decet jussa exequi.

[a] Intelligo pecuniam rem esse jucundissimam, meam tamen libentius darem Cliniæ, quam ab aliis acciperem; libentius huic servirem, quam aliis imperarem, &c. Noctem et somnum accuso, quod illum non videam; luci autem et Soli gratiam habeo, quod mihi Cliniam ostendant. Ego etiam cum Clinia in ignem currerem; et scio vos quoque mecum ingressuros, si videretis. [b] Impera quidvis; navigare jube, navem conscendo; plagas accipere, plector; animam profundere, in ignem currere, non recuso; lubens facio. [c] Seneca in Hipp. act. 2. [d] Hujus ero vivus, mortuus hujus ero. Propert. lib. 2. vivam si vivat; si cadat illa, cadam, Id.

It shall not grieve me to the snowy hills,
Or frozen Pindus tops forthwith to clime,
Or run through fire, or through an army,
Say but the word, for I am alwaies thine.

Callicratides, in [a] Lucian, breaks out into this passionate speech; *O god of heaven, grant me this life for ever, to sit over against my mistress, and to hear her sweet voyce; to go in and out with her, to have every other business common with her; I would labour when she labours, saile when she sailes; he that hates her should hate me; and if a tyrant kill her, he should kill me; if she should dye, I would not live, and one grave should hold us both.*

[b] Finiet illa meos moriens morientis amores.

Abrocomus, in [c] Aristænetus, makes the like petition for his Delphia;

—— [d] Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam lubens.

'Tis the same strain which Theagines used to his Chariclea, *So that I may but enjoye thy love, let me dye presently:* Leander to his Hero when he besought the sea waves to let him go quietly to his love, and kill him coming back.

[e] Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo.

'Tis the common humour of them all, to contemn death, to wish for death, to confront death in this case; *Quippe quels nec fera, nec ignis, neque præcipitium, nec fretum, nec ensis, necque laqueus gravia videntur; 'Tis their desire* (saith Tyrius) *to dye.*

Haud timet mortem, cupit ire in ipsos
—— obvius enses.

Though a thousand dragons or divels keep the gates, Cerberus himself, Scyron and Procrustes lay in wait, and the way as dangerous, as inaccessible as hell, through fiery flames and over burning coulters, he will adventure for all this. And as [f] Peter Abelhardus lost his testicles for his Heloissa, he will (I say) not venture an incision, but life it self. For how many gallants offered to lose their lives for a nights lodging with Cleopatra in those dayes! and in the hour and moment of death, 'tis

[a] Dial. Amorum. Mihi, ô Dii cœlestes, ultra sit vita hæc perpetua, ex adverso amicæ sedere, et suave loquentem audire, &c. si moriatur, vivere non sustinebo, et idem erit sepulchrum utrisque. [b] Buchanan. [c] Epist. 21. Sit hoc votum a Diis amare Delphidem, ab ea amari, adloqui pulchram et loquentem audire. [d] Hor. [e] Mart. [f] Lege Calamitates Pet. Abelhardi Epist. prima.

their sole comfort to remember their dear mistress, as [a] Zerbino slain in France, and Brandimart in Barbary; as Arcite did his Emely.

> ——— [b] when he felt death,
> Dusked both his eys, and faded is his breath,
> But on his lady yet casteth he his eye,
> His last word was, mercy Emely,
> His spirit chang'd, and out went there,
> Whither I cannot tell, ne where.

[c] When captain Gobrias, by an unlucky accident, had received his deaths wound, *heu me miserum exclamat*, miserable man that I am, (instead of other devotions) he cries out, shall I dye before I see Rhodanthe my sweet heart? *Sic amor mortem* (saith mine author) *aut quicquid humanitus accidit, aspernatur*, so love triumphs, contemns, insults, over death itself. Thirteen proper yong men lost their lives for that fair Hippodamias sake, the daughter of Onomaus, king of Elis: when that hard condition was proposed of death or victory, they made no account of it; but couragiously for love died, till Pelops at last won her by a slight. [d] As many gallants desperately adventured their dearest blood, for Atalanta the daughter of Schenius, in hope of marriage, all vanquished and overcome, till Hippomenes, by a few golden apples, happily obtained his suit. Perseus of old, fought with a sea monster, for Andromeda's sake; and our S[t]. George freed the kings daughter of Sabea (the golden legend is mine author) that was exposed to a dragon, by a terrible combat. Our knights errant, and the Sir Lancelots of these dayes, I hope will adventure as much for ladies favours, as the Squire of Dames, Knight of the Sun, Sir Bevis of Southampton, or that renowned peere

> [e] Orlando, who long time had loved dear
> Angelica the fair, and for her sake
> About the world in nations far and near,
> Did high attempts perform and undertake;

he is a very dastard, a coward, a block and a beast, that will not do as much, but they will, sure they will; for it is an ordinary thing, for these enamoratos of our times, to say and do more; to stab their arms, carouse in blood; [f] or, as that Thessalian Thero, that bit off his own thumb, *provocans rivalem*

[a] Ariosto. [b] Chaucer in the Knights tale. [c] Theodorus prodromus; Amorum lib. 6. Interpret. Gaulmino. [d] Ovid. 10. Met. Hyginus c. 185.
[e] Ariost. lib. I. cant. I. staff. 5. [f] Plut. dial. amor.

ad hoc æmulandum; to make his corrival do as much. 'Tis frequent with them, to challenge the field, for their lady and mistress sake, to run a tilt;

> [a] That either bears (so furiously they meet)
> The other down under the horses feet,

and then up, and to it again:

> And with their axes both so sorely pour,
> That neither plate nor maile sustain'd the stour,
> But riveld wreak like rotten wood asunder,
> And fire did flash, like lightning after thunder;

and in her quarrel, to fight so long [b] *till their head piece, bucklers, be all broken, and swords hackt like so many saws*; for they must not see her abused in any sort; 'tis blasphemy to speak against her; a dishonour, without all good respect, to name her. 'Tis common with these creatures, to drink [c] healths upon their bare knees, though it were a mile to the bottome (no matter of what mixture) off it comes. If she bid them they will go barefoot to Jerusalem; to the great Cham's court; [d] to the East Indies, to fetch her a bird in her hat: and, with Drake and Candish, sail round about the world for her sweet sake, *adversis ventis*; serve twice seaven years, as Jacob did for Rachel; do as much as [e] Gesmunda, the daughter of Tancredus prince of Salerna, did for Guisardus her true love, eat his heart when he died; or, as Artemisia drank her husbands bones beaten to powder, and so bury him in herself; and endure more torments then Theseus or Paris. *Et his colitur Venus magis quam thure, et victimis*, with such sacrifices as these (as [f] Aristænetus holds) Venus is well pleased. Generally, they undertake any pain, any labour, any toyl, for their mistress sake; love and admire a servant, not to her alone, but to all her friends and followers; they hug and embrace them for her sake; her dog, picture, and every thing she wears, they adore it as a relique. If any man come from her, they feast him, reward him, will not be out of his company, do him all offices, still remembring, still talking of her;

> [g] Nam si abest quod ames, presto simulachra tamen sunt
> Illius, et nomen dulce obversatur ad aures.

[a] Faery Queen, cant. 1. lib. 4. & cant. 3. lib. 4. [b] Dum cassis pertusa, ensis instar Serræ excisus, scutum, &c. Barthius Cælestina. [c] Lesbia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur. [d] As Xanthus for the love of Euripe; Omnem Europam peragravit, Parthenius Erot. cap. 8. [e] Beroaldus e Bocacio. [f] Epist. 17. l. 2. [g] Lucretius.

The very carrier, that comes from him to her, is a most welcome guest: and if he bring a letter, she will read it twenty times over: and as [a]Lucretia did by Eurialus, *kiss the letter a thousand times together, and then read it:* And [b]Chelidonia by Philonius, after many sweet kisses put the letter in her bosome;

> And kiss again, and often look thereon,
> And stay the messenger, that would be gone:

And ask many pretty questions, over and over again; as how he looked, what he did, and what he said? In a word,

> [c]Vult placere sese amicæ, vult mihi, vult pedissequæ,
> Vult famulis, vult etiam ancillis, et catulo meo.
>
> He strives to please his mistress, and her maid,
> Her servants, and her dog, and 's well apaid.

If he get any remnant of hers, a busk-point, a feather of her fan, a shooe-tye, a lace, a ring, a bracelet of hair,

> [d]Pignusque direptum lacertis,
> Aut digito male pertinaci,

he wears it for a favour on his arm, in his hat, finger, or next his heart. Her picture he adores twice a day, and, for two houres together will not look off it; As Laodomia did by Protesilaus, when he went to war; [e]*Sit at home with his picture before her:* a garter or a bracelet of hers is more pretious then any saints relique; he lays it up in his casket, (O blessed relique) and every day will kiss it: if in her presence, his eye is never off her; and drink he will where she drank, if it be possible, in that very place, &c. If absent, he will walk in the walk; sit under that tree where she did use to sit; in that bowr, in that very seat;

> ——— et foribus miser oscula figit

many yeers after sometimes; though she be far distant, and dwell many miles off, he loves yet to walk that way still, to have his chamber-window look that way: to walk by that rivers side (which though far away) runs by the house where she dwels; he loves the wind blowes to that coast.

> [f]O quoties dixi Zephyris properantibus illuc,
> Felices pulchram visuri Amaryllida venti.

[a] Æneas Silvius, Lucretia quum accepit Euriali litteras hilaris statim milliesque papirum basiavit. [b] Medîis inseruit papillis litteram ejus, mille prius pangens suavia. Arist. 2. epist. 13. [c] Plautus Asinar. [d] Hor. [e] Illa domi sedens, imaginem ejus fixis oculis assidue conspicata. [f] Buchanan. Sylva.

O happy western winds that blow that way,
For you shall see my loves fair face to day;

he will send a message to her by the winde;

[a] Vos auræ Alpinæ, placidis de montibus auræ,
Hæc illi portate.———

[b] he desires to confer with some of her acquaintance, for his heart is still with her; [c] to talk of her, admiring and commending her, lamenting, moaning, wishing himself any thing for her sake, to have opportunity to see her. O that he might but enjoye her presence! So did Philostratus to his mistress; [d] *O happy ground on which she treads, and happy were I if she would tread upon me. I think her countenance would make the rivers stand; and when she comes abroad, birds will sing, and come about her,*

Ridebunt valles, ridebunt obvia Tempe,
In florem viridis protinus ibit humus.

The fields will laugh, the pleasant vallies burn,
And all the grass will into flowres turn.

Omnis Ambrosiam spirabit aura.

[e] *When she is in the meadow, she is fairer then any flowre, for that lasts but for a day; the river is pleasing, but it vanisheth on a sudden, but thy flowre doth not fade, thy stream is greater then the sea. If I look upon the Heaven, me thinks I see the sun faln down to shine below, and thee to shine in his place, whom I desire. If I look upon the night, me thinks I see two more glorious stars, Hesperus and thy self.* A little after he thus courts his mistress: [f] *If thou goest forth of the city, the protecting Gods that keep the town, will run after to gaze upon thee: If thou saile upon the seas, as so many small boats, they will follow thee: what river would not run into the sea.* Another, he sighs and sobs, swears he hath *cor scissum*, an heart bruised to powder, dissolved and melted within him, or quite gone from him, to his mistress bosome, belike; he is in an oven, a salamander in the fire, so scorched with loves heat; He wisheth himself a saddle for her to sit on; a posie for her to smell to; and it would not grieve him to be

[a] Fracastorius Naugerio. [b] Happy servants that serve her, happy men that are in her company. [c] Non ipsos solum sed ipsorum memoriam amant. Lucian. [d] Epist. O ter felix solum! beatus ego, si me calcaveris; vultus tuus amnes sistere potest, &c. [e] Idem epist. In prato cum sit flores superat; illi pulchri sed unius tantum diei; fluvius gratus, sed evanescit; at tuus fluvius mari major. Si cœlum aspicio, Solem existimo cecidisse, et in terra ambulare, &c. [f] Si civitate egrederis, sequentur te Dii custodes, spectaculo commoti; si naviges, sequentur; quis fluvius salum tuum non rigaret?

hanged, if he might be strangled in her garters: he would willingly die to morrow, so that she might kill him with her own hands. [a] Ovid would be a flea, a gnat, a ring: Catullus a sparrow;

O si tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem,
Et tristes animi levare curas.

Anacreon a glass, a gown, a chain, any thing:

[b] Sed speculum ego ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque cernas;
Et vestis ipse fiam,
Ut me tuum usque gestes.
Mutari et opto in undam,
Lavem tuos ut artus;
Nardus puella fiam,
Ut ego teipsum inungam;
Sim fascia in papillis,
Tuo et monile collo.
Fiamque calceus, me
Saltem ut pede usque calces.

[c] But I a looking-glass would be,
Still to be lookt upon by thee;
Or I, my love, would be thy gown,
By thee to be worn up and down;
Or, a pure well full to the brims,
That I might wash thy purer limbs:
Or, I'de be pretious balm to 'noint,
With choicest care each choicest joint;
Or, if I might, I would be fain
About thy neck thy happy chain.
Or would it were my blessed hap,
To be the lawn o'er thy fair pap.
Or would I were thy shooe, to be
Daily trod upon by thee.

O thrice happy man that shall enjoye her: as they that saw Hero in Musæus, and [d] Salmacis to Hermaphroditus,

——[e] Felices mammæ, &c. felix nutrix.——
Sed longe cunctis, longeque beatior ille,
Quem fructu sponsi et socii dignabere lecti.

The same passion made her break out in the comœdy,

[f] Næ illæ fortunatæ sunt quæ cum illo cubant;

[a] El. 15. 2. [b] Carm. 30. [c] Englished by M. B. Holliday in his Technog. Act I. scen. 7. [d] Ovid. Met. lib. 4. [e] Xenophon Cyropæd. lib. 5. [f] Plautus de milite.

happy are his bed-fellows; and as she said of Cyrus, [a] *Beata quæ illi uxor futura esset*, blessed is that woman that shall be his wife; nay, thrice happy she that shall enjoye him but a night;

[b] Una nox Jovis sceptro æquiparanda;

Such a night's lodging is worth Jupiter's scepter.

[c] Qualis nox erit illa, Dii, Deæque,
Quam mollis thorus?

O what a blissful night would it be, how soft, how sweet a bed? She will adventure all her estate for such a night; for a Nectarean, a balsome kiss alone.

Qui te videt beatus est,
Beatior qui te audiet,
Qui te potitur est Deus.

The Sultan of Sana's wife, in Arabia, when she had seen Vertomannus, that comely traveller, lamented to her self in this manner; [d] *O God, thou hast made this man whiter then the sun, but me, mine husband, and all my children black; I would to God he were my husband, or that I had such a son*; she fell a weeping, and so impatient for love at last, *that (as Potiphar's wife did by Joseph) she would have had him gone in with her; she sent away Gazella, Tegeia, Galzerana, her waiting maids; loaded him with fair promises and gifts*, and wooed him with all the rhetorick she could;

—— extremum hoc miseræ da munus amanti.

But when he gave not consent, she would have gone with him, and left all, to be his page, his servant, or his lackey; *Certa sequi charum corpus ut umbra solet*, so that she might enjoye him; threatning moreover, to kill her self, &c. Men will do as much and more for women, spend goods, lands, lives, fortunes; kings will leave their crowns, as King John for Matilda the nun at Dunmow.

[e] But kings in this yet priviledg'd may be,
I'll be a monke, so I may live with thee.

The very Gods will endure any shame (*atque aliquis de Diis non tristibus inquit, &c.*) be a spectacle, as Mars and Venus were to all the rest; so did Lucian's Mercury wish, and per-

[a] Lucian. [b] E Græco Ruf. [c] Petronius. [d] Lod. Vertomannus navig. lib. 2. c. 5. O Deus, hunc creasti Sole candidiorem; e diverso, me et conjugem meum et natos meos omnes pigricantes. Utinam hic, &c. Ibit Gazella, Tegeia, Galzerana, et promissis oneravit, et donis, &c. [e] Mi. Drayton.

adventure so dost thou. They will adventure their lives with alacrity.

——— [a] pro quâ non metuam mori———

nay more, *pro quâ non metuam bis mori*, I will dye twice, nay twenty times, for her. If she dye, there's no remedy; they must die with her, they cannot help it. A lover in Calcagninus, wrote this on his darlings Tomb;

Quincia obiit, sed non Quincia sola obiit;
Quincia obiit, sed cum Quincia et ipse obii:
Risus obit, obit gratia, lusus obit,
Nec mea nunc anima in pectore, at in tumulo est.

Quincia my dear is dead, but not alone,
For I am dead, and with her I am gone:
Sweet smiles, mirth, graces, all with her do rest,
And my soule too; for 'tis not in my brest.

How many doting lovers upon the like occasion might say the same? But these are toyes in respect, they will hazard their very souls for their mistress sake.

Atque aliquis inter juvenes miratus est, et verbum dixit,
Non ego in cœlo cuperem Deus esse,
Nostram uxorem habens domi Hero.

One said, to heaven would I not
desire at all to go,
If that, at mine own house, I had
such a fine wife as Hero.

Venus forsook heaven for Adonis sake,

——— [b] Cœlo præfertur Adonis.

Old Janivere, in Chaucer, thought, when he had his fair May, he should never go to heaven, he should live so merrily here on earth; had I such a mistress, he protests,

[c] Cœlum Diis ego non suum inviderem,
Sed sortem mihi Dii meam inviderent.

I would not envy their prosperity;
The gods should envy my felicity.

Another as earnestly desires to behold his sweet-heart; he will adventure and leave all this, and more then this, to see her alone.

[a] Hor. Ode 9. lib. 3. [b] Ov. Met. 10. [c] Buchanan Hendecasyl.

[a] Omnia quæ patior mala si pensare velit fors,
Unâ aliquâ nobis prosperitate, Dii
Hoc precor, ut faciant, faciant me cernere coram,
Cor mihi captivum quæ tenet hocce, Deam.

If all my mischiefs were recompenced,
And God would give me what I requested,
I would my mistress presence only seek,
Which doth mine heart in prison captive keep.

But who can reckon up the dotage, madness, servitude, and blindness, the foolish phantasms and vanities of lovers, their torments, wishes, idle attempts?

Yet for all this, amongst so many irksome, absurd, troublesome symptomes, inconveniences, phantastical fits and passions, which are usually incident to such persons, there be some good and graceful qualities in lovers, which this affection causeth. As it makes wise men fools, so many times it makes *fools become wise;* [b] *it makes base fellows become generous, cowards couragious, as* Cardan notes out of Plutarch; *covetous, liberal and magnificent; clowns, civil; cruel, gentle; wicked prophane persons, to become religious; slovens, neat; churls, merciful; and dumb dogs, eloquent: your lazie drones, quick and nimble; Feras mentes domat cupido;* that fierce, cruel and rude Cyclops, Polyphemus, sighed, and shed many a salt tear for Galatea's sake. No passion causeth greater alterations, or more vehement of joye or discontent. Plutarch. *Sympos. lib. 5. quæst.* 1. [c] saith, *that the soule of a man in love is full of perfumes and sweet odours, and all manner of pleasing tones and tunes; insomuch that it is hard to say* (as he adds) *whether love do mortal men more harm then good.* It adds spirits, and makes them otherwise soft and silly, generous and couragious, [d] *Audacem faciebat amor.* Ariadne's love made Theseus so adventrous, and Medea's beauty Jason so victorious; *expectorat amor timorem.* [e] Plato is of opinion, that the love of Venus made Mars so valorous. *A yong man will be much abashed to commit any foul offence, that shall come to the hearing or sight of his mistress.* As [f] he that desired of his enemy, now dying, to lay him with his face upward, *ne amasius videret eum a tergo vulneratum,* least his

[a] Petrarch. [b] Cardan. lib. 2. de sap. Ex vilibus generosos efficere solet, ex timidis audaces, ex avaris splendidos, ex agrestibus civiles, ex crudelibus mansuetos, ex impiis religiosos, ex sordidis nitidos atque cultos, ex duris misericordes, ex mutis eloquentes. [c] Anima hominis amore capti tota referta suffitibus et odoribus: Pæanes resonat, &c. [d] Ovid. [e] In convivio; Amor Veneris Martem detinet, et fortem facit; adolescentem maxime erubescere cernimus, quum amatrix eum turpe quid committentem offendit. [f] Plutarch. Amator. dial.

sweet-heart should say he was a coward. *And if it were* [a] *possible to have a city or an army consist of lovers, such as love, or are beloved, they would be extraordinary valiant and wise in their government; modesty would detain them from doing amiss, emulation incite them to do that which is good and honest, and a few of them would overcome a great company of others.* There is no man so pusillanimous, so very a dastard, whom love would not incense, make of a divine temper, and an heroicall spirit. As he said in like case, [b] *Tota ruat cœli moles, non terreor,* &c. Nothing can terrifie, nothing can dismay them: But, as Sir Blandimor and Paridel, those two brave faery knights, fought for the love of fair Florimel in presence —

> [c] And drawing both their swords with rage anew,
> Like two mad mastives each other slew,
> And shields did share, and mailes did rash, and helms did hew:
> So furiously each other did assail,
> As if their souls, at once, they would have rent
> Out of their brests, that streams of blood did trail
> Adown, as if their springs of life were spent;
> That all the ground with purple blood was sprent,
> And all their armour stain'd with bloody gore,
> Yet scarcely once to breath would they relent.
> So mortal was their malice, and so sore,
> That both resolv'd (then yield) to dye before.

Every base swain, in love, will dare to do as much for his dear mistress sake. He will fight and fetch, [d] *Argivum Clypeum*, that famous buckler of Argos, to do her service; adventure at all, undertake any enterprise. And as Serranus the Spaniard, then governour of Sluys, made answer to Marquess Spinola, if the enemy brought 50000 divels against him he would keep it. The nine worthies, Oliver and Rowland, and forty dozen of peers are all in him; he is all mettle, armor of proof, more then a man; and in this case, improved beyond himself. For as [e] Agatho contends, a true lover is wise, just, temperate and valiant. [f] *I doubt not therefore, but if a man had such an army of lovers* (as Castilio supposeth) *he might soon conquer all the world, except by chance he met with such another army of inamoratos to oppose it.* [g] For so perhaps they might fight, as that fatal dog and fatal hare, in the heavens, course one another round, and never make an end. Castilio thinks Ferdinand King of Spain would never have conquered Granado,

[a] Siquo pacto fieri civitas aut exercitus posset partim ex his qui amant, partim ex his, &c. [b] Angerianus. [c] Faery Qu. lib. 4. cant. 2. [d] Zened. proverb. Cent. 6. [e] Plat. Conviv. [f] Lib. 3. de Aulico. Non dubito quin is qui talem exercitum haberet, totius orbis statim victor esset, nisi forte cum aliquo exercitu confligendum esset in quo omnes amatores essent. [g] Hyginus de Cane et Lepore cœlesti, et Decimator.

had not Queen Isabell and her ladies been present at the siege; [a] *It cannot be expressed, what courage the Spanish knights took, when the ladies were present; a few Spaniards overcame a multitude of Moors.* They will undergo any danger whatsoever, as Sir Walter Manny in Edward the third's time, stuck full of ladies favours, fought like a dragon. For *soli amantes*, as [b] Plato holds, *pro amicis mori appetunt;* only lovers will dye for their friends, and in their mistress quarrel. And for that cause, he would have women follow the camp, to be spectators and encouragers of noble actions: upon such an occasion, the [c] Squire of Dames himself, Sir Lancelot or Sir Tristram, Cæsar, or Alexander shall not be more resolute or go beyond them.

Not courage only doth love add, but as I said, subtility, wit and many pretty devises;

> [d] Namque dolos inspirat amor, fraudesque ministrat:

[e] Jupiter in love with Leda, and not knowing how to compass his desire, turn'd himself into a swan, and got Venus to pursue him in the likeness of an eagle; which she doing, for shelter he fled to Leda's lap, *et in ejus gremio se collocavit;* Leda embraced him, and so fell fast asleep; *sed dormientem Jupiter compressit*, by which means Jupiter had his will. Infinite such tricks can love devise; such fine feats in abundance, with wisdome and wariness;

> ——[f] quis fallere possit amantem?

all manner of civility, decency, complement and good behaviour, *plus salis et leporis*, polite graces, and merry conceits. Bocace hath a pleasant tale to this purpose, which he borrowed from the Greeks, and which Beroaldus hath turned into Latine, Bebelius into verse, of Cymon and Iphigenia. This Cymon was a fool, a proper man of person, and the governour of Cyprus son, but a very ass; insomuch, that his father being ashamed of him, sent him to a farm-house he had in the country, to be brought up. Where by chance, as his manner was, walking alone, he espied a gallant yong gentlewoman named Iphigenia, a burgomasters daughter of Cyprus, with her maid, by a brook side, in a little thicket, fast asleep in her smocke, where she had newly bathed her self: *When* [g] *Cymon saw her, he stood leaning on his staffe, gaping on her im-*

[a] Vix dici potest quantam inde audaciam assumerent Hispani, inde pauci infinitas Maurorum copias superarunt. [b] Lib. 5. de legibus. [c] Spencer's Faery Queen 3. book, cant. 8. [d] Hyginus, l. 2. [e] Aratus in phænom. [f] Virg. [g] Hanc ubi conspicatus est Cymon, baculo innixus, immobilis stetit, et mirabundus, &c.

moveable, and in a maze: at last he fell so far in love with the glorious object, that he began to rouze himself up; to bethink what he was; would needs follow her to the city, and for her sake began to be civil, to learn to sing and dance, to play on instruments, and got all those gentlemen-like qualities and complements, in a short space, which his friends were most glad of. In brief, he became from an idiot and a clown, to be one of the most compleat gentlemen in Cyprus; did many valorous exploits, and all for the love of Mistress Iphigenia. In a word, I may say thus much of them all, let them be never so clownish, rude and horrid, Gobrians and sluts, if once they be in love, they will be most neat and spruce; for, [a] *Omnibus rebus, et nitidis nitoribus antevenit amor*; they will follow the fashion, begin to trick up, and to have a good opinion of themselves; *venustatum enim mater Venus*; a ship is not so long a rigging, as a yong gentlewoman a trimming up her self, against her sweet-heart comes. A painters shop, a flowry meadow, no so gratious an aspect in Natures store-house as a yong maid, *nubilis puella*, a Novitsa or Venetian bride, that looks for an husband; or a yong man that is her suiter; composed looks, composed gaite, cloaths, gestures, actions, all composed; all the graces, elegancies, in the world, are in her face. Their best robes, ribbins, chains, jewels, lawns, linnens, laces, spangles, must come on, [b] *præter quam res patitur student elegantiæ*, they are beyond all measure coy, nice, and too curious on a sudden: 'Tis all their study, all their business, how to wear their cloaths neat, to be polite and terse, and to set out themselves. No sooner doth a yong man see his sweet-heart coming, but he smugs up himself, puls up his cloak, now faln about his shoulders, ties his garters, points, sets his band, cuffs, sticks his hair, twires his beard, &c. When Mercury was to come before his mistress,

——— [c] Chlamydemque ut pendeat apte
Collocat, ut limbus totumque appareat aurum.

He puts his cloak in order, that the lace
And hem, and gold-work all might have his grace.

Salmacis would not be seen of Hermaphroditus, till she had spruced up her self first.

[d] Nec tamen ante adiit, etsi properabat adire,
Quam se composuit, quam circumspexit amictus,
Et finxit vultum, et meruit formosa videri.

[a] Plautus Casina act. 2. sc. 4. [b] Plautus. [c] Ovid. Met. 2.
[d] Ovid. Met. 4.

Nor did she come, although 'twas her desire,
Till she compos'd her self and trim'd her tire,
And set her looks to make him to admire.

Venus had so ordered the matter, that when her son [a] Æneas was to appear before Queen Dido, he was

Os humerosque Deo similis (namque ipsa decoram
Cæsariem nato genitrix, lumenque juventæ
Purpureum et lætos oculis afflarat honores)

like a god; for she was the tire-woman her self, to set him out with all natural and artificial impostures. As mother Mammea did her son Heliogabalus, new chosen Emperour, when he was to be seen of the people first. When the hirsute Cyclopical Polyphemus courted Galatea;

[b] Jamque tibi formæ, jamque est tibi cura placendi,
Jam rigidos pectis rastris Polypheme capillos,
Jam libet hirsutam tibi falce recidere barbam,
Et spectare feros in aqua et componere vultus.

And then he did begin to prank himself,
To pleate and combe his head, and beard to shave,
And look his face ith' water as a glass,
And to compose himself for to be brave.

He was, upon a sudden now, spruce and keen, as a new ground hatchet. He now began to have a good opinion of his own feature, and good parts; now to be a gallant.

Jam Galatea veni, nec munera despice nostra,
Certe ego me novi, liquidaque in imagine vidi
Nuper aquæ, placuitque mihi mea forma videnti.

Come now my Galatea, scorn me not,
Nor my poor presents; for, but yesterday,
I saw myself ith' water, and me thought
Full fair I was, then scorn me not I say.

[c] Non sum adeo informis, nuper me in littore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis staret mare ———

'Tis the common humor of all suiters to trick up themselves, to be prodigal in apparel, *pure lotus*, neat, comb'd and curl'd, with powdred hairs, *comptus et calamistratus*; with a long love-lock, a flowre in his ear, perfumed gloves, rings, scarfs, feathers, points, &c. as if he were a princes Ganymede, with every day new suits, as the fashion varies; going as if he trod

[a] Virg. 1. Æn. [b] Ovid. Met. 13. [c] Virg. Ecl. 2.

upon egs, and as Heinsius writ to Primierus, [a] *If once he be besotted on a wenche, he must lye awake a nights, renounce his book, sigh and lament, now and then weep for his hard hap, and mark above all things what hats, bands, doublets, breeches, are in fashion; how to cut his beard, and wear his lock, to turn up his mushatos, and curl his head, prune his pickitivant, or if he wear it abroad, that the east side be correspondent to the west:* he may be scoffed at otherwise, as Julian that apostate emperour was, for wearing a long hirsute goatish beard, fit to make ropes with, as in his Mysopogone, or that apologetical oration he made at Antioch, to excuse himself, he doth ironically confess, it hindred his kissing; *nam, non licuit inde pura puris, eoque suavioribus labra labris adjungere;* but he did not much esteem it, as it seems by the sequel, *de accipiendis dandisve osculis non laboro;* yet (to follow mine author) it may much concern a yong lover; he must be more respectful in this behalf, *he must be in league with an excellent taylor, barber,*

> [b] Tonsorem puerum sed arte talem,
> Qualis nec Thalamis fuit Neronis;

have neat shooe-ties, points, garters, speak in print, walk in print, eat and drink in print, and that which is all in all, he must be mad in print.

Amongst other good qualities, an amorous fellow is endowed with, he must learn to sing and dance, play upon some instrument or other; as without all doubt he will, if he be truly touched with this loadstone of love. For as [c] Erasmus hath it, *musicam docet amor et poesin*, love will make them musicians, and to compose ditties, madrigals, elegies, love-sonnets, and sing them to several pretty tunes, to get all good qualities may be had. [d] Jupiter perceived Mercury to be in love with Philologia, because he learned languages, polite speech, (for Suadela herself was Venus daughter, as some write) arts and sciences, *quo virgini placeret*, all to ingratiate himself, and please his mistress. 'Tis their chiefest study to sing, dance; and without question, so many gentlemen and gentlewomen would not be so well qualified in this kinde,

[a] Epist. An uxor literato sit ducenda. Noctes insomnes traducendæ, literis renunciandum, sæpe gemendum, nonnunquam et illachrymandum sorti et conditioni tuæ. Videndum quæ vestes, quis cultus te deceat, quis in usu sit, utrum latus barbæ, &c. Cum cura loquendum, incedendum, bibendum et cum cura insaniendum. [b] Mart. Epig. 5. [c] Chil. 4. cent. 5. pro. 16. [d] Martianus Capella lib. 1. de nupt. philol. Jam. Illum sentio amore teneri, ejusque studio plures habere comparatas in familitio disciplinas, &c.

if love did not incite them. [a] *Who*, saith Castilio, *would learn to play, or give his minde to musick, learn to dance, or make so many rimes, love-songs, as most do, but for womens sake? because, they hope by that means, to purchase their good wills, and win their favour?* We see this daily verified in our yong women and wives; they that being maids, took so much pains to sing, play, and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents, to get those graceful qualities, now being married, will scarse touch an instrument; they care not for it. Constantine *agricult. lib.* 11. *cap.* 18. makes Cupid himself to be a great dancer, by the same token, as he was capering amongst the gods, [b] *he flung down a bowl of nectar, which distilling upon the white rose, ever since made it red:* and Callistratus, by the help of Dædalus about Cupid's statue, [c] made many yong wenches still a dancing, to signifie, belike, that Cupid was much affected with it, as without all doubt he was. For at his and Psyche's wedding, the gods being present to grace the feast, Ganymede filled nectar in abundance (as [d] Apulelus describes it); Vulcan was the cook; the Howres made all fine with roses and flowres; Apollo plaid on the harp; the Muses sang to it, *sed suavi musicæ superingressa Venus saltavit*, but his mother Venus danced, to his and their sweet content. Witty [e] Lucian, in that pathetical love passage, or pleasant description of Jupiter's stealing of Europa, and swimming from Phœnicia to Crete, makes the sea calm, the winds hush; Neptune and Amphitrite riding in their chariot, to break the waves before them; the Tritons dancing roundabout, with every one a torch; the sea-nymphs half naked, keeping time on dolphins backs, and singing Hymeneus; Cupid nimbly tripping on the top of the waters; and, Venus her self coming after in a shell, strawing roses and flowres on their heads. Praxitiles, in all his pictures of love, fains Cupid ever smiling, and looking upon dancers; and in Saint Marke's Garden in Rome (whose work I know not) one of the most delicious pieces, is many [f] Satyres dancing about a wenche asleep. So that dancing still is, as it were, a necessary appendix to love matters. Yong lasses are never better pleased, then when, as upon an holiday after evensong, they may meet their sweet-hearts, and dance about a may-pole, or in a town-green, under a shady elm.

[a] Lib. 3. de aulico. Quis Choreis insudaret, nisi fœminarum caussa? quis musicæ tantam navaret operam, nisi quod illius dulcedine permulcere speret? quis tot carmina componeret, nisi ut inde affectus suos in mulieres explicaret? [b] Craterem nectaris evertit sultans apud Deos, qui in terram cadens, rosam prius albam rubore infecit. [c] Puellas choreantes circa juvenilem Cupidinis statuam fecit. Philostrat. Imag. lib. 3. de statuis. Exercitium amori aptissimum. [d] Lib. 6. Met. [e] Tom. 4. [f] Kornman. de cur. mort. part. 5. cap. 28. Sat. puellæ dormienti insultantium, &c.

Nothing so familiar in [a]France, as for citizens wives and maids to dance a round in the streets; and often too, for want of better instruments, to make good musick of their own voices, and dance after it. Yea, many times, this love will make old men and women, that have more toes then teeth, dance,——*John, come kiss me now*, mask and mum; for Comus and Hymen, love masks, and all such merriments above measure, will allow men to put on womens apparel in some cases, and promiscuously to dance, yong and old, rich and poor, generous and base, of all sorts. Paulus Jovius taxeth Augustine Niphus the philosopher, [b] *For that being an old man, and a publique professor, a father of many children, he was so mad for the love of a yong maid, that which many of his friends were ashamed to see, an old gowty fellow, yet would dance after fidlers.* Many laughed him to scorn for it, but this omnipotent love would have it so.

[c] Hyacinthino bacillo
Properans amor, me adegit
Violenter ad sequendum.

Love, hasty with his purple staffe, did make
Me follow, and the dance to undertake.

And 'tis no newes this, no *indecorum*; for why? a good reason may be given of it. Cupid and Death met both in an inne, and being merrily disposed, they did exchange some arrows from either quiver; ever since, yong men dye; and oftentimes, old men dote.

——[d] Sic moritur Juvenis, sic moribundus amat.

And who can then withstand it? If once we be in love, yong or old, though our teeth shake in our heads like virginal jacks, or stand parallel asunder like the arches of a bridge, there is no remedy; we must dance Trenchmore for a need, over tables, chairs, and stools, &c. And princum prancum is a fine dance. Plutarch, *Sympos.* 1. *quæst.* 5. doth in some sort excuse it; and telleth us moreover, in what sense, *Musicam docet amor, licet prius fuerit rudis*, how love makes them that had no skill before, learn to sing and dance; he concludes, 'tis only that power and prerogative love hath over us. [e] *Love* (as he holds) *will make a silent man speake; a modest man most officious;*

[a] View of Fr. [b] Vita ejus. Puellæ amore septuagenarius senex usque ad insaniam correptus, multis liberis susceptis: multi, non sine pudore, conspexerunt senem et Philosophum podagricum, non sine risu, saltantem ad tibiæ modos. [c] Anacreon Carm. 7. [d] Joach. Bellius Epig. [e] De taciturno loquacem facit, et de verecundo officiosum reddit, de negligente industrium, de socorde impigrum.

dull, quick; slow, nimble; and that which is most to be admired, an hard, base, untractable churl, as fire doth iron in a smiths forge, free, facile, gentle, and easie to be entreated. Nay 'twill make him prodigal in the other extream, and give an [a] hundred sestercees for a nights lodging, as they did of old to Lais of Corinth; or [b] *ducenta drachmarum millia pro unicâ nocte,* as Mundus to Paulina; spend all his fortunes (as too many do in like case) to obtain his suit. For which cause, many compare love to wine, which makes men jovial and merry, frolick and sad, whine, sing, dance, and what not.

But above all the other symptomes of lovers, this is not lightly to be over passed, that of what condition soever, if once they be in love, they turn (to their ability) rimers, ballet-makers, and poets. For as Plutarch saith, [c] *They will be witnesses and trumpeters of their paramours good parts, bedecking them with verses and commendatory songs, as we do statues with gold, that they may be remembred and admired of all.* Ancient men will dote in this kinde, sometimes, as well as the rest; the heat of love will thaw their frozen affections, dissolve the ice of age, and so far inable them, though they be 60 years of age above the girdle, to be scarce 30 beneath. Jovianus Pontanus makes an old fool rime, and turn poetaster to please his mistress:

> [d] Ne ringas Mariana, meos ne dispice canos,
> De Sene nam Juvenem Dia referre potes, &c.
>
> Sweet Marian do not mine age disdain,
> For thou canst make an old man yong again.

They will be still singing amorous songs and ditties (if yong especially) and cannot abstain, though it be when they go to, or should be, at church. We have a pretty story to this purpose in [e] Westmonasteriensis, an old writer of ours (if you will believe it) an. Dom. 1012. at Colewiz in Saxony; on Christmass eve, a company of yong men and maids, whilst the priest was at mass in the church, were singing catches and love songs in the church-yard, he sent to them to make less noise, but they sung on still; and if you will, you shall have the very song it self.

> Equitabat homo per sylvam frondosam,
> Ducebatque secum Meswinden formosam,
> Quid stamus, cur non imus?

[a] Josephus antiq. Jud. lib. 18. cap. 4. [b] Gellius l. 1. cap. 8. Pretium noctis centum sestertia. [c] Ipsi enim volunt suarum amasiarum pulchritudinis præcones ac testes esse, eas laudibus, et cantilenis et versibus exornare, ut auro statuas, ut memorentur, et ab omnibus admirentur. [d] Tom. 2. Ant. Dialogo. [e] Flores hist. fol. 298.

A fellow rid by the green wood side,
And fair Meswinde was his bride,
Why stand we so, and do not go?

This they sung; he chaft; till at length, impatient as he was, he prayed to St. Magnus, patron of the church, that they might all three sing and dance, 'till that time twelve month; and so [a] they did, without meat and drink, wearisomness or giving over, till at yeares end they ceased singing, and were absolved by Herebertus, archbishop of Colen. They will in all places be doing thus, yong folks especially; reading love stories, talking of this or that yong man, such a fair maid, singing, telling or hearing lascivious tales, scurril tunes, such objects are their sole delight, their continual meditation, and as Guastavinius adds, *Com. in 4. sec. 27. prob. Arist. ob seminis abundantiam crebræ cogitationes, veneris frequens recordatio et pruriens voluptas, &c.* an earnest longing comes hence; *pruriens corpus, pruriens anima*, amorous conceits, tickling thoughts, sweete and pleasant hopes; hence it is, they can think, discourse willingly, or speak, almost of no other subject. 'Tis their only desire, if it may be done by art, to see their husbands picture in a glass; they'l give any thing to know when they shall be married; how many husbands they shall have, by Cromnyomantia, a kind of divination, with [b] onions laid on the altar on Christmass eve; or by fasting on St. Anne's eve or night, to know who shall be their first husband; or by Amphitomantia, by beans in a cake, &c. to burn the same. This love is the cause of all good conceits, [c] neatness, exornations, playes, elegancies, delights, pleasant expressions, sweet motions and gestures, joyes, comforts, exultancies, and all the sweetness of our life; [d] *qualis jam vita foret, aut quid jucundi sine aureâ Venere?* [e] *Emoriar cum istâ non amplius mihi cura fuerit*, let me live no longer then I may love, saith a mad merry fellow in Mimnermus. This love is that salt, that seasoneth our harsh and dull labours, and gives a pleasant rellish to our other unsavory proceedings; [f] *Absit amor, surgunt tenebræ, torpedo, veternum, pestis, &c.* All our feasts almost, masques, mummings, banquets, merry meetings, weddings, pleasing songs, fine tunes, poems, love-stories, playes, comœdies, attelans, jigs, fescenines, elegies, odes, &c. proceed hence. [g] Danaus, the son of Belus, at his daughters wedding at Argos, instituted the first playes (some say) that ever were heard of.

[a] Per totum annum cantarunt, pluvia super illos non cecidit; non frigus, non calor, non sitis, nec lassitudo illos affecit, &c. [b] His eorum nomina inscribuntur de quibus quærunt. [c] Huic munditias, ornatum, leporem, delicias, ludos, elegantiam, omnem denique vitæ suavitatem debemus. [d] Hyginus cap. 272. [e] E Græco. [f] Angerianus. [g] Lib. 4. tit. 11. de prin. instit.

Symbols, emblems, impresses, devises, if we shall believe Jovius, Contiles, Paradine, Camillus de Camillis, may be ascribed to it. Most of our arts and sciences, painting amongst the rest, was first invented, saith [a]Patritius *ex amoris beneficio*, for loves sake. For when the daughter of [b]Deburiades the Sycionian, was to take leave of her sweetheart, now going to wars, *ut desiderio ejus minus tabesceret*, to comfort her self in his absence, she took his picture with cole upon a wall, as the candle gave the shadow; which her father admiring, perfected afterwards, and it was the first picture by report that ever was made. And long after, [c]Sycion for painting, carving, statuary, musick, and philosophy was preferred before all the cities in Greece. Apollo was the first inventer of physick, divination, oracles; Minerva found out weaving; Vulcan curious iron-work; Mercury letters; but who prompted all this into their heads? Love. *Nunquam talia invenissent, nisi talia adamassent;* they loved such things, or some party, for whose sake they were undertaken at first. 'Tis true, Vulcan made a most admirable bruch or neck-lace, which long after Axion and Temenus, Phegius sons, for the singular worth of it, consecrated to Apollo at Delphos; but, Pharyllus the tyrant stole it away, and presented it to Ariston's wife, on whom he miserably doted. (Parthenius tels the story out of Phylarchus); but why did Vulcan make this excellent ouche? to give Hermione, Cadmus wife, whom he dearly loved. All our tilts and turnaments, orders of the garter, golden fleece, &c.

Nobilitas sub amore jacet———

owe their beginnings to love; and, many of our histories. By this means, saith Jovius, they would express their loving mindes to their mistress, and to the beholders. 'Tis the sole subject, almost, of poetry; all our invention tends to it, all our songs, and therefore, Hesiod makes the Muses and Graces still follow Cupid; and as Plutarch holds, Menander and the rest of the poets were Love's priests. Whatever those old Anacreons, all our Greek and Latin epigrammatists, love-writers, Antony Diogenes the most ancient, whose epitome we find in Phocius Bibliotheca, Longus Sophista, Eustathius, Achilles Tatius, Aristænetus, Heliodorus, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, Parthenius, Theodorus, Prodromus, Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus, &c. Our new Ariostoes, Boyards, authors, of Arcadia, Urania, Faerie Queen, &c. Marullus, Leotichius, Angerianus, Stroza, Se-

[a] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. [b] Gerbelius l. 6. descript. Gr. [c] Fransus l. 8. de Symbolis. Qui primus symbolum excogitavit, voluit nimirum, hac actione implicatum animum evolvere, eumque vel dominæ vel aliis intuentibus ostendere.

cundus, Capellanus, &c. with the rest of those facete modern poets, have written in this kinde, are but as so many symptomes of love. Their whole books are a synopsis or breviary of love, the portuous of love, legends of lovers lives and deaths, and of their memorable adventures. Nay more, *quod leguntur, quod laudantur amori debent*, as [a] Nevisanus, the lawyer, holds; *there never was any excellent poet, that invented good fables, or made laudable verses, which was not in love himself;* had he not taken a quill from Cupid's wings, he could never have written so amorously as he did.

> [b] Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti,
> Ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris habet.
> Fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli,
> Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi.
> Non me Pelignus, nec spernet Mantua vatem,
> Si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit.
>
> Wanton Propertius, and witty Gallus,
> Subtile Tibullus, and learned Catullus,
> It was Cynthia, Lesbia, Lycoris,
> That made you poets all; and if Alexis
> Or Corinna chance my paramour to be,
> Virgil and Ovid shall not despise me.
>
> [c] Non me carminibus vincet, nec Thraceus Orpheus,
> Nec Linus.

Petrarch's Laura made him so famous; Astrophel's Stella and Jovianus Pontanus mistress was the cause of his *Roses, Violets, Lillies, Nequitiæ, blanditiæ, joci, decor, Nardus, Ver, Corolla, Thus, Mars, Pallas, Venus, Charis, Crocum, Laurus, Unguentum, Costum, Lachrymæ, Myrrha, Musæ, &c.* and the rest of his poems. Why are Italians at this day generally so good poets and painters? because every man of any fashion amongst them, hath his mistress. The very rusticks and hog-rubbers, Menalcas and Coridon, *qui fœtant de stercore equino*, those fulsome knaves, if once they tast of this love-liquor, are inspired in an instant. Instead of those accurate emblems, curious impresses, gaudy masques, tilts, turnaments, &c. they have their wakes, whitson-ales, shepheards feasts, meetings on holy days, country dances, roundelays, writing their names on [d] trees, true lovers knots, pretty gifts.

> With tokens, hearts divided, and half rings,
> Shepheards, in their loves, are as coy as kings.

[a] Lib. 4. num. 102. sylvæ nuptialis. Poetæ non inveniunt fabulas, aut versus laudatos faciunt, nisi qui ab amore fuerint excitati. [b] Martial. Ep. 73. lib. 9.
[c] Virg. Ecl. 4. [d] Teneris arboribus amicarum nomina inscribentes, ut simul crescant. Hæd.

Choosing lords, ladies, kings, queens, and valentines, &c. they go by couples;

Coridon's Phillis, Nysa and Mopsus,
With daynty Dousibel and Sir Tophus.

Instead of odes, epigrams and elegies, &c. they have their ballads, country tunes, *O the broom, the bonny bonny broom*, ditties and songs, *Bess a Bell, she doth excel*,—they must write likewise and indite all in rime.

[a] Thou hony-suckle of the hathorne hedge,
Vouchsafe in Cupid's cup my heart to pledge;
My hearts dear bloud, sweet Cis is thy carouse,
Worth all the ale in gammer Gubbins house.
I say no more, affairs call me away;
My fathers horse for provender doth stay.
Be thou the lady Cressetlight to me,
Sir Trolly Lolly will I prove to thee.
Written in hast, farewel my cowslip sweet,
Pray let's a Sunday at the ale-house meet.

Your most grim stoicks and severe philosophers will melt away with this passion; and if [b] Athenæus bely them not, Aristippus, Apollidorus, Antiphanes, &c. have made love songs and commentaries of their mistress praises, [c] orators write epistles, princes give titles, honours, what not? [d] Xerxes gave to Themistocles, Lampsacus to find him wine, Magnesia for bread, and Myunte for the rest of his diet. The [e] Persian kings allotted whole cities to like use; *hæc civitas mulieri redimiculum præbeat, hæc in collum, hæc in crines*, one whole city served to dress her hair, another her neck, a third her hood. Assuerus would have [f] given Esther half his empire, and [g] Herod bid *Herodias daughter ask what she would, she should have it.* Caligula gave an 100000 sesterces to his curtisan, at first word, to buy her pins; and yet when he was sollicited by the Senate, to bestow something to repair the decayed walls of Rome, for the common-wealths good, he would give but 6000 sesterces at most. [h] Dionysius, that Sicilian tyrant, rejected all his privy counsellors, and was so besotted on Mirrha, his favourite and mistress, that he would bestow no office, or in the most weightiest business of the kingdome, do ought, without her especial advice; prefer, depose, send, entertain no man, though worthy and well deserving, but by her

[a] S. R. 1600. [b] Lib. 13. cap. Dipnosophist. [c] See Putean. epist. 33. de suâ Margaretâ, Beroaldus, &c. [d] Hen. Steph. apol. pro Herod. [e] Tully orat. 5. Ver. [f] Esth. 5. [g] Mat. 14. 7. [h] Gravissimis regni negotiis, nihil sine amasiæ suæ consensu fecit. Omnesque actiones suas scortillo communicavit, &c. Nich. Bellus discours. 26. de amat.

consent: and he again, whom she commended, howsoever unfit, unworthy, was as highly approved. Kings and emperours, in stead of poems, build cities; Adrian built Antinoa in Ægypt, besides constellations, temples, altars, statues, images, &c. in the honour of his Antinous. Alexander bestowed infinite sums, to set out his Hephæstion to all eternity. [a] Socrates professeth himself *loves servant*; ignorant in all arts, and sciences, a doctor alone in love matters; *et quum alienarum rerum omnium scientiam diffiteretur*, saith [b] Maximus Tyrius his sectator, *hujus negotii professor*, &c. and this he spake openly, at home and abroad, at publique feasts, in the academy, *in Pyræo, Lycæo, sub Platano*, &c. the very bloud-hound of beauty, as he is stiled by others. But I conclude there is no end of loves symptomes; 'tis a bottomless pit. Love is subject to no dimensions; not to be survayed by any art or engin: and besides I am of [c] Hædus minde, *no man can discourse of love matters, or judge of them aright, that hath not made tryal in his own person*; or as Æneas Silvius [d] adds, *hath not a little doted, been mad or love-sick himself.* I confess I am but a novice, a contemplator only,

Nescio quid sit amor, nec amo ———

I have a tincture; for why should I lye, dissemble or excuse it, yet *homo sum*, &c. not altogether inexpert in this subject, *non sum præceptor amandi*; and what I say, is meerly reading; *ex aliorum forsan ineptiis*, by mine own observation, and others relation.

MEMB. V. SUBSECT. I.

Prognosticks of Love-Melancholy.

WHAT fires, torments, cares, jealousies, suspitions, fears, griefs, anxieties, accompany such as are in love, I have sufficiently said: the next question is, what will be the event of such miseries; what they foretell. Some are of opinion that this love cannot be cured, *Nullis amor est medicabilis herbis*, it accompanies them to the [e] last.

Idem amor exitio est pecori pecorisque magistro;

[a] Amoris famulus omnem scientiam diffitetur, amandi tamen se scientissimum doctorem agnoscit. [b] Serm. 8. [c] Quis horum scribere molestias potest, nisi qui et is aliquantum insanit? [d] Lib. 1. de contemnendis amoribus; Opinor hac de re neminem aut disceptare recte posse aut judicare qui non in ea versatur, aut magnum fecerit periculum. [e] Semper moritur, nunquam mortuus est qui amat. Æn. Silv.

and is so continuate, that by no perswasion almost, it may be relieved. *Bid me not love,* said [a] Eurialus, *bid the mountains come down into the plains, bid the rivers run back to their fountains; I can as soon leave to love, as the sun leave his course;*

> [b] Et prius æquoribus pisces, et montibus umbræ,
> Et volucres deerunt sylvis, et murmura ventis,
> Quam mihi discedent formosæ Amaryllidis ignes.
>
> First seas shall want their fish, the mountains shade,
> Woods singing birds, the winds murmur shall fade,
> Then my fair Amaryllis love allaid.

Bid me not love, bid a deaf man hear, a blind man see, a dumb speak, lame run; counsel can do no good; a sick man cannot relish; no physick can ease me.

> Non prosunt domino quæ prosunt omnibus artes,

As Apollo confessed; and Jupiter himself could not be cured.

> [c] Omnes humanos curat medicina dolores,
> Solus amor morbi non habet artificem.
>
> Physick can soon cure every disease
> [d] Excepting love, that can it not appease.

But whether love may be cured or no, and by what means, shall be explained in his place; in the mean time, if it take his course, and be not otherwise eased or amended, it breaks out into outragious (often) and prodigious events. *Amor et Liber violenti Dii sunt,* as [e] Tatius observes, *et eousque animum incedunt, ut pudoris oblivisci cogant;* Love and Bacchus are so violent Gods, so furiously rage in our mindes, that they make us forget all honesty, shame, and common civility. For such men, ordinarily, as are throughly possessed with this humor, become *insensati et insani,* for it is [f] *amor insanus,* as the poet calls it; beside themselves, and as I have proved, no better then beasts, irrational, stupid, head-strong, void of fear of God or men, they frequently forswear themselves, spend, steal, commit incests, rapes, adulteries, murders, depopulate towns, cities, countries, to satisfie their lust.

> [g] A divel 'tis, and mischief such doth work
> As never yet did Pagan, Jew, or Turke.

[a] Eurial. ep. ad Lucretiam, apud Æneam Silvium. Rogas ut amare deficiam? roga montes ut in planum deveniant; ut fontes flumina repetant; tam possum te non amare, ac suum Phœbus relinquere cursum. [b] Buchanan Syl. [c] Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. 1. [d] Est orcus illa vis, est immedicabilis, est rabies insana. [e] Lib. 2. [f] Virg. Ecl. 3. [g] R. T.

The wars of Troy may be a sufficient witness; and as Appian *lib.* 5. *hist.* saith of Anthony and Cleopatra, [a] *Their love brought themselves and all Egypt, into extream and miserable calamities,* the end of her is as bitter as worm-wood, and as sharp as a two-edged sword. *Prov.* 5. 4. 5. *Her feet go down to death, her steps lead on to hell. She is more bitter then death* (Eccles. 7. 26.) *and the sinner shall be taken by her.*

[b] Qui in amore præcipitavit, pejus perit quam qui saxo salit.

[c] He that runs headlong from the top of a rock, is not in so bad a case, as he that falls into this gulf of love. For hence, saith [d] Platina, *comes repentance, desperation; they loose themselves, their wits, and make shipwrack of their fortunes altogether:* Madness, to make away themselves and others; violent death. *Prognosticatio est talis,* saith Gordonius, [e] *si non succurratur iis, aut in maniam cadunt, aut moriuntur;* the prognostication is, they will either run mad, or dye. For if this passion continue, saith [f] Ælian Montaltus, *it makes the bloud hot, thick, and black; and if the inflammation get into the brain, with continual meditation and waking, it so dries it up, that madness followes, or else they make away themselves.*

[g] O Coridon, Coridon, quæ te dementia cepit?

Now, as Arnoldus adds, it will speedily work these effects, if it be not presently helped; [h] *They will pine away, run mad, and dye upon a sudden; facile incidunt in maniam,* saith Valescus, quickly mad, *nisi succurratur,* if good order be not taken;

[i] Eheu, triste jugum quisquis amoris habet,
Is prius ac norit se periisse perit.

Oh heavy yoke of love, which who so bears,
Is quite undone, and that at unawares.

So she confessed of herself in the poet.

[a] Qui quidem amor utrosque et totam Ægyptum, extremis calamitatibus involvit. [b] Plautus. [c] Ut corpus pondere, sic animus amore præcipitatur. Austin. l. 2. de civ. Dei, c. 28. [d] Dial. Hinc oritur pœnitentia, desperatio, et non vident ingenium se cum re simul amisisse. [e] Idem Savanarola, et plures alii, &c. Rabidum facturus Orexin. Juven. [f] Cap. de Heroico Amore. Hæc passio durans sanguinem torridum et atrabilarium reddit; hic vero ad cerebrum delatus, insaniam parat, vigiliis et crebro desiderio exsiccans. [g] Virg. Ecl. 2. [h] Insani fiunt, aut sibi ipsis desperantes mortem afferunt. Languentes cito mortem aut maniam patiuntur. [i] Calcagninus.

——— [a] Insaniam priusquam quis sentiat,
Vix pili intervallo a furore absum.

I shall be mad before it be perceived,
An hair breadth off scarse am I, now distracted.

As mad as Orlando for his Angelica, or Hercules for his Hylas;

At ille ruebat quo pedes ducebant, furibundus,
Nam illi sævus Deus intus jecur laniabat.

He went he car'd not whither, mad he was,
The cruel God so tortur'd him, alas.

[b] At the sight of Hero, I cannot tell how many ran mad.

[c] Alius vulnus celans insanit pulchritudine puellæ.

And whilst he doth conceal his grief,
Madness comes on him like a thief.

Go to Bedlam for examples. It is so well known in every village, how many have either dyed for love, or voluntarily made away themselves, that I need not much labour to prove it; [d] *Nec modus aut requies nisi mors reperitur amoris:* Death is the common catastrophe to such persons.

[e] Mori mihi contingat, non enim alia
Liberatio ab ærumnis fuerit ullo pacto istis.

Would I were dead, for nought God knows,
But death can rid me of these woes.

As soon as Eurialus departed from Senes, Lucretia his paramour [f] *never looked up, no jests could exhilarate her sad minde, no joyes comfort her wounded and distressed soule, but a little after she fell sick and died.* But this is a gentle end, a natural death, such persons commonly make away themselves.

——— proprioque in sanguine lætus,
Indignantem animam vacuas effudit in auras;

so did Dido;

Sed moriamur, ait, sic sic juvat ire per umbras.

Piramus and Thysbe, Medea, [g] Coresus and Callyrhoë, Thea-

[a] Theocritus Edyl. 14. [b] Lucian Imag. So for Lucian's mistress, all that saw her, and could not enjoye her, ran mad, or hanged themselves. [c] Musæus. [d] Ovid. met. 10. [e] Anacreon. [f] Æneas Silvius. Ad ejus decessum nunquam visa Lucretia ridere, nullis facetiis, jocis, nullo gaudio potuit ad lætitiam renovari, mox in ægritudinem incidit, et sic brevi contabuit. [g] Pausanias Achaicis. l. 7.

gines [a] the philosopher, and many myriades besides, and so will ever do;

——— [b] et mihi fortis
Est manus, est et amor, dabit hic in vulnera vires;

Who ever heard a story of more woe,
Then that of Juliet and her Romeo?

Read Parthenium in Eroticis; and Plutarch's *amatorias narrationes*, or loves stories; all tending almost, to this purpose. Valleriola *lib. 2. observ. 7.* hath a lamentable narration of a merchant, his patient, [c] *that raving through impatience of love, had he not been watched, would every while have offered violence to himself.* Amatus Lucitanus, *cent. 3. car. 56.* hath such [d] another story; and Fælix Plater, *med. observ. lib. 1.* a third, of a yong [e] gentleman that studied physick, and for the love of a doctors daughter, having no hope to compass his desire, poysoned himself, [f] Anno 1615. A barber in Francfort, because his wenche was betrothed to another, cut his own throat. [g] At Neoburge, the same yeer, a yong man, because he could not get her parents' consent, killed his sweet-heart, and afterward himself, desiring this of the magistrate, as he gave up the ghost, that they might be buried in one grave;

Quodque rogis superest unâ requiescat in urnâ:

which [h] Gesmunda besought of Tancredus her father, that she might be, in like sort, buried with Guiscardus her lover; that so their bodies might lye together in the grave, as their soules wander about [i] *Campos lugentes* in the Elysian fields,

——— quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,

in a myrtle grove,

——— et myrtea circum
Sylva tegit: curæ non ipsâ in morte relinquunt.

You have not yet heard the worst: they do not offer violence to themselves, in this rage of lust, but unto others, their nearest and dearest friends. [k] Cataline killed his only son, *misitque ad orci pallida, lethi obnubila, obsita tenebris loca,*

[a] Megarensis amore flagrans Lucian. Tom. 4. [b] Ovid. 3. met. [c] Furibundus putavit se videre Imaginem puellæ, et coram loqui blandiens illi, &c. [d] Juven. Hebræus. [e] Juvenis Medicinæ operam dans Doctoris filiam deperibat, &c. [f] Gotardus Arthus Gallobelgicus, mund. vernal. 1615. Collum novacula aperuit: et inde expiravit. [g] Cum renuente parente utroque, et ipsa virgine frui non posset, ipsum et ipsam interfecit, hoc a magistratu petens, ut in eodem sepulchro sepeliri possent. [h] Bocace. [i] Sedes eorum qui pro amoris impatientia pereunt, Virg. 6. Æneid. [k] Sal. Val.

of great moment, if it may be. [a]Magninus adds, *Never to be idle, but at the hours of sleep.*

——— [b]et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendas animum studiis, et rebus honestis,
Invidiâ vel amore miser torquebere.———

For if thou do'st not ply thy book,
By candle-light to study bent,
Imploy'd about some honest thing,
Envy or love shall thee torment.

No better physick then to be alwaies occupied, seriously intent.

[c]Cur in penates rarius tenues subit,
Hæc delicatas eligens pestis domus,
Mediumque sanos vulgus affectus tenet? &c.

Why dost thou ask, poor folks are often free,
And daynty places still molested be?

Because poor people fare coursly, work hard, go wollward and bare.

Non habet unde suum paupertas pascat amorem:

[d]Guianerius, therefore, prescribes his patient *to go with haircloth next his skin, to go bare-footed, and bare-legged in cold weather, to whip himself now and then, as Monkes do, but above all, to fast.* Not with sweet wine, mutton and pottage, as many of those tenterbellies do, howsoever they put on Lenten faces, and whatsoever they pretend, but, from all manner of meat. Fasting is an all-sufficient remedy of it self; for as Jason Pratensis holds, the bodies of such persons that feed liberally, and live at ease, [e]*are full of bad spirits and divels, divelish thoughts; no better physick for such parties, then to fast. Hildesheim spicil.* 2. to this of hunger adds [f]*often baths, much exercise and sweat*, but hunger, and fasting, he prescribes before the rest. And 'tis indeed, our Saviour's Oracle, *This kinde of divel is not cast out but by fasting and prayer*, which makes the fathers so immoderate in commendation of fasting. As *Hunger*, saith [g]Ambrose, *is a friend of*

[a] Part. 2. c. 23. reg. San. His, præter horam somni, nulla per otium transeat. [b] Hor. lib. 1. epist. 2. [c] Seneca. [d] Tract. 16. cap. 18. Sæpe nuda carne cilicium portent tempore frigido sine caligis: et nudis pedibus incedant, in pane et aquâ jejunent, sæpius se verberibus cædant, &c. [e] Dæmonibus referta sunt corpora nostra, illorum præcipue qui delicatis vescuntur eduliis, advolitant, et corporibus inhærent; hanc ob rem, jejunium impendio probatur ad pudicitiam. [f] Victus sit attenuatus, balnei frequens usus et sudationes, cold baths, not hot, saith Magninus part. 3. ca. 23. to dive over head and ears in a cold river, &c. [g] Ser. de gula; Fames amica virginitati est, inimica lasciviæ: saturitas vero castitatem perdit, et nutrit illecebras.

virginity, so is it an enemy to lasciviousness; but fulness overthrowes chastity, and fostereth all manner of provocations. If thine horse be too lusty, Hierome adviseth thee, to take away some of his provender; by this meanes, those Pauls, Hillaries, Antonies, and famous anchorites, subdued the lusts of the flesh; by this means, Hilarion *made his asse, as he called his own body, leave kicking*, (so [a]Hierome relates of him in his life) when the divel tempted him to any such foule offence. By this means, those [b]Indian Brachmanni kept themselves continent; they lay upon the ground covered with skins, as the Redshanks do on hadder, and dyeted themselves sparingly on one dish, which Guianerius would have all yong men put in practise; and if that will not serve, [c]Gordonius *would have them soundly whipped, or to cool their courage, kept in prison*, and there fed with bread and water, till they acknowledge their errour, and become of another minde. If imprisonment and hunger will not take them down, according to the directions of that [d]Theban Crates, *time must wear it out; if time will not, the last refuge is an halter.* But this you will say, is comically spoken. Howsoever, fasting, by all meanes, must be still used; and as they must refrain from such meats formerly mentioned, which cause venery, or provoke lust, so they must use an opposite dyet. [e]Wine must be altogether avoided of the yonger sort. So [f]Plato prescribes; and would have the magistrates themselves abstain from it, for examples sake, highly commending the Carthaginians for their temperance in this kinde. And 'twas a good edict, a commendable thing, so that it were not done for some sinister respect, as those old Ægyptians abstained from wine, because some fabulous poets had given out, wine sprang first from the bloud of the gyants; or, out of superstition, as our modern Turkes, but for temperance, it being *animæ virus et vitiorum fomes*, a plague it self if immoderately taken. Women of old for that cause, [g]in hot countries, were forbid the use of it; as severely punished for drinking of wine, as for adultery; and yong folks, as Leonicus hath recorded, Var. *hist. l.* 3. *cap.* 87, 88. out of Athenæus and others; and is still practised in Italy and some other countries of Europe and Asia; as Claudius Minos hath well illustrated in his comment on the 23 embleme of Alciat. So choyce is to be made of other dyet.

[a] Vita Hilarionis, lib. 3. epist. Cum tentasset eum dæmon titillatione inter cætera, Ego, inquit, aselle, ad corpus suum, faciam, &c. [b] Strabo l. 15. Geog. sub pellibus cubant, &c. [c] Cap. 2. part. 2. Si sit juvenis, et non vult obedire, flagelletur frequenter et fortiter, dum incipiat fœtere. [d] Laertius, lib. 6. cap. 5. Amori medetur fames; sin aliter, tempus; si non hoc, laqueus. [e] Vina parant animos Veneri, &c. [f] 3. de Legibus. [g] Non minus si vinum bibissent ac si adulterium admisissent, Gellius, lib. 10. c. 23.

Nec minus erucas aptum est vitare salaces,
Et quicquid Veneri corpora nostra parat.

Eringoes are not good for to be taken,
And all lascivious meats must be forsaken.

Those opposite meats which ought to be used, are, cowcumbers, mellons, purselan, water lillies, rue, woodbine, ammi, lettice, which Lemnius so much commends, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 42. and Mizaldus *hort. med.* to this purpose; Vitex, or Agnus castus before the rest, which, saith [a] Magninus, hath a wonderful vertue in it. Those Athenian women, in their solemn feasts called Thesmopheries, were to abstain nine dayes from the company of men, during which time, saith Ælian, they laid a certain hearb named Hanea, in their beds, which asswaged those ardent flames of love, and freed them from the torments of that violent passion. See more in Porta, Matthiolus, Crescentius *lib.* 5. &c. and what every herbalist, almost, and physician hath written, *cap. de Satyriasi et Priapismo;* Rhasis amongst the rest. In some cases again, if they be much dejected and brought low in body, and now ready to despair through anguish, grief, and too sensible a feeling of their misery, a cup of wine and full dyet is not amiss; and as Valescus adviseth, *cum aliâ honestâ venerem sæpe exercendo*, which Langius *Epist. med. lib.* 1. *epist.* 24. approves out of Rhasis (*ad assiduationem coitus invitat*) and Guianerius seconds it, *cap.* 16, *tract.* 16. as a [b] very profitable remedie:

——— [c] tument tibi quum inguina, num si
Ancilla, aut verna præsto est, tentigine rumpi
Malis? non ego namque, &c.———

[d] Jason Pratensis subscribes to this counsel of the poet, *Excretio enim aut tollit prorsus, aut lenit ægritudinem.* As it did the raging lust of Assuerus, [e] *qui ad impatientiam amoris leniendam, per singulas fere noctes novas puellas devirginavit*, And to be drunk too, by fits; but this is mad physick, if it be at all to be permitted. If not, yet some pleasure is to be allowed, as that which Vives speaks of, *lib.* 3. *de anima.* [f] *A lover, that hath as it were, lost himself through impotency, impatience, must be called home as a traveller by musick, feasting, good wine, if need be, to drunkenness it self; which many so much commend for the easing of the minde; all kinde of sports and merriments; to see fair pictures, hangings, buildings,*

[a] Rer. Sam. part. 3. cap. 23. Mirabilem vim habet. [b] Cum muliere aliquâ gratiosâ sæpe coire erit utilissimum. Idem Laurentius, cap. 11. [c] Hor. [d] Cap. 29. de morb. cereb. [e] Bercaldus orat. de amore. [f] Amatori, cujus est pro impotentia mens amota, opus est, ut paulatim animus velut a peregrinatione domum revocetur, per musicam, convivia, &c. Per aucupium, fabulas, et festivas narrationes, laborem usque ad sudorem, &c.

pleasant fields, orchards, gardens, groves, ponds, pooles, rivers, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, to hear merry tales, and pleasant discourse, reading, to use exercise till he sweat, that new spirits may succeed; or, by some vehement affection or contrary passion, to be diverted, till he be fully weaned from anger, suspition, cares, feares, &c. and habituated into another course. Semper tecum sit, (as [a] Sempronius adviseth Calisto his love-sick master) *qui sermones joculares moveat, conciones ridiculas, dicteria falsa, suaves historias, fubulas venustas recenseat, coram ludat, &c.* still have a pleasant companion to sing and tell merry tales, songs and facete histories, sweet discourse, &c. And as the melody of musick, merriment, singing, dancing, doth augment the passion of some lovers, as [b] Avicenna notes, so it expelleth it in others, and doth very much good. These things must be warily applyed, as the parties symptomes vary, and as they shall stand variously affected.

If there be any need of physick, that the humours be altered, or any new matter aggregated, they must be cured as melancholy men. Carolus a Lorme amongst other questions, discussed for his degree, at Montpelier in France, hath this, *An amantes et amentes iisdem remediis curentur?* Whether lovers and mad men be cured by the same remedies? he affirms it; for love extended is meer madness. Such physick then, as is prescribed, is either inward or outward, as hath been formerly handled in the precedent partition in the cure of melancholy. Consult with Valleriola *observat. lib. 2. observ. 7.* Lod. Mercatus *lib. 2. cap. 4. de mulier. affect.* Daniel Sennertus *lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 10.* [c] Jacobus Ferrandus, the Frenchman, in his tract *de amore Erotique*, Forestus *lib. 10. observ. 29. et 30.* Jason Pratensis and others, for peculiar receipts. [d] Amatus Lucitanus cured a yong Jew that was almost mad for love, with the syrupe of hellebor, and such other evacuations and purges, which are usually prescribed to black choler: [e] Avicenna confirms as much, if need require, and [f] *bloud-letting above the rest*, which makes *amantes ne sint amentes*, lovers to come to themselves, and keep in their right mindes. 'Tis the same which Schola Salernitana, Jason Pratensis, Hildesheim, &c. prescribe bloud-letting to be used as a principal remedy. Those old Scythians had a trick, to cure

[a] Cælestinæ Act. 2. Barthio interpret. sanat cantilena, lætitia, musica; et quidam sunt quos hæc angent.

[b] Cap. de Ilishi. Multos hoc affectu Syrupo helleborato et aliis quæ ad atram bilem pertinent.

[c] This author came to my hands since the third edition of this book.

[d] Cent. 3. curat. 56. dispositio venerit ad adust. humoris et phlebotomizetur.

[e] Purgetur, si ejus pruritus solvitur, vena sectione et cucurbitulis.

[f] Amantium morbus ut

all appetite of burning lust, by [a] letting themselves bloud under the ears, and to make both men and women barren, as Sabellicus, in his Enneades relates of them. Which Salmuth. *Tit.* 10. *de Herol. comment. in Pancirol. de nov. report.* Mercurialis *var. lec. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7. out of Hippocrates and Benzo, say still is in use amongst the Indians, a reason of which Langius gives *lib.* 1. *epist.* 10.

Huc faciunt medicamenta Venerem sopientia, *ut Camphora pudendis alligata, et in brachâ gestata (quidem ait) membrum flaccidum reddit. Laboravit hoc morbo virgo nobilis, cui inter cætera præscripsit Medicus, ut laminam plumbeam multis foraminibus pertusam, ad dies viginti portaret in dorso; ad exiccandum vero sperma jussit eam quam parcissime cibari, et manducare frequenter coriandrum præparatum, et semen lactucæ et acetosæ, et sic eam a morbo liberavit.* Porro impediunt et remittunt cöitum folia salicis trita et epota, et si frequentius usurpentur ipsa in totum auferunt. Idem præstat topatius annulo gestatus, dexterum lupi testiculum attritum, et oleo vel aquâ rosatâ exhibitum Veneris tædium inducere scribit Alexander Benedictus: lac butyri commestum et semen canabis, et camphora exhibita idem præstant. Verbena herba gestata libidinem extinguit, pulvisque ranæ decollatæ et exiccatæ. Ad extinguendum cöitum, ungantur membra genitalia, et renes et pecten aquâ in qua opium Thebaicum sit dissolutum; libidini maxime contraria camphora est, et coriandrum siccum frangit cöitum, et erectionem virgæ impedit; idem efficit synapium ebibitum. *Da verbenam in potu et non erigetur virga sex diebus; utere menthâ siccâ cum aceto, genitalia illinita succo Hyoscyami aut cicutæ, cöitus appetitum sedant, &c.* ℞. *seminis lactuc. portulac. coriandri an.* ʒ j. *menthæ siccæ* ʒ ß. *sacchari albiss.* ℥ iiij. *pulveriscentur omnia subtiliter, et post ea simul misce aqua Neunpharis, f. confec. solida in morsulis. Ex his sumat mane unum quum surgat.* Innumera fere his similia petas ab Hildesheimo loco prædicto, Mizaldo, Porta, cæterisque.

[a] Cura a venæ sectione per aures, unde semper steriles.

SUBSECT. II.

Withstand the beginnings; avoid occasions; change his place: fair and fowl meanes; contrary passions, with witty inventions: to bring in another, and discommend the former.

OTHER good rules and precepts are enjoyned by our physicians, which if not alone, yet certainly conjoyned, may do much; The first of which is *obstare principiis*, to withstand the beginning; [a] *Quisquis in primo obstitit, pepulitque amorem, tutus ac victor fuit*, he that will but resist at first, may easily be a conqueror at last. Baltazar Castilio l. 4. urgeth this prescript above the rest, [b] *when he shall chance*, (saith he) *to light upon a woman, that hath good behaviour joyned with her excellent person, and shall perceive his eys, with a kind of greediness, to pull unto them this image of beauty, and carry it to the heart: shall observe himself to be somewhat incensed with this influence, which moveth within: when he shall discern those subtle spirits sparkling in her eys, to administer more fuel to the fire, he must wisely withstand the beginnings; rowze up reason stupified almost; fortify his heart by all means, and shut up all those passages, by which it may have entrance.* 'Tis a precept which all concur upon,

[c] Opprime dum nova sunt subiti mala semina morbi,
Dum licet, in primo limine siste pedem.

Thy quick disease whilst it is fresh to-day,
By all means crush, thy feet at first step stay.

Which cannot speedier be done, then if he confess his grief and passion to some judicious friend [d] (*qui tacitus ardet magis uritur*, the more he conceals, the greater is his pain) that by his good advice, may happily ease him on a sudden; and withal to avoid occasions, or any circumstance that may aggravate his disease; to remove the object by all means; for who can stand by a fire and not burn?

[e] Sussilite obsecro et mittite istanc foras,
Quæ misero mihi amanti ebíbit sanguinem.

'Tis good therefore, to keep quite out of her company; which

[a] Seneca. [b] Cum in mulierem inciderit, quæ cum formâ morum suavitatem conjunctam habet, et jam oculos persenserit, formæ ad se imaginem cum aviditate quadam rapere, cum eadem, &c. [c] Ovid. de rem. lib. 1. [d] Æneas Silvius. [e] Plautus gurcu.

Hierome so much labours to Paula, and his Nepotian; Chrysostome so much inculcates *in ser. in contubern.* Cyprian, and many other fathers of the church; Siracides in his ninth chapter; Jason Pratensis, Savanarola, Arnoldus, Valleriola, &c. and every physician that treats of this subject. Not only to avoid, as [a] Gregory Tholosanus exhorts, *kissing, dalliance, all speeches, tokens, love-letters and the like;* or, as Castilio, *lib.* 4. to converse with them, hear them speak, or sing, (*tolerabilius est audire basiliscum sibilantem*, thou hast better hear, saith [b] Cyprian, a serpent hiss) [c] *those amiable smiles, admirable graces, and sweet gestures,* which their presence affords.

> [d] Neu capita liment solitis morsiunculis,
> Et his papillarum oppressiunculis
> Abstineant: ——

but all talk, name, mention, or cogitation of them, and of any other women, persons, circumstance, amorous book, or tale, that may administer any occasion of remembrance. [e] Prosper adviseth yong men not to read the Canticles, and some parts of Genesis, at other times; but for such as are enamored, they forbid, as before, the name mentioned, &c. especially all sight; they must not so much as come neer, or look upon them.

> [f] Et fugitare decet simulachra et pabula amoris,
> Abstinere sibi atque alio convertere mentem.

Gaze not on a maid, saith Siracides, *turn away thine eys from a beautiful woman, c. 9. v. 5. 7. 8. averte oculos,* saith David, or if thou dost see them, as Ficinus adviseth, let not thine eye be *intentus ad libidinem,* do not intend her more then the rest: for as [g] Propertius holds, *Ipse alimenta sibi maxima præbet amor,* love as a snow-ball inlargeth it self by sight: but as Hierome to Nepotian, *aut æqualiter ama, aut æqualiter ignora,* either see all alike, or let all alone; make a league with thine eys, as [h] Job did; and that is the safest course; let all alone, see none of them. Nothing sooner revives, [i] or *waxeth sore again,* as Petrarch holds, *then love doth by sight. As pompe renews ambition; the sight of gold, covetousness; a beauteous object sets on fire this burning lust.*

[a] Tom. 2. lib. 4. cap. 10. Syntag. med. art. Mirab. Vitentur oscula, tactus, sermo, et scripta impudica, literæ, &c. [b] Lib. de singul. Cler. [c] Tam admirabilem splendorem declinet, gratiam, scintillas, amabiles risus, gestus suavissimos, &c. [d] Lipsius hort. leg. lib. 3. antiq. lec. [e] Lib. 3. de vit. cœlitus compar. cap. 6. [f] Lucretius. [g] Lib. 3. Eleg. 10. [h] Job. 31. Pepigi fœdus cum oculis meis ne cogitarem de virgine. [i] Dial. 3. de contemptu mundi; Nihil facilius recrudescit quam amor; ut pompa visa renovat ambitionem, auri species avaritiam, spectata corporis forma incendit luxuriam.

Et multum saliens incitat unda sitim.

The sight of drink makes one dry, and the sight of meat increaseth appetite. 'Tis dangerous therefore to see. A [a]yong gentleman, in merriment, would needs put on his mistress cloaths, and walk abroad alone, which some of her suiters espying, stole him away for her that he represented. So much can sight enforce. Especially, if he have been formerly enamored, the sight of his mistress strikes him into a new fit, and makes him rave many dayes after.

——— [b]Infirmis causa pusilla nocet,
Ut pene extinctum cinerem si sulphure tangas,
Vivet, et ex minimo maximus ignis erit:
Sic nisi vitabis quicquid renovabit amorem,
Flamma recrudescet, quæ modo nulla fuit.

A sickly man a little thing offends;
As brimstone doth a fire decay'd renewe,
And make it burn afresh, doth loves dead flames,
If that the former object it review.

Or, as the poet compares it to embers in ashes, which the winde blows, [c]*ut solet a ventis, &c.* a scald head (as the saying is) is soon broken; dry wood quickly kindles; and when they have been formerly wounded by sight, how can they by seeing but be inflamed? Ismenias acknowledgeth as much of himself, when he had been long absent, and almost forgotten his mistress; [d]*at the first sight of her, as straw in a fire, I burned afresh; and more then ever I did before.* [e]Chariclea was as much moved at the sight of her dear Theagenes, after he had been a great stranger. [f]Mertila, in Aristænetus, swore she would never love Pamphilus again, and did moderate her passion so long as he was absent; but, the next time he came in presence, she could not contain, *effuse amplexa attrectari se sinit, &c.* she broke her vow, and did profusely embrace him. Hermotinus, a yong man (in the said [g]author) is all out as unstaid; he had forgot his mistress quite, and by his friends was well weaned from her love; but seeing her by chance, *agnovit veteris vestigia flammæ*, he raved amain; *Illa tamen emergens veluti lucida stella cœpit elucere, &c.* she did appear as a blazing star, or an angel, to his sight. And it is the common passion of all lovers to be overcome in this sort. For that cause, belike, Alexander

[a] Seneca cont. lib. 2. cont. 9. [b] Ovid. [c] Met. 7. Ut solet a ventis alimenta resumere, quæque parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla crescere; et in veteres agitata resurgere flammas. [d] Eustathii l. 3. Aspectus amorem incendit, ut marcescentem in palea ignem ventus; ardebam interea majore concepto incendio. [e] Heliodorus l. 4. Inflammat mentem novus aspectus, perinde ac ignis materiæ admotus, Chariclea, &c. [f] Epist. 15. l. 2. [g] Epist. 4. lib. 2.

discerning this inconvenience and danger that comes by seeing, [a] *when he heard Darius wife so much commended for her beauty, would scarse admit her to come in his sight,* foreknowing, belike, that of Plutarch, *formosam videre periculosissimum,* how full of danger it is to see a proper woman; and though he was intemperate in other things, yet in this *superbe se gessit,* he carryed himself bravely. And so, when as Araspes in Xenophon, had so much magnified that divine face of Panthea to Cyrus, [b] *by how much she was fairer then ordinary, by so much he was the more unwilling to see her.* Scipio, a yong man of 23 yeers of age, and the most beautiful of the Romans, equal in person to that Græcian Charinus, or Homer's Nireus, at the siege of a city in Spain, when as a noble and a most fair yong gentlewoman was brought unto him, [c] *and he had heard she was betrothed to a Lord, rewarded her, and sent her back to her sweet-heart.* S[t]. Austin, as [d] Gregory reports of him, *ne cum sorore quidem sua putavit habitandum,* would not live in the house with his own sister. [e] Xenocrates lay with Lais of Corinth all night, and would not touch her. Socrates, though all the city of Athens supposed him to dote upon fair Alcibiades, yet when he had an opportunity *solus cum solo,* to lye in the chamber with, and was wooed by him besides, as the said Alcibiades publiquely confessed, [f] *formam sprevit et superbe contempsit;* he scornfully rejected him. Petrarch, that had so magnified his Laura in several poems, when by the Popes means she was offered unto him, would not accept of her. [g] *It is a good happiness to be free from this passion of love; and great discretion it argues, in such a man that can so contain himself; but when thou art once in love, to moderate thy self* (as he saith) *is a singular point of wisdome.*

[h] Nam vitare plagas in amoris ne jaciamur
Non ita difficile est, quam captum retibus ipsis
Exire, et validos Veneris perrumpere nodos.

To avoid such nets is no such mastery,
But ta'en, to escape is all the victory.

But for as much, as few men are free, so discreet lovers, or that can contain themselves, and moderate their passions, to curb their senses, as not to see them, not to look lasciviously,

[a] Curtius lib. 3. Cum uxorem Darii laudatam audivisset, tantum cupiditati suæ frænum injecit, ut illam vix vellet intueri. [b] Cyropædia. Cum Pantheæ formam evexisset Araspes, tanto magis, inquit Cyrus, abstinere oportet, quanto pulchrior est. [c] Livius; Cum eam regulo cuidam desponsatam audivisset, muneribus cumulatam remisit. [d] Ep. 39. lib. 7. [e] Et ea loqui posset quæ soli amatores loqui solent. [f] Platonis Convivio. [g] Heliodorus lib. 4. Expertem esse amoris beatitudo est; at quum captus sis, ad moderationem revocare animum prudentia singularis. [h] Lucretius l. 4.

quite antipodes.

not to confer with them, such is the fury of this head-strong passion of raging lust, and their weakness, *ferox ille ardor a naturâ insitus*, [a] as he terms it, such a furious desire nature hath inscribed, such unspeakable delight,

> Sic Divæ Veneris furor,
> Insanis adeo mentibus incubat,

which neither reason, counsel, poverty, pain, misery, drudgery, *partûs dolor*, &c. can deter them from; we must use some speedy means to correct and prevent that, and all other inconveniences, which come by conference, and the like. The best, readiest, surest way, and which all approve, is *Loci mutatio*, to send them several wayes; that they may neither hear of, see, nor have opportunity to send to one another again, or live together *soli cum sola*, as so many Gilbertines. *Elongatio a Patriâ*, 'tis Savanarola's fourth rule, and Gordonius precept, *distrahatur ad longinquas regiones*, send him to travel. 'Tis that which most run upon, as so many hounds with full cry; poets, divines, philosophers, physicians, all; *mutet patriam, Valesius;* [b] as a sick man he must be cured with change of ayr; Tully 4. *Tuscul.* The best remedy is to get thee gone, Jason Pratensis; change ayr and soyl, Laurentius.

> Fuge littus amatum.
> *Virg.* Utile finitimis abstinuisse locis.
> [c] *Ovid.* I procul, et longas carpere perge vias.
> —— sed fuge, tutus eris.

Travelling is an antidote of love;

> [d] Magnum iter ad doctas proficisci cogor Athenas,
> Ut me longa gravi solvat amore via.

For this purpose, saith [e] Propertius, my parents sent me to Athens; time and absence wear away pain and grief, as fire goes out for want of fewel.

> Quantum oculis, animo tam procul ibit amor.

But so as they tarry out long enough; a whole yeer [f] Xenophon prescribes Critobulus; *vix enim intra hoc tempus ab amore sanari poteris;* some will hardly be weaned under. All this [g] Heinsius merrily inculcates, in an Epistle to his friend Primierus: First, fast, then tarry; thirdly, change thy place;

[a] Hædus lib. 1. de amor. contem. [b] Loci mutatione tanquam non convalescens curandus est. cap. 11. [c] Amorum l. 2. [d] Quisquis amat, loca nota nocent; dies ægritudinem adimit, absentia delet. Ire licet procul hinc patriæque relinquere fines. Ovid. [e] Lib. 3. eleg. 20. [f] Lib. 1. Socrat. memor. Tibi, O Critobule, consulo ut integrum annum absis, &c. [g] Proximum est ut esurias. 2. Ut moram temporis opponas. 3. Et locum mutes. 4. Et de laqueo cogites.

fourthly, think of an halter. If change of place, continuance of time, absence, will not wear it out with those precedent remedies, it will hardly be removed; but these commonly are of force. Felix Plater *observ. lib.* 1. had a baker to his patient, almost mad for the love of his maid, and desperate; by removing her from him, he was in a short space cured. Isæus, a philosopher of Assyria, was a most dissolute liver in his youth; *palam lasciviens*, in love with all he met; but after he betook himself by his friends advice to his study, and left womens companie, he was so changed, that he cared no more for plays, nor feasts, nor masks, nor songs, nor verses, fine cloaths, nor no such love toyes: he became a new man upon a sudden; *tanquam si priores oculos amisisset*, (saith mine [a] author) as if he had lost his former eys. Peter Godefridus, in the last chapter of his third book, hath a story out of S[t]. Ambrose, of a yong man, that meeting his old love after long absence, on whom he had extreamly doted, would scarsely take notice of her; she wondred at it, that he should so lightly esteem her, called him again, *lenibat dictis animum*, and told him who she was, *Ego sum, inquit: At ego non sum ego*; But he replied, he was not the same man: *proripuit sese tandem*, (as Dido fled from [b] Æneas;) not vouchsafing her any farther parly, loathing his folly, and ashamed of that which formerly he had done.

[c] Non sum stultus ut ante jam Neæra,

O Neæra, put your tricks, and practise hereafter upon some body else; you shall befool me no longer. Petrarch hath such another tale, of a yong gallant that loved a wench with one eye, and for that cause, by his parents, was sent to travel into far countries: *after some yeers, he returned; and meeting the maid for whose sake he was sent abroad, asked her how, and by what chance she lost her eye? no, said she, I have lost none, but you have found yours:* signifying thereby that all lovers were blind, as Fabius saith; *Amantes de formâ judicare non possunt*, lovers cannot judge of beauty, nor scarse of any thing else; as they will easily confess, after they return unto themselves, by some discontinuance or better advice; wonder at their own folly, madness, stupidity, blindness; be much abashed, *and laugh at love, and call't an idle thing*, condemn themselves that ever they should be so besotted or misled; and be heartily glad they have so happily escaped.

If so be (which is seldome) that change of place will not effect this alteration, then other remedies are to be annexed, fair and fowl means; as to perswade, promise, threaten, terrifie, or to divert by some contrary passion, rumour, tales, newes, or

[a] Philostratus de vitis Sophistarum. [b] Virg. 6. Æn. [c] Buchanan.

some witty invention, to alter his affection; [a] *by some greater sorrow to drive out the less,* saith Gordonius, as that his house is on fire, his best friends dead, his mony stoln: [b] *that he is made some great governour, or hath some honour, office, some inheritance is befaln him;* he shall be a knight, a baron: or by some false accusation, as they do to such as have the hickhop, to make them forget it. Saint Hierome *lib. 2. epist.* 16. to Rusticus the monke, hath an instance of a [c] yong man of Greece, that lived in a monastery in Ægypt, *that by no labour, no continence, no persuasion could be diverted; but at last by this trick he was delivered. The abbot sets one of his convent to quarrel with him, and with some scandalous reproach or other to defame him before company, and then to come and complain first, the witnesses were likewise suborned for the plantiffe. The yong man wept, and when all were against him, the abbot cunningly took his part, least he should be overcome with immoderate grief: but what need many words? By this invention he was cured, and alienated from his pristine love-thoughts.*——Injuries, slanders, contempts, disgraces,

——spretæque injuria formæ,

are very forcible means to withdraw mens affections; *contumeliâ affecti amatores amare desinunt,* as [d] Lucian saith; lovers reviled or neglected, contemned or misused, turn love to hate; [e] *redeam? Non si me obsecret. I'll never love thee more. Egone illam, quæ illum, quæ me, quæ non?* So Zephyrus hated Hyacinthus because he scorned him, and preferred his corrival Apollo (*Palæphatus. fab. Nar.*) he will not come again, though he be intreated. Tell him but how he was scoffed at behind his back, ('tis the counsel of Avicenna) that his love is false, and entertains another, rejects him, cares not for him, or that she is a fool, a nasty quean, a slut, a vixen, a scold, a divel, or which Italians commonly do, that he or she hath some loathsome filthy disease, gout, stone, strangury, falling-sickness; and that they are hereditary, not to be avoided; he is subject to a consumption, hath the pox, that he hath three or four incurable tetters, issues: that she is bald, her breath stinks, she is mad by inheritance, and so are all the kinred, an hair-brain, with many other secret infirmities (which I will not so much as name) belonging to women. That he is an hermaphrodite, an eunuch, imperfect, impotent, a spend-thrift, a gamester,

[a] Annuncientur valde tristia, ut major tristitia possit minorem obfuscare. [b] Aut quod sit factus senescallus, aut habeat honorem magnum. [c] Adolescens Græcus erat in Ægypti cœnobio, qui nulla operis magnitudine, nulla persuasione flammam poterat sedare: monasterii pater hac arte servavit. Imperat cuidam e sociis, &c. Flebat ille, omnes adversabantur; solus pater callide opponere, ne abundantiâ tristitiæ absorberetur; quid multa? hoc invento curatus est, et a cogitationibus pristinis avocatus. [d] Tom. 4. [e] Ter.

a fool, a gull, a begger, a whoremaster, far in debt, and not able to maintain her, a common drunkard, his mother was a witch, his father hang'd, that he hath a wolfe in his bosome, a sore leg, he is a leper, hath some incurable disease, that he will surely beat her, he cannot hold his water, that he cries out or walks in the night, will stab his bed-fellow, tell all his secrets in his sleep, and that no body dare lye with him; his house is haunted with spirits, with such fearfull and tragicall things, able to avert and terrifie any man or woman living. Gordonius *cap.* 20. *part.* 2. hunc in modum consulit; *Paretur aliqua vetula turpissima aspectu, cum turpi et vili habitu: et portet subtus gremium pannum menstrualem, et dicat, quod amica sua sit ebriosa, et quod mingat in lecto; et quod est epileptica et impudica; et quod in corpore suo sunt excrescentiæ enormes, cum fœtore anhelitus, et aliæ enormitates, quibus vetulæ sunt edoctæ: si nolit his persuaderi, subito extrahat* [a] *pannum menstrualem, coram facie portando, exclamando, talis est amica tua; et si ex his non demiserit, non est homo, sed diabolus incarnatus.* Idem fere Avicenna cap. 24. de curâ Ilishi, lib. 3. Fen. 1. Tract. 4. *Narrent res immundas vetulæ, ex quibus abominationem incurrat, et res* [b] *sordidas, et hoc assiduent. Idem Arculanus cap.* 16. *in* 9. *Rhasis, &c.*

Withall, as they do discommend the old, for the better affecting a more speedy alteration, they must commend another paramour *alteram inducere;* set him or her to be wooed, or wooe some other that shall be fairer, of better note, better fortune, birth, parentage, much to be preferred:

> [c] Invenies alium si te hic fastidit Alexis;

by this means, which Jason Pratensis wisheth, to turn the streame of affection another way,

> Successore novo truditur omnis amor;

or as Valesius adviseth, by [d] subdividing to diminish it; as a great river cut into many channels, runs low at last.

> [e] Hortor et ut pariter binas habeatis amicas, &c.

If you suspect to be taken, be sure, saith the Poet, to have two mistresses at once, or go from one to another: as he that goes from a good fire in cold weather is loth to depart from it, though in the next room there be a better, which will refresh him as much; there's as much difference of *hæc* as *hic ignis;*

[a] Hypathia Alexandrina quendam se adamantem prolatis muliebribus pannis, et in eum conjectis amoris insaniâ liberavit. Suidas et Eunapius. [b] Savanarola reg. 5.
[c] Vir. Ecl. 2. [d] Distributio amoris fiat in plures, ad plures amicas animum applicet.
[e] Ovid.

or bring him to some publique shews, plays, meetings, where he may see variety, and he shall likely loath his first choice; carry him but to the next town, yea peradventure, to the next house; and as Paris lost Oenone's love by seeing Helena, and Cressida forsook Troilus by conversing with Diomede, he will dislike his former mistress, and leave her quite behind him, as [a] Theseus left Ariadne fast asleep in the Iland of Dia, to seek her fortune, that was er'st his loving mistress. [b] *Nunc primum Dorida vetus amator contempsi*, as he said, Doris is but a doudy to this. As he that looks himself in a glass forgets his physiognomie forthwith, this flattering glass of love will be diminished by remove; after a little absence, it will be remitted; the next faire object will likely alter it. A yong man, in [c] Lucian, was pittifully in love, he came to the theater by chance, and by seeing other faire objects there, *mentis sanitatem recepit*, was fully recovered, [d] *and went merrily home, as if he had taken a dram of oblivion.* [e] A mouse (saith an apologer) was brought up in a chest, there fed with fragments of bread and cheese, thought there could be no better meat, till coming forth at last, and feeding liberally of other variety of viands, loathed his former life: moralize this fable by thy self. Plato, in his seventh book *De Legibus*, hath a pretty fiction of a city under ground, [f] to which by little holes, some small store of light came; the inhabitants thought there could not be a better place, and at their first coming abroad, they might not endure the light, *ægerrime Solem intueri;* but after they were accustomed a little to it, [g] *they deplored their fellows misery that lived under ground.* A silly lover is in like state; none so fair as his mistress at first; he cares for none but her; yet after awhile, when he hath compared her with others, he abhors her name, sight and memory. 'Tis generally true; for as he observes, [h] *Priorem flammam novus ignis extrudit; et ea multorum natura, ut præsentes maxime ament*, one fire drives out another: and such is womens weakness, that they love, commonly, him that is present. And so do many men (as he confessed) he loved Amye till he saw Floriat, and when he saw Cynthia, forgat them both: but faire Phillis was incomparably beyond them all; Cloris surpassed her; and yet when he espied Amarillis, she was his sole mistress; O divine Amarillis; *quam procera, cupressi ad instar, quam elegans, quam decens? &c.* how lovely, how tall, how comely she was, (saith Polemius) till he saw another, and then she was the sole subject of his thoughts. In conclusion, he loves her

[a] Hyginus fab. 43. [b] Petronius. [c] Lib. de salt. [d] E theatro egressus hilaris, ac si pharmacum oblivionis bibisset. [e] Mus in cista natus, &c. [f] In quem e specu subterraneo modicum lucis illabitur. [g] Deplorabant eorum miseriam, qui subterraneis illis locis vitam degunt. [h] Tatius lib. 6.

best he saw last. [a] Triton the sea-god first loved Leucothöe, till he came in presence of Milæne, she was the commandress of his heart, till he saw Galatea; but (as [b] she complains) he loved another eftsoons, another, and another. Tis a thing which by Hierome's report, hath been usually practised. [c] *Heathen philosophers drive out one love with another, as they do a peg, or pin with a pin. Which those seven Persian Princes did to Assuerus, that they might requite the desire of Queen Vashti with the love of others.* Pausanias, in Eliacis, saith, that therefore one Cupid was painted to contend with another, and to take the garland from him, because one love drives out another:

[d] Alterius vires subtrahit alter amor.

and Tully 3. *nat. Deor.* disputing with C. Cotta, makes mention of three several Cupids, all differing in office. Felix Plater in the first book of his observations, boasts how he cured a widower in Basil, a patient of his, by this stratagem alone, that doted upon a poor servant his maid, when friends, children, nor perswasion could serve to alienate his mind: they motioned him to another honest mans daughter in the town, whom he loved, and lived with long after; abhorring the very name and sight of the first. After the death of Lucretia, [e] Eurialus *would admit of no comfort, till the Emperour Sigismond married him to a noble lady of his court, and so in short space he was freed.*

[a] Aristænetus epist. 4. [b] Calcagnin. Dial. Galat. Mox aliam prætulit, aliam prælaturus quam primum occasio arriserit. [c] Epist. lib. 3, 16. Philosophi sæculi veterem amorem novo, quasi clavum clavo repellere, quod et Assuero Regi septem Principes Persarum fecere, ut Vastæ Reginæ desiderium amore compensarent. [d] Ovid. [e] Lugubri veste indutus, consolationes non admisit, donec Cæsar ex ducali sanguine, formosam virginem matrimonio conjunxit, Æneas Silvius hist. de Eurialo et Lucretia.

SUBSECT. III.

By counsel and perswasion; fowlness of the fact; mens, womens faults; miseries of marriage; events of lust, &c.

AS there be divers causes of this burning lust, or heroical love; so there be many good remedies to ease and help; amongst which, good counsel and perswasion, (which I should have handled in the first place), are of great moment, and not to be omitted. Many are of opinion, that in this blinde headstrong passion, counsel can do no good.

> [a] Quæ enim res in se neque consilium neque modum
> Habet, ullo eam consilio regere non potes.
>
> Which thing hath neither judgment, or an end,
> How should advice or counsel it amend?
>
> ——— [b] Quis enim modus adsit amori?

But without question, good counsel and advice must needs be of great force, especially if it shall proceed from a wise, fatherly, reverent, discreet person; a man of authority, whom the parties do respect, stand in awe of, or from a judicious friend, of it self alone, it is able to divert and suffice. Gordonius, the physician, attributes so much to it, that he would have it by all means used in the first place. *Amoveatur ab illa, consilio viri quem timet, ostendendo pericula sæculi, judicium inferni, gaudia Paradisi.* He would have some discreet men to disswade them, after the fury of passion is a little spent, or by absence allayed; for it is as intempestive at first, to give counsel, as to comfort parents when their children are that instant departed; to no purpose to prescribe narcoticks, cordials, nectarines, potions, Homer's nepenthes, or Helena's boul, &c. *Non cessabit pectus tundere*, she will lament and howl for a season: let passion have his course a while, and then he may proceed, by fore-shewing the miserable events and dangers which will surely happen, the pains of hell, joyes of paradise, and the like; which, by their preposterous courses, they shall forfeit or incurre; and 'tis a fit method, a very good means: for what [c] Seneca said of vice, I say of love; *Sine magistro discitur, vix sine magistro deseritur*, 'tis learned of itself, but [d] hardly left without a tutor. 'Tis not amiss there-

[a] Ter. [b] Virg. Ecl. 2. [c] Lib. de beat. vit. cap. 14. [d] Longo usu discimus, longa desuetudine dediscendum est. Petrarch. epist. lib. 5. 8.

and thou with such a wife? How absurd is it, for a yong man to marry an old wife, for a peece of good. But put case, she be equal in yeers, birth, fortunes, and other qualities correspondent, he doth desire to be coupled in marriage, which is an honourable estate, but for what respects? Her beauty, belike, and comeliness of person, that is commonly the main object; she is a most absolute form in his eye at least; *Cui formam Paphia, et Charites tribuere decorem;* but do other men affirm as much? Or is it an errour in his judgement?

> [a] Fallunt nos oculi vagique sensus,
> Oppressa ratione mentiuntur,

our eys and other senses will commonly deceive us. It may be, to thee thy self, upon a more serious examination, or after a little absence, she is not so faire as she seems. *Quædam videntur & non sunt;* Compare her to another standing by, 'tis a touch-stone to try; confer hand to hand, body to body, face to face, eye to eye, nose to nose, neck to neck, &c. examine every part by it self, then altogether, in all postures, several sites, and tell me how thou likest her. It may be, not she that is so faire, but her coats; for, put another in her cloaths, and she will seem all out as faire; as the [b] poet then prescribes, separate her from her cloaths: suppose thou saw her in a base beggers weed, or else dressed in some old hirsute attires out of fashion, fowl linnen, course raiment, besmeared with soot, colly, perfumed with opoponax, sagapenum, assa fœtida, or some such filthy gums; dirty, about some undecent action or other: or, in such a case as [c] Brassivola, the physician, found Malatasta his patient, after a potion of hellebor, which he had prescribed: *Manibus in terram depositis, et ano versus cœlum elevato* (*ac si videretur Socraticus ille Aristophanes, qui Geometricas figuras in terram scribens, tubera colligere videbatur*) *atram bilem in album parietem injiciebat, adeoque totam cameram, et se deturpabat, ut,* &c. all to bewrayed, or worse; if thou saw'st her (I say) wouldst thou affect her as thou dost? Suppose thou beheldest her in a [d] frosty morning, in cold weather, in some passion or perturbation of mind, weeping, chafing, &c. rivel'd and ill favoured to behold. She, many times, that in a composed look seems so amiable and delitious, *tam scitulâ formâ,* if she do but laugh or smile, makes an ugly sparrow-mouthed face, and shews a pair of uneven, loathsom, rotten, foul teeth: She hath a black skin, gouty legs; a deformed, crooked carkass under a fine coat. It may be, for all her costly

[a] Petronius. [b] Ovid. [c] In Catarticis, lib. 2. [d] Si ferveat deformis, ecce formosa est; si frigeat formosa, jam fit informis. Th. Morus Epigram.

tires, she is bald; and though she seem so faire by dark, by candle light, or afar off at such a distance, as Callicratides observed in [a] Lucian; *If thou shouldst see her neer, or in a morning, she would appear more ugly then a beast;* [b] *si diligenter consideres, quid per os et nares et cæteros corporis meatus egreditur, vilius sterquilinium nunquam vidisti.* Follow my counsell; see her undrest; see her, if it be possible, out of her attires; *furtivis nudatam coloribus*; it may be she is like Æsop's jay, or [c] Plinie's cantharides; she will be loathsom, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight: or suppose thou saw'st her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *Cujus erat gratissimus amplexus*, as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus;*

Non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

As a posie, she smels sweet, is most fresh and faire one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another. Beautifull Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed then Thersites; and Solomon deceased, as ugly as Marcolphus: thy lovely mistress, that was erst

[d] Charis charior ocellis,

dearer to thee then thine eys, once sick or departed, is

Vili vilior æstimata cœno,

worse then any dart or dunghill. Her embraces were not so acceptable, as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgon's head, then Helena's carkass.

Some are of opinion, that to see a woman naked, is able of it self to alter his affection; and it is worthy of consideration, saith [e] Montaigne, the Frenchman, in his Essaies, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliance, appoint for a remedy of venereous passions, a full survey of the body: which the poet insinuates,

[f] Ille quod obscænas in aperto corpore partes
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsit amor.

The love stood still, that ran in full careire,
When once it saw those parts should not appear.

It is reported of Seleucus, king of Syria, that seeing his wife

[a] Amorum dial. Tom. 4. Si quis ad Auroram contempletur multas mulieres a nocte lecto surgentes, turpiores putabit esse bestiis. [b] Hugo de claustro Animæ, lib. 1. c. 1. [c] Hist. nat. 11 cap. 35. A fly that hath golden wings but a poisoned body. [d] Buchanan, Hendecasyl. [e] Apol. pro Rem. Seb. [f] Ovid. 2. rem.

Stratonice's bald pate, as she was undressing her by chance, he could never affect her after. Raymundus Lullius, the physician, spying an ulcer or canker in his mistress breast, whom he so dearly loved, from that day following abhorr'd the looks of her. Philip, the French king, as Neubrigensis, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 24. relates it, married the king of Denmark's daughter; [a] *and after he had used her as a wife, one night, because her breath stunk, they say, or for some other secret fault, sent her back again to her father.* Peter Mattheus, in the life of Lewis the eleaventh, findes fault with our English [b] Chronicles, for writing how Margaret the king of Scots daughter, and wife to Lewis the 11. French king, was *ob graveolentiam oris*, rejected by her husband. Many such matches are made for by-respects, or some seemly comeliness, which after hony-moon is past, turn to bitterness: for burning lust is but a flash, a gunpowder passion; and hatred oft follows in the highest degree, dislike and contempt.

——[c] Cum se cutis arida laxat,
Fiunt obscuri dentes.——

when they waxe old, and ilfavoured, they may, commonly, no longer abide them.

——Jam gravis es nobis,

be gone, they grow stale, fulsome, loathsom, odious, thou art a beastly filthy quean;

[d] Faciem, Phœbe, cacantis habes.

thou art *Saturni podex*, withered and dry; *insipida et vetula*,

——[e] Te quia rugæ turpant, et capitis nives,

(I say) *be gone*; [f] *portæ patent, proficiscere.*

Yea, but you will infer, your mistress is compleat; of a most absolute form in all mens opinions; no exceptions can be taken at her; nothing may be added to her person, nothing detracted; she is the mirror of women for her beauty, comelines and pleasant grace; unimitable, *meræ deliciæ, meri lepores*, she is *Myrothetium Veneris, Gratiarum pyxis*, a mere magazine of naturall perfections; she hath all the Veneres, and Graces,

——mille faces et mille figuras,

in each part absolute and compleat.

[a] Post unam noctem, incertum unde offensam cepit, propter fœtentem ejus spiritum alii dicunt, vel latentem fœditatem repudiavit; rem faciens plane illicitam, et regiæ personæ multum indecoram. [b] Hall and Grafton, belike. [c] Juvenal. [d] Mart. [e] Tully in Cat. [f] Hor. ode. 13. lib. 4.

[a] Læta genas, læta os roseum, vaga lumina læta:

to be admired for her person, a most incomparable unmatchable peece, *aurea proles, ad simulachrum alicujus numinis composita; a Phœnix, vernantis ætatulæ Venerilla*, a nymph, a faery, [b] like Venus her self when she was a maid; *nulli secunda*, a meer quintessence, *flores spirans et amaracum, fœminæ prodigium:* Put case she be, how long will she continue?

[c] Florem decoris singuli carpunt dies:

Every day detracts from her person, and this beauty is *bonum fragile*, a meer flash, a Venice glass, quickly broken:

[d] Anceps forma bonum mortalibus,
——exigui donum breve temporis;

it will not last. As that fair flower [e] Adonis, which we call an anemony, flourisheth but one month, this gratious all-commanding beauty fades in an instant. It is a jewel soon lost, the painters goddesse, *falsa veritas*, a meer picture. *Favour is deceitfull, and beauty is vanity*, Prov. 31. 30.

[f] Vitrea gemmula, fluxaque bullula, candida forma est,
Nix, rosa, ros, fumus, ventus et aura, nihil.

A brittle jem, bubble, is beauty pale,
A rose, dew, snow, smoke, winde, ayr, naught at all.

If she be faire, as the saying is, she is commonly a fool: if proud, scornfull; *sequiturque superbia formam;* or dishonest, *rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitiæ, can she be faire and honest too?* [g] Aristo, the son of Agasicles, married a Spartan lass, the fairest lady in all Greece, next to Helen; but for her conditions, the most abominable, and beastly creature of the world. So that I would wish thee to respect, with Seneca [h], not her person but qualities. *Will you say that's a good blade which hath a guilded scabbard, imbroidered with gold and jewels? No; but that which hath a good edge and point, well tempered mettle, able to resist.* This beauty is of the body alone; and what is that, but as [i] Gregory Nazianzen telleth us, *a mock of time and sickness;* or as Boëthius, [k] *as*

[a] Lœchæus. [b] Qualis fuit Venus cum fuit virgo, balsamum spirans, &c. [c] Seneca. [d] Seneca Hip. [e] Camerarius emb. 68. Cent. 1. Flos omnium pulcherrimus statim languescit, formæ typus. [f] Bernar. Bauhusius Ep. l. 4. [g] Pausanias Lacon. lib. 3. Uxorem duxit Spartæ mulierum omnium post Helenam formosissimam, at ob mores omnium turpissimam. [h] Epist. 76. Gladium bonum dices, non cui deauratus est baltheus, nec cui vagina gemmis distinguitur, sed cui ad secandum subtilis acies, et mucro munimentum omne rupturus. [i] Pulchritudo corporis, temporis et morbi ludibrium. orat. 3. [k] Florum mutabilitate fugacior, nec sua natura formosas facit, sed spectantium infirmitas.

mutable as a flowre, and 'tis not nature so makes us, but most part, the infirmity of the beholder. For ask another, he sees no such matter: *Dic mihi per gratias qualis tibi videtur*, I pray thee tell me how thou likest my sweet-heart, (as she asked her sister in Aristænetus), [a] *whom I so much admire; me thinks he is the sweetest gentleman, the properest man that ever I saw: but I am in love, I confess,* (nec pudet fateri) *and cannot therefore well judge.* But, be she faire indeed, golden-haired, as Anacreon his Bathillus, (to examine particulars) she have

[b] Flammeolos oculos, collaque lacteola;

a pure sanguine complexion, little mouth, corall lips, white teeth, soft and plump neck, body, hands, feet, all faire and lovely to behold, composed of all graces, elegances, an absolute peece;

[c] Lumina sint Melitæ Junonia, dextra Minervæ,
Mamillæ Veneris, sura maris dominæ, &c.

Let [d] her head be from Prague, paps out of Austria, belly from France, back from Brabant, hands out of England, feet from Rhine, buttocks from Switzerland, let her have the Spanish gate, the Venetian tyre, Italian complement and endowments;

[e] Candida syderiis ardescant lumina flammis,
Sudent colla rosas, et cedat crinibus aurum,
Mellea purpureum depromant ora ruborem;
Fulgeat, ac Venerem cœlesti corpore vincat,
Forma Dearum omnis, &c.

Let her be such a one throughout, as Lucian deciphers in his Imagines; as Euphanor of old, painted Venus; Aristænetus describes Lais; another Helena, Chariclea, Leucippe, Lucretia, Pandora; let her have a box of beauty to repair her self still, such a one as Venus gave Phaon, when he carried her over the ford; let her use all helps art and nature can yeeld; be like her, and her, and whom thou wilt, or all these in one; a little sickness, a feaver, small pox, wound, scarre, loss of an eye, or limb, a violent passion, a distemperature of heat or cold, marres all in an instant, disfigures all: child-bearing, old age, that tyrant time will turn Venus to Erynnis; raging time, care, rivels her upon a sudden; after she hath been married a small while, and the black oxe hath trodden on her toe, she will be so much altered, and wax out of favour, thou wilt

[a] Epist. 11. Quem ego depereo Juvenis mihi pulcherrimus videtur; sed forsan amore percita de amore non recte judico. [b] Luc. Brugensis. [c] Idem.
[d] Bebelius adagiis Ger. [e] Petron. Cat.

not know her. One growes too fat, another too lean, &c. modest Matilda, pretty pleasing Peg, sweet singing Susan, mincing merry Moll, dainty dancing Doll, neat Nancy, jolly Jone, nimble Nel, kissing Kate, bouncing Besse with black eys, fair Phillis with fine white hands, fidling Franck, tall Tib, slender Sib, &c. will quickly loose their grace, grow fulsome, stale, sad, heavy, dull, sour and all at last, out of fashion. *Ubi jam vultus argutia, suavis suavitatio, blandus risus, &c.* Those fair sparkling eys will look dull, her soft corall lips will be pale, dry, cold, rough, and blew, her skin rugged, that soft and tender *superficies* will be hard and harsh, her whole complexion change in a moment, and as [a] Matilda writ to King John,

> I am not now as when thou saw'st me last,
> That favour soon is vanished and past;
> That rosie blush lapt in a lilly vale,
> Now is with morphew overgrown and pale.

'Tis so in the rest; their beauty fades as a tree in winter, which Dejanira hath elegantly expressed in the poet;

> [b] Deforme solis aspicis truncis nemus?
> Sic nostra longum forma percurrens iter,
> Deperdit aliquid semper, et fulget minus;
> Malisque minus est quicquid in nobis fuit,
> Olim petitum cecidit, et partu labat,
> Materque multum rapuit ex illâ mihi,
> Ætas citato senior eripuit gradu.
>
> And as a tree that in the green wood growes,
> With fruit and leaves, and in the summer blowes,
> In winter like a stock deformed showes:
> Our beauty takes his race and journey goes,
> And doth decrease, and loose, and come to nought,
> Admir'd of old, to this by child-birth brought:
> And *mother* hath bereft me of my grace,
> And crooked old age coming on a pace.

To conclude with Chrysostome, [c] *When thou seest a faire and beautifull person,* a brave Bonaroba, *a bella Donna,* quæ salivam moveat, *lepidam puellam et quam tu facile ames, a comely woman, having bright eys, a merry countenance, a shining lustre in her look, a pleasant grace,* wringing thy soule,

[a] M. Drayton. [b] Senec. act. 2. Herc. Oeteus. [c] Vides venustam mulierem, fulgidum habentem oculum, vultu hilari coruscantem, eximium quendam aspectum et decorem præ se ferentem, urentem mentem tuam et concupiscentiam agentem; cogita terram esse id quod amas, et quod admiraris stercus, et quod te urit, &c. cogita illam jam senescere, jam rugosam cavis genis, ægrotam; tantis sordibus intus plena est, pituita, stercore: reputa quid intra nares, oculos, cerebrum gestat, quas sordes, &c.

and increasing thy concupiscence; bethink with thy self that it is but earth thou lovest, a meer excrement which so vexeth thee, which thou so admirest, and thy raging soule will be at rest. Take her skin from her face, and thou shall see all loathsomeness under it; that beauty is a superficiall skin and bones, nerves, sinewes: suppose her sick, now rivel'd, hoarie-headed, hollow cheeked, old; within she is full of filthy fleame, stinking, putride, excrementall stuffe; snot and snevill in her nostrills, spettle in her mouth, water in her eys, what filth in her brains, &c. Or take her at best, and look narrowly upon her in the light, stand nearer her, nearer yet, thou shall perceive almost as much, and love less, as [a] Cardan well writes, *minus amant qui acute vident*, though Scaliger deride him for it: If he see her near, or look exactly at such a posture, whosoever he is, according to the true rules of symmetry and proportion, those I mean of Albertus Durer, Lomatius and Tasnier, examine him of her. If he be *elegans formarum spectator*, he shall finde many faults in physiognomy, and ill colour; if form, one side of the face likely bigger then the other; or crooked nose, bad eys, prominent veines, concavities about the eys, wrinkles, pimples, redde streeks, frechons, hairs, warts, neves, inequalities, roughness, scabredity, paleness, yellowness, and as many colours as are in a turkicocks neck, many indecorums in their other parts; *est quod desideres, est quod amputes*, one leers, another frownes, a third gapes, squints, &c. And 'tis true that he saith, [b] *Diligenter consideranti raro facies absoluta, et quæ vitio caret*, seldom shall you finde an absolute face without fault, as I have often observed; not in the face alone, is this defect or disproportion to be found; but in all the other parts, of body and minde; she is faire indeed, but foolish; pretty, comely and decent, of a majesticall presence, but peradventure imperious, unhonest, *acerba, iniqua*, selfwil'd: she is rich, but deformed; hath a sweet face, but bad carriage; no bringing up; a rude and wanton flurt, a neat body she hath, but it is a nasty quean otherwise, a very slut, of a bad kinde. As flowres in a garden have colour some, but no smell, others have a fragrant smell, but are unseemly to the eye; one is unsavory to the taste, as rue; as bitter as wormwood, and yet a most medicinall cordiall flowre, most acceptable to the stomack; so are men and women; one is well qualified, but of ill proportion, poor and base: a good eye she hath, but a bad hand and foot, *fœda pedes et fœda manus*, a fine leg, bad teeth, a vast body, &c. Examine all parts of body and minde, I advise thee to enquire of all. See her angry, merry, laugh, weep, hot, cold, sick, sullen, dressed, undressed,

[a] Subtil. 13. [b] Carcan. subtil. lib. 13.

in all attires, sites, gestures, passions, eat her meales, &c. and in some of these you will surely dislike. Yea, not her onely, let him observe, but her parents, how they carry themselves: for what deformities, defects, incumbrances of body or minde, be in them at such an age, they will likely be subject to, be molested in like manner; they will *patrizare* or *matrizare*. And with all let him take notice of her companions, *in convictu* (as Quiverra prescribes) *et quibuscum conversetur*, whom she converseth with.

Noscitur ex Comite, qui non cognoscitur ex se.

According to Thucydides, she is commonly the best, *de quo minimus foras habetur sermo*, that is least talked of abroad. For if she be a noted reveller, a gadder, a singer, a pranker or dancer, then take heed of her. For what saith Theocritus?

At vos festivæ ne ne saltate puellæ,
En, malus hircus adest in vos saltare paratus,

Yong men will do it, when they come to it.

Fawnes and satyres will certainly play wreeks, when they come in such wanton Bacchos Elenoras presence. Now when they shall perceive any such obliquity, indecency, disproportion, deformity, bad conditions, &c. let them still ruminate on that, and as [a] Hædus adviseth out of Ovid, *earum mendas notent*; note their faults, vices, errours, and think of their imperfections; 'tis the next way to divert and mitigate loves furious head-strong passions; as a peacocks feet and filthy comb, they say, make him forget his fine feathers, and pride of his tail; she is lovely, faire, well favoured, well qualified, courteous and kinde;

But if she be not so to me,
What care I how kinde she be.

I say with [b] Philostratus, *formosa aliis, mihi superba*; she is a tyrant to me, and so let her go. Besides these outward neves, or open faults, errours, there be many inward infirmities, secret, &c. some private, (which I will omit) and some more common to the sexe; sullen fits, evil qualities, filthy diseases, in this case fit to be considered. Consideratio fæditatis mulierum (menstruæ imprimis), quam immundæ sunt, quam Savanarola proponit regulâ septimâ, penitus observandam. Et Platina, dial. *Amoris, fuse perstringit.* Lodovicus Boncialus *mulieb. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Pet. Hædus. Albertus, *et infiniti fere medici.* [c] A lover in Calcag-

[a] Lib. de contem. amoribus. Earum mendas volvant animo, sæpe ante oculos constituant, sæpe damnent. [b] In deliciis. [c] Quum amator annulum se amicæ optaret, ut ejus amplexu frui posset, &c. O te miserum, ait annulus, si meas vices obires, videres, audires, &c. nihil non odio dignum observares.

ninus apologies, wished with all his heart, he were his mistress ring, to hear, embrace, see, and do I know not what: O thou fool, quoth the ring, if thou wer'st in my room, thou shouldst hear, observe, and see *pudenda et pœnitenda;* that which would make thee loath and hate her; yea, peradventure, all women for her sake.

I will say nothing of the vices of their mindes, their pride, envy, inconstancy, weakness, malice, selfwill, lightness, insatiable lust, jealousie; *Ecclus* 25. 13. *No malice to a womans; no bitterness like to hers. Eccles.* 7. 26. and, as the same author urgeth, *Prov.* 31. 10. *Who shall finde a vertuous woman?* He makes a question of it. [a] *Neque jus neque bonum, neque æquum sciunt, melius pejus, prosit, obsit, nihil vident, nisi quod libido suggerit. They know neither good nor bad, be it better or worse* (as the comicall poet hath it) *beneficiall or hurtfull, they will do what they list.*

> [b] Insidiæ humani generis, querimonia vitæ,
> Exuviæ noctis, durissima cura diei,
> Pœna virum, nex et juvenum, &c.——

And to that purpose were they first made, as Jupiter insinuates in the [c] poet.

> The fire that bold Prometheus stole from me,
> With plagues cal'd women shall revenged be;
> On whose alluring and entising face,
> Poor mortalls doting, shall their death embrace.

In fine, as Diogenes concludes in Nevisanus, *Nulla est fœmina quæ non habeat Quid:* they have all their faults.

> [d] Every each of them hath some vice,
> If one be full of villany,
> Another hath a liquorish eye:
> If one be full of wantonness,
> Another is a Chideress.

When Leander was drowned, the inhabitants of Sestos consecrated Hero's lanterne to Anteros; *Anteroti sacrum;* [e] and he that had good successe in his love, should light the candle; but never any man was found to light it; which I can refer to nought, but the inconstancy and lightness of women.

> [f] For in a thousand, good there is not one;
> All be so proud, unthankfull and unkinde,
> With flinty hearts, careless of others moane,
> In their own lusts carried most headlong blinde.

[a] Ter. Heau. Act. 4. 1. [b] Lœchæus. [c] See our English Tatius, li. 1. [d] Chaucer in Romant of the Rose. [e] Qui se facilem in amore probarit, hanc succendito. At qui succendat, ad hunc diem repertus nemo. Calcagninus. [f] Ariosto.

But more herein to speak, I am forbidden;
Sometime, for speaking truth, one may be chidden.

I am not willing, you see, to prosecute the cause against them, and therefore take heed you mistake me not; [a] *matronam nullam ego tango;* I honour the sexe, with all good men, and as I ought to do. Rather then displease them, I will voluntarily take the oath which Mercurius Britanicus took, *Viragin. descript. lib. 2. fol. 95. Me nihil unquam mali nobilissimo sexui, vel verbo, vel facto machinaturum, &c.* Let Simonides, Mantuan, Platina, Pet. Aretine, and such women-haters bare the blame, if ought be said amiss: I have not writ a tenth of that which might be urged out of them and others; [b] *non possunt invectivæ omnes, et satyræ in fœminas scriptæ, uno volumine comprehendi.* And that which I have said (to speak truth) no more concerns them then men; though women be more frequently named in this Tract. (To apologize once for all) I am neither partiall against them, or therefore bitter: what is said of the one, *mutato nomine,* may most part, be understood of the other. My words are like Passus picture, in [c] Lucian; of whom, when a good fellow had bespoke an horse to be painted with his heeles upwards, tumbling on his back, he made him passant: now, when the fellow came for his peece, he was very angry, and said, it was quite opposite to his minde; but Passus instantly turned the picture upside down, shewed him the horse at that site which he requested, and so gave him satisfaction. If any man take exception at my words, let him alter the name, read him for her, and 'tis all one in effect.

But to my purpose: If women in generall be so bad, and men worse then they, what a hazard is it to marry? where shall a man finde a good wife, or a woman a good husband? A woman, a man may eschue, but not a wife: wedding is undoing (some say) marrying, marring; wooing, woing: [d] *a wife is a feaver hectick,* as Scaliger calls her, *and not to be cured but by death,* as out of Menander, Athenœus addes,

In pelagus te jacis negotiorum,——
Non Libyum, non Ægæum, ubi ex triginta non pereunt
Tria navigia: ducens uxorem servatur prorsus nemo.

Thou wadest into a sea it self, of woes;
In Libycke and Ægæan, each man knowes,
Of thirty, not three ships are cast away:
But on this rock not one escapes, I say.

The worldly cares, miseries, discontents, that accompany marriage, I pray you learn of them that have experience, for I have

[a] Hor. [b] Christoph. Fonseca. [c] Encom. Demosthen. [d] Febris hectica uxor, et non nisi morte avellenda.

none; [a] παιδας ἐγω λόγους ἐγεννησάμην, *libri mentis liberi.* For my part I'll dissemble with him;

Este procul nymphæ, fallax genus este puellæ;
Vita jugata meo non facit ingenio: Me juvat, &c.

many married men exclaime at the miseries of it, and rail at wives down right; I never tried, but as I hear some of them say,

[b] Mare haud mare, vos mare acerrimum;

An Irish sea is not so turbulent and raging as a litigious wife.

[c] Scylla et Charybdis Sicula contorquens freta,
Minus est timenda, nulla non melior fera est.

Scylla and Charybdis are lesse dangerous,
There is no beast that is so noxious.

Which made the divel, belike, as most interpreters hold, when he had taken away Job's goods, *corporis et fortunæ bona,* health, children, friends, to persecute him the more, leave his wicked wife; as Pineda proves out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Austin, Chrysostome, Prosper, Gaudentius, &c. *Ut novum calamitatis inde genus viro existeret,* to vex and gaule him worse *quam totus infernus,* then all the fiends in hell; as knowing the conditions of a bad woman. *Jupiter non tribuit homini pestilentius malum,* saith Simonides: *better dwell with a dragon or a lion, then keep house with a wicked wife.* Ecclus. 25. 18. *Better dwell in a wilderness.* Prov. 21. 19. *No wickedness like to her,* Ecclus. 25. 23. *She makes a sorry heart, an heavy countenance, a wounded minde, weak hands, and feeble knees,* vers. 25. *A woman and death are two the bitterest things in the world: uxor mihi ducenda est hodie, id mihi visus est dicere, abi domum et suspende te. Ter. And.* 1. 5. And yet for all this, we batchelors desire to be married; with that Vestall virgin, we long for it,

[d] Felices nuptæ! moriar, nisi nubere dulce est.

'Tis the sweetest thing in the world; I would I had a wife, saith he,

For fain would I leave a single life,
If I could get me a good wife.

hai-ho for an husband, cries she, a bad husband, nay the worst that ever was is better then none. O blissful marriage;

[a] Synesius; Libros ego liberos genui. Lipsius antiq. Lect. lib. [b] Plautus Asin. act. 1. [c] Senec. in Hercul. [d] Senec.

O most welcome marriage; and happy are they that are so coupled: we do earnestly seek it, and are never well till we have effected it. But with what fate? like those birds in the [a] Embleme, that fed about a cage, so long as they could fly away at their pleasure, liked well of it; but when they were taken and might not get loose, though they had the same meat, pined away for sullenness, and would not eat. So we commend marriage,

> ———donec miselli liberi
> Aspicimus dominam; sed postquam, heu! janua clausa est,
> Fel intus est quod mel fuit:

So long as we are wooers, may kiss and coll at our pleasure; nothing is so sweet; we are in heaven, as we think: but when we are once tied, and have lost our liberty, marriage is an hell; *give me my yellow hose again:* a mouse in a trap lives as merrily; we are in a purgatory, some of us, if not hell it self. *Dulce bellum inexpertis,* as the proverb is; 'tis fine talking of war and marriage, sweet in contemplation, 'till it be tried: and then as wars are most dangerous, irksome, every minute at deaths dore, so is, &c. When those wild Irish peers, saith [b] Stanihurst, were feasted by King Henry the second (at what time he kept his Christmas at Dublin) and had tasted of his Princelike cheer, generous wines, dainty fare, had seen his [c] massie plate of silver, gold, inamel'd, beset with jewells, golden candle-sticks, goodly rich hangings, brave furniture, heard his trumpets sound, fifes, drums, and his exquisite musick in all kindes: when they had observed his majesticall presence, as he sate in purple robes, crowned, with his scepter, &c. in his royall seat, the poor men were so amazed, enamored, and taken with the object, that they were *pertæsi domestici et pristini tyrotarichi,* weary and ashamed of their own sordidity and manner of life. They would all be English forthwith; who but English! but when they had now submitted themselves, and lost their former liberty, they began to rebell, some of them, others repent of what they had done, when it was too late. 'Tis so with us batchelors, when we see and behold those sweet faces, those gaudy shewes that women make, observe their pleasant gestures and graces, give ear to their Siren tunes, see them dance, &c. we think their conditions are as fine as their faces; we are taken with dumb signes, *in amplexum ruimus;* we rave, we burn, and would fain be married. But when we feel the miseries, cares, woes, that

[a] Amator. Emblem. [b] De rebus Hibernicis, l. 3. [c] Gemmea pocula, argentea vasa, cælata candelabra, aurea, &c. Conchileata aulæa, buccinarum clangorem, tibiarum cantum, et symphoniæ suavitatem, majestatemque principis coronati cum vidissent sella deaurata, &c.

accompany it, we make our moane, many of us, cry out at length and cannot be released. If this be true now, as some out of experience will inform us, farewell wiving for my part; and as the comicall poet merrily saith,

> [a] Perdatur ille pessime qui fœminam
> Duxit secundus, nam nihil primo imprecor!
> Ignarus ut puto mali primus fuit.
>
> [b] Fowl fall him that brought the second match to passe;
> The first I wish no harm, poor man, alas,
> He knew not what he did, nor what it was.

What shall I say to him that marries again and again,

> [c] Stulta maritali qui porrigit ora capistro.

I pity him not; for the first time he must do as he may, bear it out sometimes by the head and shoulders, and let his next neighbour ride, or else run away, or as that Syracusian in a tempest, when all ponderous things were to be exonerated out of the ship, *quia maximum pondus erat*, fling his wife into the sea. But this I confesse is comically spoken, [d] and so I pray you take it. In sober sadness, [e] marriage is a bondage, a thraldom, a yoke, an hinderance to all good enterprises; *he hath married a wife, and cannot come*; a stop to all preferments; a rock on which many are saved, many impinge and are cast away: not that the thing is evill in it self, or troublesome, but full of all contentment and happiness; one of the three things which please God, [f] *when a man and his wife agree together*; an honorable and happy estate; who knows it not? If they be sober, wise, honest, as the poet infers;

> [g] Si commodos nanciscantur amores,
> Nullum iis abest voluptatis genus.
>
> If fitly matcht be man and wife,
> No pleasure's wanting to their life.

But to undiscreet sensuall persons, that as brutes are wholy led by sense, it is a ferall plague; many times an hell it self; and can give little or no content, being that they are often so irregular and prodigious in their lusts, so diverse in their affections. *Uxor nomen dignitatis, non voluptatis*, as [h] he said, a wife is a name of honor, not of pleasure: she is fit to bear the office,

[a] Eubulus in Crisil. Athenæus dypnosophist. l. 13. c. 3. [b] Translated by my brother Ralfe Burton. [c] Juvenal. [d] Hæc in speciem dicta cave ut credas. [e] Batchelors alwayes are the bravest men. Bacon. Seek eternity in memory, not in posterity, like Epaminondas, that instead of children, left two great victories behind him, which he called his two daughters. [f] Eccius 28. [g] Euripides Andromach. [h] Ælius Verus imperator Spar. vit. ejus.

govern a family, to bring up children, sit at bords end and carve, as some carnal men think and say; they had rather go to the stews, or have now and then a snatch as they can come by it, borrow of their neighbours, then have wives of their own; except they may, as some princes and great men do, keep as many curtisans as they will themselves; fly out *impune*.

[a] Permolere uxores alienas.

Or that polygamy of Turkes; or Lex Julia, which Cæsar once inforced in Rome (though Levinus Torrentius and others suspect it) *uti uxores quot et quas vellent liceret*, that every great man might marry, and keep as many wives as he would; or Irish divorcement were in use: but as it is, 'tis hard, and gives not that satisfaction to these carnal men, beastly men as too many are. [b] What still the same? to be tied [c] to one, be she never so faire, never so vertuous, is a thing they may not endure, to love one long. Say thy pleasure, and counterfeit as thou wilt, as [d] Parmeno told Thais; *Neque tu uno eris contenta*, one man will never please thee; nor one woman many men: But as [e] Pan replied to his father Mercury, when he asked whether he was married, *Nequaquam pater, amator enim sum, &c. No father, no, I am a lover still, and cannot be contented with one woman.* Pythias, Eccho, Menades, and I know not how many besides, were his mistresses; he might not abide marriage. *Varietas delectat*, tis loathsome and tedious; what one still? which the Satyrist said of Iberina, is verified in most:

[f] Unus Iberinæ vir sufficit? ocyus illud
Extorquebis ut hæc oculo contenta sit uno.

'Tis not one man will serve her by her will,
As soon shee'l have one eye as one man still.

As capable of any impression as *materia prima* it self, that still desires new formes; like the sea, their affections ebbe and flowe. Husband is a cloak for some to hide their villany; once married, she may flye out at her pleasure; the name of husband is a sanctuary to make all good. *Eo ventum* (saith Seneca) *ut nulla virum habeat, nisi ut irritet adulterum.* They are right and straight as true Trojans as mine hostess daughter, that Spanish wench in [g] Ariosto; as good wives as Messalina. Many men are as constant in their choyce, and as good husbands as Nero himself; they must have their pleasure of all they see; and are, in a word, far more fickle then any woman.

[a] Hor. [b] Quod licet, ingratum est. [c] For better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, &c. tis durus sermo to a sensuall man. [d] Ter. act. 1. Sc. 2. Eunuch. [e] Lucian. Tom. 4. Neque cum uni aliquâ rem habere, contentus forem. [f] Juvenal. [g] Lib. 28.

For either they be full of jealousie,
Or masterfull, or loven novelty, etc.

Good men have often ill wives, as bad as Xantippe was to Socrates, Elevora to S^t. Lues, Isabella to our Edward the second: and good wives are as often matched to ill husbands; as Mariamne to Herod, Serena to Dioclesian, Theodora to Theophilus, and Thyra to Gurmunde. But I will say nothing of dissolute and bad husbands, of batchelors and their vices; their good qualities are a fitter subject for a just volume, too well known already in every village, town and city; they need no blazon: and lest I should marre any matches, or dis-hearten loving maids, for this present, I will let them passe.

Being that men and women are so irreligious, depraved by nature, so wandring in their affections, so brutish, so subject to disagreement, so unobservant of marriage rites, what shall I say? If thou beest such a one, or thou light on such a wife, what concord can there be, what hope of agreement? 'tis not *conjugium* but *conjurgium;* as the reed and ferne in the [a] Embleme, averse and opposite in nature: 'tis twenty to one thou wilt not marry to thy contentment: but as in a lottery forty blanks were drawn commonly for one prize, out of a multitude you shall hardly choose a good one: a small ease hence, then, little comfort.

[b] Nec integrum unquam transiges lætus diem.

If he or she be such a one,
Thou hadst much better be alone.

If she be barren, she is not——&c. If she have [c] children, and thy state be not good, though thou be wary and circumspect, thy charge will undo thee.

——fœcundâ domum tibi prole gravabit;

thou wilt not be able to bring them up; [d] *and what greater misery can there be, then to beget children, to whom thou canst leave no other inheritance but hunger and thirst?* [e] *cum fames dominatur, strident voces rogantium panem, penetrantes patris cor:* what so grievous as to turn them up to the wide world, to shift for themselves? No plague like to want: and when thou hast good means, and art very carefull of their education, they will not be ruled. Think but of that old proverb, Ἡρώων τέκνα πήματα, *Heroum filii noxæ,* great mens

[a] Camerar. 82. cent. 3. [b] Simonides. [c] Children make misfortunes more bitter. Bacon. [d] Heinsius Epist. Primiero. Nihil miserius quam procreare liberos, ad quos nihil ex hæreditate tua pervenire videas, præter famem et sitim. [e] Christoph Fonseca.

sons seldome do well; *O utinam aut cœlebs mansissem, aut prole carerem!* [a] Augustus exclaims in Suetonius. Jacob had his Ruben, Simeon and Levi: David an Amnon, an Absolon, Adoniah; wise mens sons are commonly fools, insomuch that Spartian concludes, *Neminem prope magnorum virorum optimum et utilem reliquisse filium;* [b] They had been much better to have been childless. 'Tis too common in the middle sort; Thy sonne's a drunkard, a gamester, a spendthrift; thy daughter a fool, a whore; thy servants lazie drones and theeves; thy neighbours divels; they will make thee weary of thy life. [c] *If thy wife be froward, when she may not have her will, thou hadst better be buried alive; she will be so impatient, raving still, and roaring like Juno in the tragedy; there's nothing but tempests: all is in an uproar.* If she be soft and foolish, thou werst better have a block, she will shame thee and reveal thy secrets: if wise and learned, well qualified, there is as much danger on the other side, *mulierem doctam ducere periculosissimum*, saith [d] Nevisanus, she will be too insolent and peevish.

[e] Malo Venusinam quam te Cornelia mater.

Take heed; if she be a slut, thou wilt loath her; if proud, shee'l begger thee, [f] *shee'l spend thy patrimony in bawbles, all Arabia will not serve to perfume her haire*, saith Lucian: if faire and wanton, shee'l make thee a *cornuto;* if deformed, she will paint. *If her face be filthy by nature, she will mend it by art, alienis et adscititiis imposturis,* [g] *which, who can indure?* If she do not paint, she will look so filthy, thou canst not love her, and that, peradventure, will make thee unhonest. Cromerus *lib.* 12. *hist.* relates of Casimirus, [h] that he was unchast, because his wife Aleida, the daughter of Henry, Landsgrave of Hessia, was so deformed. If she be poor, she brings beggery with her (saith Nevisanus) misery and discontent. If you marry a maid, it is uncertain how she proves:

Hæc forsan veniet non satis apta tibi:

If yong, she is, likely, wanton and untaught; if lusty, too lascivious; and if she be not satisfied, you know where and when, *nil nisi jurgia*, all is in an uprore, and there is little quietness to be had: if an old maid, 'tis an hazard she dies in childbed:

[a] Liberi sibi carcinomata. [b] Melius fuerat eos sine liberis discessisse. [c] Lemnius cap. 6. lib. 1. Si morosa, si non in omnibus obsequaris, omnia impacata in ædibus, omnia sursum misceri videas, multæ tempestates, &c. [d] Lib. 2. numer. 101 sil. nup. [e] Juvenal. [f] Tom. 4. Amores. Omnem mariti opulentiam profundet, totam Arabiam capillis redolens. [g] Idem, et quis sanæ mentis sustinere queat, &c. [h] Subegit ancillas quod uxor ejus deformior esset.

if a rich widdow, [a] *induces te in laqueum*, thou dost halter thy self; she will make all away before hand, to her other children, &c.

——[b] dominam quis possit ferre tonantem?

she will bit thee still in the teeth with her first husband: if a yong widdow, she is often unsatiable and immodest. If she be rich, well descended, bring a great dowry, or be nobly allied, thy wives friends will eat thee out of house and home, *dives ruinam ædibus inducit*; she will be so proud, so high-minded, so imperious. For

——nihil est magis intolerabile dite;

there's nothing so intolerable, thou shalt be as the tassell of a gosse-hauk, [c] *she will ride upon thee, domineer as she list*, wear the breeches in her oligarchicall government, and begger thee besides. *Uxores divites servitutem exigunt*, (as Seneca hits them *declam. lib. 2. declam.* 6.) *Dotem accepi, imperium perdidi*. They will have soveraignty, *pro conjuge dominam arcessis*; they will have attendance, they will do what they list. [d] In taking a dowry thou loosest thy liberty, *dos intrat, libertas exit*, hazardest thine estate.

Hæ sunt atque aliæ multæ in magnis dotibus
Incommoditates, sumptusque intolerabiles, &c.

with many such inconveniences. Say the best, she is a commanding servant; thou hadst better have taken a good huswifely maid in her smock. Since then, there is such hazard, if thou be wise, keep thy self as thou art; 'tis good to match, much better to be free.

[e] ——procreare liberos lepidissimum,
Hercle vero liberum esse, id multo est lepidius.

Art thou yong? then match not yet; if old, match not at all.

[f] ——Vis juvenis nubere? nondum venit tempus.
Ingravescente ætate jam tempus præteriit.

And therefore, with that philosopher, still make answer to thy

[a] Sil. nup. l. 2. num. 25. Dives inducit tempestatem, pauper curam: Ducens viduam inducit in laqueum. [b] Sic quisque dicit, alteram ducit tamen. [c] Si dotata erit, imperiosa, continuoque viro inequitare conabitur. Petrarch. [d] If a woman nourish her husband, she is angry and impudent, and full of reproach. Ecclus 25. 22. Scilicet uxori nubere nolo meæ. [e] Plautus Mil. Glor. act. 3. sc. 1. [f] Stobæus ser. 66. Alex ab-Alexand. lib. 4. cap. 8.

friends that importune thee to marry, *adhuc intempestivum*, 'tis yet unseasonable, and ever will be.

Consider withall how free, how happy, how secure, how heavenly, in respect, a single man is, [a] as he said in the comœdy, *Et isti quod fortunatum esse autumant, uxorem nunquam habui*, and that which all my neighbours admire and applaud me for, account so great an happiness, I never had a wife; consider how contentedly, quietly, neatly, plentifully, sweetly and how merrily he lives! he hath no man to care for but himself; none to please, no charge, none to controle him, is tied to no residence, no cure to serve, may go and come, when, whither, live where he will, his own master, and do what he list himself. Consider the excellency of virgins, [b] *Virgo cœlum meruit*, marriage replenishes the earth, but virginity Paradise; Elias, Eliseus, John Baptist were bachelors: Virginity is a pretious jewell, a fair garland, a never fading flowre; [c] for why was Daphne turned to a green bay tree, but to shew that virginity is immortall?

> [d] Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
> Ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
> Quam mulcent auræ, firmat Sol, educat imber, &c.
> Sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum chara suis, sed
> Cum Castum amisit, &c.——

Virginity is a fine picture, as [e] Bonaventure calls it; a blessed thing in it self, and if you will believe a papist, meritorious. And although there be some inconveniences, irksomeness, solitariness, &c. incident to such persons, want of those comforts, *quæ ægro assideat et curet ægrotum, fomentum paret, roget medicum, &c.* embracing, dalliance, kissing, colling, &c. those furious motives and wanton pleasures a new married wife most part enjoyes; yet they are but toyes in respect, easily to be endured, if conferred to those frequent incumbrances of marriage; solitariness may be otherwise avoided with mirth, musick, good company, business, imployment; in a word, [f] *Gaudebit minus, et minus dolebit*; for their good nights, he shall have good dayes. And me thinks sometime or other, amongst so many rich bachelors, a benefactor should be found to build a monasticall college for old, decayed, deformed, or discontented maids to live together in, that have lost their first loves, or otherwise miscarried, or else are willing howsoever to lead a single life. The rest, I say,

[a] They shall attend the Lamb in heaven, because they were not defiled with women, Apoc. 14. [b] Nuptiæ replent terram, virginitas Paradisum. Hier. [c] Daphne in laurum semper virentem, immortalem docet gloriam paratam virginibus pudicitiam servantibus. [d] Catul. Car. nuptiali. [e] Diet. salut. c. 22. Pulcherrimum sertum infiniti pretii, gemma et pictura speciosa. [f] Mart.

are toyes in respect, and sufficiently recompenced by those innumerable contents and incomparable priviledges of virginity. Think of these things, confer both lives, and consider last of all, these commodious prerogatives a bachelor hath, how well he is esteemed, how heartily welcome to all his friends, *quam mentitis obsequiis*, as Tertullian observes, with what counterfeit curtesies they will adore him, follow him, present him with gifts, *hamatis donis: it cannot be beleeved*, (saith [a]Ammianus) *with what humble service he shall be worshipped*, how loved and respected: *If he want children* (and have means) *he shall be often invited, attended on by princes, and have advocates to plead his cause for nothing*, as [b]Plutarch addes. Wilt thou then be reverenced and had in estimation?

> ——[c]dominus tamen et domini rex
> Si tu vis fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aulâ
> Luserit Æneas, nec filia dulcior illâ?
> Jucundum et charum sterilis facit uxor amicum.

Live a single man, marry not, and thou shalt soon perceive how those Hæredipetæ (for so they were called of old) will seek after thee, bribe and flatter thee for thy favour, to be thine heire or executor: Aruntius and Aterius, those famous parasites in this kinde, as Tacitus and [d]Seneca have recorded, shall not go beyond them. Periplectomines that good personat old man, *delitium senis*, well understood this in Plautus; for when Pleusides exhorted him to marry, that he might have children of his own, he readily replied in this sort,

> Quando habeo multos cognatos, quid opus mihi sit liberis?
> Nunc bene vivo et fortunate, atque animo ut lubet.
> Mea bona meâ morte cognatis dicam interpartiant.
> Illi apud me edunt, me curant, visunt quid agam, ecquid velim,
> Qui mihi mittunt munera, ad prandium, ad cœnam vocant.
>
> Whilst I have kin, what need I brats to have?
> Now I live well, and as I will, most brave.
> And when I dye, my goods I'll give away,
> To them that do invite me every day,
> That visite me, and send me pretty toyes,
> And strive who shall do me most curtesies.

This respect thou shalt have in like manner, living as he did, a single man. But if thou marry once, [e]*cogitato in omni vita te servum fore*, bethink thy self what a slavery it is; what an

[a] Lib. 24. Quâ obsequiorum diversitate colantur homines sine liberis. [b] Hunc alii ad cœnam invitant, princeps huic famulatur, oratores gratis patrocinantur. lib. de amore Prolis. [c] Annal. 11. [d] 60 de benefic. 38. [e] E Græco.

heavy burthen thou shalt undertake; how hard a task thou art tied to, (for as Hierome hath it, *qui uxorem habet, debitor est, et uxoris servus alligatus,*) and how continuate, what squalor attends it, what irksomeness, what charges; for wife and children are a perpetual bill of charges; besides a myriade of cares, miseries, and troubles; for as that comical Plautus merrily and truly said, He that wants trouble, must get to be master of a ship, or marry a wife; and as another seconds him, wife and children have undone me; so many, and such infinite incumbrances accompany this kinde of life. Furthermore, *uxor intumuit,* &c. or as he said in the comœdy:

[a] Duxi uxorem, quam ibi miseriam vidi? nati filii, alia cura.

All gifts and invitations cease, no friend will esteem thee, and thou shalt be compelled to lament thy misery, and make thy moane with [b] Bartholomæus Scheræus that famous poet laureat, and professor of Hebrew in Witenberge: I had finished this work long since, but that *inter alia dura & tristia, quæ misero mihi pene tergum fregerunt* (I use his own words) amongst many miseries which almost broke my back συζυγία *ob Xantipismum*; a shrew to my wife, tormented my minde above measure, and beyond the rest. So shalt thou be compelled to complain, and to cry out at last, with [c] Phoroneus the lawyer, *How happy had I been, if I had wanted a wife!* If this which I have said will not suffice, see more in Lemnius *lib.* 4. *cap.* 13. *de occult. nat. mir. Espensæus de continentiâ. lib.* 6. *cap.* 8. *Kornman de virginitate; Platina in Amor. dial. Practica artis amandi; Barbarus de re uxoriâ. Arnisæus in polit. cap.* 3. and him that is *instar omnium Nevisanus,* the lawyer, *Sylva nuptial.* almost in every page.

SUBSECT. IV.

Philters, Magicall and Poeticall Cures.

WHERE perswasions and other remedies will not take place, many fly to unlawfull means; philters, amulets, magick spells, ligatures, characters, charmes, which as a wound with the spear of Achilles, if so made and caused, must so be cured. If forced by spells and philters, saith Paracelsus, it must be eased by characters, *Mag. lib.* 2. *cap.* 28. and by incantations. Fernelius *Path. lib.* 6. *cap.* 13. [d] Sckenkius

[a] Ter. Adelph. [b] Itineraria in psalmos instructione ad lectorem. [c] Bruson. lib. 7. cap. 22. Si uxor deesset, nihil mihi ad summam felicitatem defuisset. [d] Extinguitur virilitas ex incantamentorum maleficiis; neque enim fabula est, nonnulli reperti sunt, qui ex veneficiis amore privati sunt, ut ex multis historiis patet.

SUBSECT. V.

The last and best Cure of Love-Melancholy, is, to let them have their Desire.

THE last refuge and surest remedy, to be put in practice in the utmost place, when no other means will take effect, is, to let them go together, and enjoye one another; *potissima cura est ut heros amasiâ suâ potiatur*, saith Guianerius, *cap.* 15. *tract.* 15. Æsculapius himself, to this malady, cannot invent a better remedy, *quam ut amanti cedat amatum*, [a] (Jason Pratensis) then that a lover have his desire.

Et pariter torulo bini jungantur in uno,
Et pulchro detur Æneæ Lavinia conjux.

And let them both be joyned in a bed,
And let Æneas fair Lavinia wed.

'Tis the special cure, to let them bleed in *vena Hymenæa*, for love is a pluresie, and if it be possible, so let it be:

——optataque gaudia carpant.

[b] Arculanus holds it the speediest and the best cure; 'tis Savanarola's [c] last precept; a principal infallible remedy; the last, sole, and safest refuge.

[d] Julia sola potes nostras extinguere flammas,
Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari.

Julia alone can quench my desire,
With neither ice nor snow, but with like fire.

When you have all done, saith [e] Avicenna, *there is no speedier or safer course, then to joyn the parties together according to their desires and wishes; the custome and forme of law; and so we have seen him quickly restored to his former health, that was languished away to skin and bones; after his desire was satisfied, his discontent ceased, and we thought it strange; our opinion is, therefore, that in such cases, nature is to be obeyed.* Arateus, an old author *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. hath an instance of a yong man, [f] when no other means could prevail,

[a] Cap. 19. de morb. cerebri. cura. cap. 16. in 9 Rhasis.
[b] Patiens potiatur re amatâ, si fieri possit, optima
[c] Si nihil aliud, nuptiæ et copulatio cum ea.
[d] Petronius Catal.
[e] Cap. de Ilishi. Non invenitur cura, nisi regimen connexionis inter eos, secundum modum promissionis, et legis; et sic vidimus ad carnem restitutum, qui jam venerat ad arefactionem; evanuit cura postquam sensit, &c.
[f] Fama est melancholicum quendam ex amore insanabiliter se habentem, ubi puellæ se conjunxisset, restitutum, &c.

was so speedily relieved. What remaines then but to joyn them in marriage?

> [a] Tunc et Basia morsiunculasque,
> Surreptim dare, mutuos fovere
> Amplexus licet, et licet jocari.

they may then kiss and coll, lye and look babies in one anothers eys, as their syres before them did: they may then satiate themselves with loves pleasures, which they have so long wished and expected.

> Atque uno simul in toro quiescant,
> Conjuncto simul ore suavientur,
> Et somnos agitent quiete in una.

Yea, but *hic labor, hoc opus*, this cannot conveniently be done, by reason of many and severall impediments. Sometimes both parties themselves are not agreed: parents, tutors, masters, guardians, will not give consent; lawes, customes, statutes hinder: poverty, superstition, fear and suspition: many men dote on one woman, *semel et simul:* she dotes as much on him, or them, and in modesty must not, cannot woo, as unwilling to confess, as willing to love: she dare not make it known, shew her affection, or speak her minde. And *hard is the choyce* (as it is in Euphues) *when one is compelled, either by silence to dye with grief, or by speaking to live with shame.* In this case almost, was the faire lady Elizabeth, Edward the fourth his daughter, when she was enamored on Henry the seventh, that noble yong prince, and new saluted king, when she break forth into that passionate speech, [b] *O that I were worthy of that comely prince! but my father being dead, I want friends to motion such a matter! What shall I say? I am all alone, and dare not open my minde to any. What, if I acquaint my mother with it? bashfulness forbids. What, if some of the lords? audacity wants. O that I might but confer with him, perhaps in discourse I might let slip such a word that might discover mine intention!* How many modest maids may this concern, I am a poor servant, what shall I do? I am a fatherless child, and want means; I am blith and buxome, yong and lusty, but I have never a suiter; *expectant stolidi ut ego illos rogatum veniam*, as [c] she said; a company of silly fellows, look, belike, that I should woo them and speak first: fain they would and cannot woo;

> ——— [d] quæ primum exordia sumam?

[a] Jovian. Pontanus, Basi. lib. 1. [b] Speede's hist. e. M. S. Ber. Andreæ.
[c] Lucretia in Cœlestina act. 19. Barthio interpret. [d] Virg. 4. Æn.

being meerly passive, they may not make sute, with many such lets and inconveniences, which I know not; what shall we do in such a case? sing *Fortune my Foe?* ——

Some are so curious in this behalf, as those old Romans, our modern Venetians, Dutch and French, that if two parties dearly love, the one noble, the other ignoble, they may not by their lawes match, though equal otherwise in yeers, fortunes, education, and all good affection. In Germany, except they can prove gentility by three descents, they scorn to match with them. A noble man must marry a noble woman: a baron, a baron's daughter; a knight, a knights; a gentleman, a gentlemans: as slatters sort their slattes, do they degrees and families. If she be never so rich, faire, well-qualified otherwise, they will make him forsake her. The Spaniards abhor all widdowes; the Turks repute them old women, if past five and twenty. But these are too severe lawes, and strict customes, *dandum aliquid amori*; we are all the sons of Adam; 'tis opposite to Nature, it ought not to be so. Again, he loves her most impotently, she loves not him, and so *e contra*. [a] Pan loved Echo, Echo Satyrus, Satyrus Lyda.

Quantum ipsorum aliquis amantem oderat,
Tantum ipsius amans odiosus erat.

They love and loath of all sorts; he loves her, she hates him; and is loathed of him, on whom she dotes. Cupid hath two darts, one to force love, all of gold, and that sharp,

—— [b] Quod facit auratum est.

Another blunt, of lead, and that to hinder;

—— fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.

This we see too often verified in our common experience. [c] Choresus dearly loved that virgin Callyrrhoë, but the more he loved her, the more she hated him. Oënone loved Paris, but he rejected her; they are stiffe of all sides, as if beauty were therefore created to undo, or be undone. I give her all attendance, all observance, I pray and intreat, [d] *Alma, precor miserere mei*, faire mistress pitty me, I spend my self, my time, friends and fortunes to win her favour, (as he complains in the [e] Eglogue,) I lament, sigh, weep, and make my moane to her, but she is hard as flint;

—— cautibus Ismariis immotior ——

[a] E Græco Moschi. [b] Ovid. Met. 1. [c] Pausanias Achaicis lib. 7. Perdite amabat Challyrrhoën virginem, et quanto erat Choresi amor vehementior, tanto erat puellæ animus ab ejus amore alienior. [d] Virg. 6. Æn. [e] Erasmus Egl. Galatea.

as faire and hard as a diamond, she will not respect, (*Despectus tibi sum*) or hear me.

——— fugit illa vocantem,
Nil lachrymas miserata meas, nil flexa querelis.

What shall I do?

I wooed her as a yong man should do,
But Sir, she said, I love not you.

[a] Durior at scopulis mea Cœlia, marmore, ferro,
Robore, rupe, antro, cornu, adamante, gelu.

Rock, marble, heart of oak with iron bar'd
Frost, flint or adamants are not so hard.

I give, I bribe, I send presents, but they are refused.

[b] Rusticus est Coridon, nec munera curat Alexis.

I protest, I swear, I weep;

——— [c] odioque rependit amores,
Irrisu lachrymas ———

She neglects me for all this; she derides me, contemns me, she hates me: Phillida flouts me: *Caute, feris, quercu durior Euridice*, stiffe, churlish, rocky still.

And 'tis most true, many gentlewomen are so nice, they scorn all suiters, crucifie their poor paramours; and think no body good enough for them, as dainty to please as Daphne her self.

[d] Multi illam petiere, illa aspernata petentes,
Nec quid Hymen, quid amor, quid sint connubia, curat.

Many did woo her, but she scorn'd them still,
And said she would not marry by her will.

One while they will not marry, as they say at least, (when as they intend nothing less,) another while not yet, when 'tis their only desire; they rave upon it. She will marry at last, but not him: he is a proper man indeed, and well qualified, but he wants means: another of her suiters hath good means, but he wants wit; one is too old, another too yong, too deformed, she likes not his carriage: a third too loosely given, he is rich, but base born: she will be a gentlewoman, a lady, as her sister is, as her mother is: she is all out as faire, as well brought up, hath as good a portion, and she looks for as good a match, as Matilda

[a] Angerianus Erotopægnion. [b] Virg. [c] Lœchæus. [d] Ovid. Met. 1.

or Dorinda: if not, she is resolved as yet to tarry: so apt are yong maids to boggle at every object, so soon won or lost with every toye, so quickly diverted, so hard to be pleased. In the mean time, *quot torsit amantes?* one suiter pines away, languisheth in love, *mori quot denique cogit!* another sighs and grieves, she cares not: and which [a] Stroza objected to Ariadne,

Nec magis Euriali gemitu, lacrymisque moveris,
Quam prece turbati flectitur ora sali.
Tu juvenem, quo non formosior alter in urbe,
Spernis, et insano cogis amore mori.

Is no more mov'd with those sad sighs and tears
Of her sweet-heart, then raging sea with prayers:
Thou scorn'st the fairest youth in all our city,
And mak'st him almost mad for love to dye.

They take a pride to prank up themselves, to make yong men enamored,

—— [b] captare viros et spernere captos,

to dote on them, and to run mad for their sakes,

——— [c] Sed nullis illa movetur
Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;

Whilst niggardly their favours they discover,
They love to be belov'd, yet scorn the lover.

All suit and service is too little for them, presents too base:

Tormentis gaudet amantis ——— et spoliis.

As Atalanta they must be over-run, or not won. Many yong men are as obstinate, and as curious in their choyce, as tyrannically proud, insulting, deceitful, false-hearted, as irrefragable and peevish on the other side; Narcissus like.

[d] Multi illum Juvenes, multæ petiêre puellæ,
Sed fuit in tenerâ tam dira superbia formâ,
Nulli illum juvenes, nullæ petiêre puellæ.

Yong men and maids did to him sue,
But in his youth so proud, so coy was he,
Yong men and maids bad him adiew.

Echo wept and wooed by all means above the rest; love me for pitty, or pitty me for love, but he was obstinate.

Ante ait emoriar quam sit tibi copia nostri,

he would rather dye then give consent. Psyche ran whining after Cupid,

[a] Erot. Lib. 2. [b] T. H. [c] Virg. 4. Æn. [d] Metamor. 3.

[a] Formosum tua te Psyche formosa requirit,
Et poscit te Dia Deum, puerumque puella;

Faire Cupid, thy faire Psyche to thee sues,
A lovely lass a fine yong gallant wooes;

but he rejected her nevertheless. Thus many lovers do hold out so long, doting on themselves, stand in their own light, till in the end they come to be scorned and rejected, as Stroza's Gargiliana was;

Te juvenes, te odere senes, desertaque langues,
Quæ fueras procerum publica cura prius.

Both yong and old do hate thee scorned now,
That once was all their joye and comfort too.

as Narcissus was himself,

——— Who despising many,
Died, ere he could enjoye the love of any.

They begin to be contemned themselves of others, as he was of his shadow, and take up with a poor curat, or an old serving-man at last, that might have had their choyce of right good matches in their youth; like that generous mare, in [b] Plutarch, which would admit of none but great horses; but when her tail was cut off and mane shorn close, and she now saw her self so deformed in the water, when she came to drink, *ab asino conscendi se passa*, she was contented at last to be covered by an ass. Yet this is a common humor, will not be left, and cannot be helped.

[c] Hanc volo quæ non vult, illam quæ vult ego nolo:
Vincere vult animos, non satiare Venus.

I love a maid, she loves me not: full fain
She would have me, but I not her again;
So love to crucifie mens soules is bent,
But seldom doth it please or give content.

Their love danceth in a ring, and Cupid hunts them round about; he dotes, is doted on again.

: Dumque petit petitur, pariterque accendit et ardet;

their affection cannot be reconciled. Oftentimes they may and will not; 'tis their own foolish proceedings that mars all; they are too distrustful of themselves, too soon dejected: say she be rich, thou poor: she yong, thou old: she lovely and faire, thou most illfavoured and deformed: she noble, thou base: she spruce and fine, but thou an ugly clown: *nil desperandum*, there's

[a] Fracastorius Dial. de anim. [b] Dial. am. [c] Ausonius.

hope enough yet. *Mopso Nisa datur, quid non speremus amantes?* Put thy self forward once more, as unlikely matches have been and are daily made, see what will be the event. Many leave roses and gather thistles, loath hony and love verjuice: our likings are as various as our palates. But commonly they omit opportunities, *oscula qui sumpsit*, &c. they neglect the usual means and times.

> He that will not when he may,
> When he will he shall have nay.

They look to be wooed, sought after, and sued to. Most part, they will and cannot, either for the above-named reasons, or for that there is a multitude of suiters equally enamored, doting all alike; and where one alone must speed, what shall become of the rest? Hero was beloved of many, but one did enjoye her; Penelope had a company of suiters, yet all missed of their aym. In such cases, he or they must wisely and warily unwind themselves, unsettle his affections by those rules above prescribed,

> ——— [a] quin stultos excutit ignes;

divert his cogitations, or else bravely bear it out, as Turnus did, *Tua sit Lavinia conjux*; when he could not get her, with a kind of heroical scorn he bid Æneas take her, or with a milder farewel, let her go.

> ——— Et Phillida solus habeto,

take her to you, God give you joye, sir. The fox in the emblem would eat no grapes, but why? because he could not get them: care not thou for that which may not be had.

Many such inconveniences, lets and hinderances there are, which cross their projects, and crucifie poor lovers; which sometimes may, sometimes again, cannot be so easily removed. But put case, they be reconciled all, agreed hitherto; suppose this love or good liking be betwixt two alone, both parties well pleased, there is *mutuus amor*, mutual love and great affection: yet their parents, guardians, tutors, cannot agree; thence all is dashed: the match is unequal; one rich, another poor: *durus pater*, an hard-hearted, unnatural, a covetous father will not marry his son, except he have so much mony; *ita in aurum omnes insaniunt*, as [b] Chrysostome notes; nor joyn his daughter in marriage, to save her dowry: or for that he cannot spare her for the service she doth him, and is resolved to part with nothing whilest he lives, not a penny, though he may peradventure, well give it, he will not till he dies; and then as a

[a] Ovid. Met. 9. [b] Hom. 5. in 1 epist. Thess. cap. 4. ver. 1.

pot of mony broke, it is divided amongst them that gaped after it so earnestly. Or else he wants means to set her out, he hath no mony, and though it be to the manifest prejudice of her body and soules health, he cares not; he wil take no notice of it; she must and shall tarry. Many slack and careless parents, *iniqui patres*, measure their childrens affections by their own: they are now cold and decrepit themselves, past all such youthful conceits, and they will therefore starve their childrens genius, have them *à pueris* [a] *illico nasci senes*, they must not marry, *nec earum affines esse rerum quas secum fert adolescentiá: ex suá libidine moderatur quæ est nunc, non quæ olim fuit*, as he said in the comœdy: they will stifle nature, their yong bloods must not participate of youthful pleasures, but be as they are themselves, old on a sudden. And 'tis a general fault amongst most parents in bestowing of their children; the father wholly respects wealth, when through his own folly, riot, indiscretion, he hath embeazled his estate, to recover himself, he confines and prostitutes his eldest sons love and affection to some fool, or ancient, or deformed piece for mony:

> [b] Phanaretæ ducet filiam, rufam illam virginem,
> Cæsiam, sparso ore, adunco naso ———

and though his son utterly dislike, with Clitipho in the comœdy, *Non possum, pater.* If she be rich, *Eja* (he replies) *ut elegans est, credas animum ibi esse?* he must and shall have her, she is faire enough, yong enough; if he look or hope to inherit his lands, he shall marry, not when or whom he loves, *Arconidis hujus filiam*, but whom his father commands, when and where he likes, his affection must dance attendance upon him. His daughter is in the same predicament, forsooth; as an empty boat she must carry what, where, when, and whom her father will. So that in these businesses the father is still for the best advantage. Now the mother respects good kinred; most part, the son a proper woman. All which [d] Livy exemplifies, *dec.* 1. *lib.* 4. a gentleman and a yeoman woo'd a wench in Rome (contrary to that statute that the gentry and commonalty must not match together) the matter was controverted: The gentleman was preferred by the mothers voice, *quæ quam splendidissimis nuptiis jungi puellam volebat:* the overseers stood for him that was most worth, &c. But parents ought not to be so strict in this behalfe; beauty is a dowrie of it self allsufficient. [d] *Virgo formosa, etsi oppido pauper, abunde dotata est*, [e] Rachel was so married by Jacob; and Bonaventure [f] *in* 4.

[a] Ter. [b] Ter. Heaut. Scen. ult. [c] Plebeius et nobilis ambiebant puellam, puellæ certamen in partes venit, &c. [d] Apuleius Apol. [e] Gen. 29.
[f] Non peccat venialiter qui mulierem ducit ob pulchritudinem.

sent. denies that he so much as venially sins, that marries a maid for comeliness of person. The Jews, Deut. 21. 11. if they saw amongst the captives a beautifull woman, (some small circumstances observed,) might take her to wife. They should not be too severe in that kinde, especially if there be no such urgent occasion, or grievous impediment. 'Tis good for a commonwealth. [a] Plato holds, that in their contracts *yong men should never avoid the affinity of poor folks, or seek after rich.* Poverty and base parentage may be sufficiently recompenced by many other good qualities, modesty, vertue, religion and choyce bringing up. [b] *I am poor, I confess; but am I therefore contemptible, and an abject? Love it self is naked, the Graces, the Stars; and Hercules was clad in a lions skin.* Give something to vertue, love, wisdome, favour, beauty, person; be not all for mony. Besides, you must consider that *Amor cogi non potest,* love cannot be compelled, they must affect as they may. [c] *Fatum est in partibus illis quas sinus abscondit,* as the saying is, marriage and hanging goes by destiny, matches are made in heaven.

> It lies not in our power to love or hate,
> For will in us is over-rul'd by fate.

A servant maid in [d] Aristænetus loved her mistress minion, which when her dame perceived, *furiosâ æmulatione,* in a jealous humour she dragged her about the house by the hair of the head, and vexed her sore. The wench cryed, *O* [e] *mistress, fortune hath made my body your servant, but not my soule!* Affections are free, not to be commanded. Moreover, it may be to restrain their ambition, pride and covetousness, to correct those hereditary diseases of a family, God in his just judgement assignes and permits such matches to be made. For I am of Plato and [f] Bodine's mind, that families have their bounds and periods as well as kingdomes, beyond which, for extent or continuance they shall not exceed, six or seven hundred yeers, as they there illustrate by a multitude of examples, and which Peucer and [g] Melancthon approve: but in a perpetuall tenor (as we see by many pedegrees of knights, gentlemen, yeomen) continue as they began, for many descents with little alteration. Howsoever, let them I say, give something to youth, to love. They must not think they can fancy whom

[a] Lib. 6. de leg. Ex usu reipub. est, ut in nuptiis juvenes neque pauperum affinitatem fugiant, neque divitum sectentur. [b] Philost. ep. Quoniam pauper sum, idcirco contemptior et abjectior tibi videar? Amor ipse nudus est, gratiæ et astra; Hercules pelle leoninâ indutus. [c] Juvenal. [d] Lib. 2. ep. 7. [e] Ejulans inquit, non mentem una addixit mihi fortuna servitute. [f] De repub. c. de period. rerumpub. [g] Com. in car. Chron.

they appoint; [a] *Amor enim non imperatur, affectus liber si quis alius et vices exigens,* this is a free passion, as Pliny said in a panegyrick of his, and may not be forced. Love craves liking, as the saying is; it requires mutuall affections, a correspondency: *invito non datur nec aufertur,* it may not be learned, Ovid himself cannot teach us how to love, Solomon describe, Apelles paint, or Helena expresse it. They must not therefore compell or intrude; [b] *quis enim* (as Fabius urgeth) *amare alieno animo potest?* but consider withall the miseries of enforced marriages; take pitty upon youth; and such, above the rest, as have daughters to bestowe, should be very carefull and provident to marry them in due time. Siracides *cap.* 7. *vers.* 25. calls it a *weighty matter to perform,* so to marry a daughter to a man of understanding in due time: *Virgines enim tempestive locandæ,* as [c] Lemnius admonisheth, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. Virgins must be provided for in season, to prevent many diseases, of which [d] Rodericus a Castro *de morbis mulierum lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. and Lod. Mercatus *lib.* 2. *de mulier. affect. cap.* 4. *de melanch. virginum et viduarum,* have both largely discoursed. And therefore as well to avoid these ferall maladies, 'tis good to get them husbands betimes, as to prevent some other grosse inconveniences, and, for a thing that I know besides; *ubi nuptiarum tempus et ætas advenerit,* as Chrysostome adviseth, let them not defer it; they perchance will marry themselves else, or do worse. If Nevisanus, the lawyer do not impose, they may do it by right: for as he proves out of Curtius and some other civilians, *Sylvæ, nup. lib.* 2. *numer.* 30. [e] *A maid past* 25 *yeers of age, against her parents consent may marry such a one as is unworthy of, and inferiour to her, and her father, by lawe, must be compelled to give her a competent dowrie.* Mistake me not in the mean time, or think that I do apologize here for any headstrong unruly wanton flurts. I do approve that of St. Ambrose (*comment. in Genesis* 24. 51.) which he hath written touching Rebecca's spousals. *A woman should give unto her parents the choyce of her husband,* [f] *lest she be reputed to be malapert and wanton, if she take upon her to make her own choyce;* [g] *for she should rather seem to be desired by a man, then to desire a man her self.* To those hard parents alone, I retort that of Curtius, (in the behalf of modester maids) that are

[a] Plin. in paneg. [b] Declam. 306. [c] Puellis imprimis nulla danda occasio lapsus. Lemn. lib. 1. cap. 54. de vit. instit. [d] See more part. 1. s. 3. mem. 2. subs. 4. [e] Filia excedens annum 25. potest inscio patre nubere, licet indignus sit maritus, et eum cogere ad congrue dotandum. [f] Ne appetentiæ procacioris reputetur author. [g] Expetita enim magis debet videri a viro quam ipsa virum expetisse.

too remiss and careless of their due time and riper yeers. For if they tarry longer, to say truth, they are past date, and no body will respect them. A woman with us in Italy (saith [a] Aretine's Lucretia) 24 yeers of age, *is old already, past the best, of no account.* An old fellow, as Lycistrata confesseth in [b] Aristophanes, *etsi sit canus, cito puellam virginem ducat uxorem*, and tis no newes for an old fellow to marry a yong wench: but as he follows it, *mulieris brevis occasio est, etsi hoc non apprehenderit, nemo vult ducere uxorem, expectans vero sedet;* who cares for an old maid? she may set, &c. A virgin, as the poet holds, *lasciva et petulans puella virgo*, is like a flowre, a rose withered on a sudden.

[c] Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum.

She that was erst a maid as fresh as May,
Is now an old crone, time so steales away.

Let them take time then, while they may; make advantage of youth, and as he prescribes,

[d] Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et nova pubes,
Et memor esto ævum sic properare tuum;

Faire maids, go gather roses in the prime,
And think that as a flowre, so goes on time.

Let's all love, *dum vires annique sinunt*, whiles we are in the flowre of yeers, fit for love matters, and while time serves: for

[e] Soles occidere et redire possunt:
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetuo una dormienda.

[f] Suns that set may rise again;
But if once we lose this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night.

Volat irrevocabile tempus, time past cannot be recal'd. But we need no such exhortation, we are all commonly too forward: yet if there be any escape, and all be not as it should, as Diogenes struck the father when the son swore, because he taught him no better, if a maid or yong man miscarry, I think their parents oftentimes, guardians, overseers, governours *neque vos* (saith [g] Chrysostome) *a supplicio immunes evadetis,*

[a] Mulier apud nos 24. annorum, vetula est et projectitia. [b] Comœd. Lycistrat. And. Divo. Interpr. [c] Ausonius Edyl. 14. [d] Idem. [e] Catullus.
[f] Translated by M. B. Johnson. [g] Hom. 5. in 1 Thes. cap. 4. 1.

si non statim ad nuptias, &c. are in as much fault, and as severely to be punished, as their children, in providing for them no sooner.

Now for such as have free liberty to bestow themselves, I could wish that good counsell of the comicall old man were put in practice:

[a] Opulentiores pauperiorum ut filias
Indotatas ducant uxores domum:
Et multo fiet civitas concordior,
Et invidiâ nos minore utemur, quam utimur.

That rich men would marry poor maidens some,
And that without dowrie, and so bring them home:
So would much concord be in our city,
Less envy should we have, much more pitty.

If they would care less for wealth, we should have much more content and quietness in a common-wealth. Beauty, good bringing-up, me thinks, is a sufficient portion of it self,

——— [b] Dos est sua forma puellis,

and he doth well that will accept of such a wife. Eubulides, in [c] Aristænetus, married a poor mans child, *facie non illætabili*, of a merry countenance, and heavenly visage, in pitty of her estate, and that quickly. Acontius coming to Delos, to sacrifice to Diana, fell in love with Cydippe, a noble lass; and wanting means to get her love, flung a golden apple into her lap with this inscription upon it;

Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Dianæ,
Me tibi venturum comitem, sponsumque futurum.

I swear by all the rites of Diana,
I'll come and be thy husband, if I may.

She considered of it, and upon some small enquiry of his person and estate, was married unto him.

Blessed is the wooing,
That is not long a doing,

As the saying is; when the parties are sufficiently known to each other, what needs such scrupulosity, so many circumstances? dost thou know her conditions, her bringing up, like her person? let her meanes be what they will, take her without any more ado. [d] Dido and Æneas were accidentally driven by a storm both into one cave, they made a match upon it;

[a] Plautus. [b] Ovid. [c] Epist. 12. l. 2. Eligit conjugem pauperem, indotatam et subito deamavit, ex commiseratione ejus inopiæ. [d] Virg. Æn.

Masinissa was married to that fair captive Sophonisba, king Scyphax wife, the same day that he saw her first, to prevent Scipio and Lælius, least they should determine otherwise of her. If thou lovest the party, doe as much: good education and beauty is a competent dowrie, stand not upon mony. *Erant olim aurei homines* (saith Theocritus) *et adamantes redamabant*, in the golden world men did so, (in the raign of [a] Ogyges, belike, before staggering Ninus began to domineere) if all be true that is reported: and some few now a dayes will do as much, here and there one; 'tis well done me thinkes, and all happiness befall them for so doing. [b] Leontius, a philosopher of Athens, had a faire daughter called Athenais, *multo corporis lepóre ac Venere*, (saith mine authour) of a comely carriage, he gave her no portion but her bringing up, *occulto formæ præsagio*, out of some secret fore-knowledge of her fortune, bestowing that little which he had, amongst his other children. But she thus qualified, was preferred by some friends to Constantinople to serve Pulcheria, the Emperours sister, of whom she was baptized and called Eudocia. Theodosius the Emperour, in short space, took notice of her excellent beauty and good parts, and a little after, upon his sisters sole commendation made her his wife: 'Twas nobly done of Theodosius. [c] Rodophe was the fairest lady in her dayes in all Ægypt; she went to wash her, and by chance (her maides mean while looking but carelessly to her cloathes) an eagle stole away one of her shooes, and laid it in Psammeticus, the king of Ægypt's lap, at Memphis: he wondred at the excellency of the shooe and pretty foot, but more *aquilæ factum*, at the manner of the bringing of it; and caused forthwith proclamation to be made, that she that owned that shooe, should come presently to his court; the virgin came, and was forthwith married to the king. I say this was heroically done, and like a prince: I commend him for it, and all such as have meanes, that will either doe (as he did) themselves, or so for love, &c. marry their children. If he be rich, let him take such a one as wants, if she be vertuously given; for as Siracides *cap.* 7. *ver.* 19. adviseth, *Foregoe not a wise and good woman; for her grace is above gold.* If she have fortunes of her own, let her make a man. Danaus of Lacedæmon had a many daughters to bestow, and meanes

[a] Fabius pictor. Amor ipse conjunxit populos, &c. [b] Lipsius polit. Sebast. Mayer. Select. Sect. 1. cap. 13. [c] Mayerus select. Sect. 1. c. 14. et Ælian. l. 13. c. 33. Cum famulæ lavantis vestes incuriosius custodirent, &c. mandavit per universam Ægyptum ut fœmina quæreretur, cujus is calceus esset; eamque sic inventam in matrimonium accepit.

enough for them all; he never stood enquiring after great matches, as others used to do, but [a] sent for a company of brave young gallants home to his house, and bid his daughters choose every one one, whom she liked best, and take him for her husband, without any more ado. This act of his was much approved in those times. Aye, but in this iron age of ours, we respect riches alone, (for a maid must buy her husband now, with a great dowrie if she will have him:) covetousness and filthy lucre marres all good matches, or some such by-respects. Crales, a Servian prince, (as Nicephorus Gregoras *Rom. Hist. lib.* 6. relates it,) was an earnest suiter to Eudocia the emperours sister; though her brother much desired it, yet she could not [b] abide him; for he had three former wives, all basely abused. But the emperour still, *Cralis amicitiam magni faciens*, because he was a great prince and a troublesom neighbour, much desired his affinity, and to that end betrothed his own daughter Simonida to him, a little girle five yeers of age (he being fourty five,) and five [c] yeers elder then the emperour himself. Such disproportionable and unlikely matches, can wealth and a faire fortune make. And yet not that alone, it is not only mony, but sometime vainglory, pride, ambition do as much harm as wretched covetousness it self, in another extream. If a yeoman have one sole daughter, he must over-match her, above her birth and calling, to a gentleman, forsooth, because of her great portion, too good for one of her own rank, as he supposeth. A gentlemans daughter and heir must be married to a knight barronets eldest son at least; and a knights only daughter to a baron himself, or an earl, and so upwards, her great dowre deserves it. And thus striving for more honour to their wealth, they undo their children, many discontents follow, and oftentimes they ruinate their families. [d] Paulus Jovius gives instance, in Galeatius the second, that heroical duke of Millan, *externas affinitates, decoras quidem regio fastu, sed sibi et posteris damnosas et fere exitiales quæsivit*; he married his eldest son John Galeatius to Isabella the king of France his sister; but she was *socero tam gravis, ut ducentis millibus aureorum constiterit*, her entertainment at Millan was so costly that it almost undid him. His daughter Violanta was married to Lionel Duke of Clarence, the yongest son to Edward the third king of England: but, *ad ejus adventum, tantæ opes tam admirabili liberalitate profusæ sunt, ut opu-*

[a] Pausanias lib. 3. de Laconicis. Dimisit qui nunciarunt, &c. optionem puellis dedit, ut earum quælibet eum sibi virum deligeret, cujus maxime esset forma complacita.
[b] Illius conjugium abominabatur. [c] Socero quinque circiter annos natu major.
[d] Vit. Galeat. secundi.

lentissimorum regum splendorem superasse videretur, he was welcomed with such incredible magnificence, that a kings purse was scarse able to bear it; for besides many rich presents of horses, arms, plate, mony, jewels, &c. he made one dinner for him and his company, in which were thirty two messes, and as much provision left, *ut relatæ a mensa dapes decem millibus hominum sufficerent*, as would serve ten thousand men. But a little after, Lionel died, *novæ nuptæ et intempestivis conviviis operam dans*, &c. and to the Dukes great loss, the solemnity was ended. So can titles, honours, ambition, make many brave, but infortunate matches, of all sides for by-respects, (though both crased in body and minde, most unwilling, averse, and often unfit,) so love is banished, and we feel the smart of it in the end. But I am too lavish peradventure in this subject.

Another let or hinderance is strict and severe discipline, lawes and rigorous customes that forbid men to marry at set times, and in some places; as prentises, servants, collegiats, states of lives in coppy holds, or in some base inferior offices. [a] *Velle licet* in such cases, *potiri non licet*, as he said. They see but as prisoners through a grate, they covet and catch, but, *Tantalus a labris*, &c. Their love is lost, and vain it is in such an estate to attempt. [b] *Gravissimum est adamare nec potiri*, 'tis a grievous thing to love and not enjoye. They may indeed, I denye not, marry if they will, and have free choyce some of them; but in the mean time, their case is desperate, *Lupum auribus tenent*, they hold a wolfe by the ears, they must either burn or starve. 'Tis *cornutum sophisma*, hard to resolve. If they marry, they forfeit their estates, they are undone, and starve themselves through beggery and want: if they do not marry, in this heroical passion, they furiously rage, are tormented, and torn in pieces by their predominate affections. Every man hath not the gift of continence, let him [c] pray for it then, as Beza adviseth, in his Tract *de Divortiis*, because God hath so called him to a single life, in taking away the means of marriage. [d] Paul would have gone from Mysia to Bythinia, but the spirit suffered him not; and thou wouldest, peradventure, be a married man with all thy will, but that protecting angel holds it not fit. The divel too sometimes, may divert by his ill suggestions, and marre many good matches; as the same [e] Paul was willing to see the Romans, but hindred of Satan, he could not. There be those, that think they are

[a] Apulelus in Catel. Nobis cupido velle dat, posse abnegat. [b] Anacreon 56.
[c] Continentiæ donum ex fide postulet, quia certum sit eum vocari ad cœlibatum cui domis, &c. [d] Act. 16. 7. [e] Rom. 1. 13.

necessitated by fate; their stars have so decreed; and therefore, they grumble at their hard fortune, they are well inclined to marry, but one rub or other is ever in the way. I know what astrologers say in this behalfe, what Ptolomy *quadripartit. Tract.* 4. *cap.* 4. Skoner *lib.* 1. *cap.* 12. what Leovitius *genitur. exempl.* 1. which Sextus ab Heminga takes to be the horoscope of Hieronymus Wolfius; what Pezelius, Origanaus and Leovitius his illustrator Garceus *cap.* 12. what Junctine, Protanus, Campanella; what the rest (to omit those Arabian conjectures *a parte conjugii, a parte lasciviæ, triplicitates veneris, &c.* and those resolutions upon a question, *an amicâ potiatur, &c.*) determine in this behalfe, *viz. an sit natus conjugem habiturus; facile an difficulter sit sponsam impetraturus; quot conjuges, quo tempore, quales decernantur nato uxores, de mutuo amore conjugum* both in mens and womens genitures, by the examination of the seventh house the Almutens, lords and planets there, *a* ☾[d] *et* ☉[a] *&c.* by particular aphorismes, *Si dominus* 7[mæ] *in* 7ma *vel secundâ nobilem decernit uxorem; servam aut ignobilem si duodecimâ. Si Venus in* 12ma *&c.* with many such, too tedious to relate. Yet let no man be troubled, or finde himself grieved with such prædictions, as Hier. Wolfius well saith, in his astrologicall [a] dialogue, *non sunt prætoriana decreta*, they be but conjectures; the stars incline, but not enforce.

Sydera corporibus præsunt cœlestia nostris,
Sunt ea de vili condita namque luto:
Cogere sed nequeunt animum ratione fruentem,
Quippe sub imperio solius ipse Dei est.

wisdome, diligence, discretion, may mitigate, if not quite alter, such decrees: *Fortuna sua a cujusque fingitur moribus;* [b] *Qui cauti, prudentes, voti compotes, &c.* let no man then be terrified or molested with such astrological aphorismes; or be much moved, either to vain hope or fear, from such predictions, but let every man follow his own free will in this case, and do as he sees cause. Better it is indeed to marry then burn, for their souls health; but, for their present fortunes, by some other means to pacifie themselves, and divert the stream of this fiery torrent, to continue as they are, [c] rest satisfied; *lugentes virginitatis florem sic aruisse;* deploring their misery with that eunuch in Libanius, since there is no helpe or remedy; and with Jephthe's daughter to bewaile their virginities.

Of like nature is superstition; those rash vowes of monkes

[a] Præfix. gen. Leovitii. [b] Idem Wolfius dial. [c] That is, make the best of it, and take his lot as it falls.

and friers and such as live in religious orders, but far more tyrannical and much worse. Nature, youth, and his furious passion forcibly inclines, and rageth on the one side: but their order and vow checks them on the other.

[a] Votoque suo sua forma repugnat.

What merits and indulgences they heap unto themselves by it, what commodities, I know not; but I am sure, from such rash vowes, and inhumane manner of life, proceed many inconveniences, many diseases, many vices, mastupration, satyriasis, [b] priapismus, melancholy, madness, fornication, adultery, buggery, sodomy, theft, murther, and all manner of mischiefes. Read but Bale's Catalogue of Sodomites, at the visitation of abbies here in England; Henry Stephen his apol. for Herodotus; that which Ulricus writes in one of his epistles, [c] *that Pope Gregory, when he saw* 6000 *skuls and bones of infants taken out of a fishpond near a nunnery, thereupon retracted that decree of priests marriages, which was the cause of such a slaughter; was much grieved at it, and purged himself by repentance.* Read many such, and then ask what is to be done; is this vow to be broke or not? No, saith Bellarmine, *cap.* 38. *lib. de Monach. melius est scortari et uri quam de voto cœlibatus ad nuptias transire,* better burne or fly out, then to break thy vow. And Coster *in his Enchirid. de cœlibat. sacerdotum,* saith, it is absolutely *gravius peccatum,* [d] *a greater sin for a priest to marry, then to keep a concubine at home.* Gregory de Valence, *cap.* 6. *de cœlibat.* maintaines the same, as those Essei and Montanists of old. Insomuch that many votaries, out of a false perswasion of merit and holiness in this kinde, will sooner dye then marry, though it be to the saving of their lives. [e] Anno 1419. Pius 2. pope, James Rossa, nephew to the king of Portugal, and then elect archbishop of Lisbone, being very sick at Florence, [f] *when his physicians told him, that his disease was such, he must either lye with a wench, marry, or dye, cheerfully chose to dye.* Now they commended him for it: But S[t]. Paul teacheth otherwise, *Better marry then burne;* and as S[t]. Hierome gravely delivers it, *Aliæ sunt leges Cæsarum, aliæ Christi, aliud Papinianus,*

[a] Ovid. I. met. [b] Mercurialis de Priapismo. [c] Memorabile quod Ulricus epistolâ refert, Gregorium, quum ex piscinâ quâdam, allata plus quam sex mille infantum capita vidisset, ingemuisse, et decretum de cœlibatu, tantam cædis causam confessus condigno illud pœnitentiæ fructu purgasse. Kemnisius ex concil. Trident. part. 3. de cœlibatu sacerdotum. [d] Si nubat, quam si domi concubinam alat. [e] Alphonsus Cicaonius lib. de gest. pontificum. [f] Cum medici suaderent ut aut nuberet, aut coitu uteretur, sic mortem vitari posse, mortem potius intrepidus expectavit, &c.

aliud Paulus noster præcipit, there's a difference betwixt Gods ordinances, and mens lawes: and therefore, Cyprian Epist. 8. boldly denounceth, *impium est, adulterum est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore statuitur, ut dispositio divina violetur*, it is abominable, impious, adulterous, and sacrilegious, what men make and ordaine after their own furies, to cross Gods lawes. [a] Georgius Wicelius one of their own arch divines (*Inspect. eccles. pag.* 18.) exclaimes against it, and all such rash monasticall vowes; and would have such persons seriously to consider what they doe, whom they admit, *ne in posterum querantur de inanibus stupris*, lest they repent it at last. For either, as he follows it, [b] you must allow them concubines, or suffer them to marry; for scarse shall you finde three priests of three thousand, *qui per ætatem non ament*, that are not troubled with burning lust. Wherefore I conclude, It is an unnatural and impious thing, to bar men of this christian liberty, too severe and inhumane an edict.

[c] The silly wren, the titmouse also,
The little redbrest have their election,
They fly I saw and together gone,
Whereas hem list, about environ
As they of kinde have inclination,
And as nature impress and guide,
Of every thing list to provide.

But man alone, alas the hard stond,
Full cruelly by kinds ordinance
Constrained is, and by statutes bound,
And debarred from all such pleasance:
What meaneth this, what is this pretence
Of lawes, I wis, against all right of kinde,
Without a cause, so narrow men to binde.

Many lay-men repine still at priests marriages above the rest, and not at cleargy men onely, but all of the meaner sort and condition; they would have none marry, but such as are rich and able to maintain wives, because their parish, belike, shall be pestered with orphanes, and the world full of beggers: but [d] these are hard-hearted, unnatural, monsters of men, shallow polititians, they do not [e] consider that a great part of the world is not yet inhabited as it ought. How many colonies into America, Terra Australis incognita, Africa, may be sent? Let them consult with Sr William Alexander's book of colonies,

[a] Epist. 30. [b] Vide vitam ejus edit. 1623. by D. T. James. [c] Lidgate in Chaucer's flower of curtesie. [d] 'Tis not multitude but idlenesse which causeth beggery. [e] Or to set them awork, and bring them up in some honest trades.

Orpheus Junior's Golden Fleece, Captain Whitburne, Mr. Hagthorp, &c. and they shall surely be otherwise informed. Those politique Romans were of another minde; they thought their city and country could never be too populous. [a] Adrian the emperour said he had rather have men then mony, *malle se hominum adjectione ampliare imperium, quam pecuniâ*; Augustus Cæsar made an oration in Rome *ad cœlibes*, to perswade them to marry. Some countries compelled them to marry of old, as [b] Jewes, Turkes, Indians, Chinese, amongst the rest in these dayes, who much wonder at our discipline to suffer so many idle persons to live in monasteries, and often marvel how they can live honest. [c] In the isle of Maragnan, the governour and petty king there, did wonder at the Frenchmen, and admire how so many friers, and the rest of their company could live without wives; they thought it a thing unpossible, and would not believe it. If these men should but survey our multitudes of religious houses, observe our numbers of monasteries all over Europe; 18 nunneries in Padua; in Venice 31 cloisters of monkes, 28 of nunnes, &c. *ex ungue leonem*, 'tis to this proportion, in all other provinces and cities, what! would they think, do they live honest? Let them dissemble as they will, I am of Tertullian's minde, that few can continue but by compulsion. [d] *O chastity* (saith he) *thou art a rare goddess in the world, not so easily got, seldom continuate: Thou maist now and then be compeld either for defect of nature, or if discipline perswade, decrees enforce:* or for some such by-respects, sullennesse, discontent, they have lost their first loves, may not have whom they will themselves, want of meanes, rash vowes, &c. But can he willingly containe? I thinke not. Therefore, either out of commiseration of humane imbecillity, in policy, or to prevent a far worse inconvenience, for they hold it, some of them, as necessary as meat and drink: and because vigour of youth, the state and temper of most mens bodies do so furiously desire it, they have heretofore, in some nations, liberally admitted polygamy and stewes, an hundred thousand curtisans in grand Cairo in Ægypt, as [e] Radzivilus observes, are tolerated, besides boyes: how many at Fessa, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, &c. and still, in many other provinces and cities of Europe, they do as much, because they think yong men, churchmen, and servants amongst the rest, can

[a] Dion. Cassius lib. 56. [b] Sardus. Buxtorfius. [c] Claude Albaville in his hist. of the Frenchmen to the Isle of Maragnan, An. 1614. [d] Rara quidem Dea tu es, O Castitas, in his terris! nec facile perfecta, rarius perpetua, cogi nonnunquam potest, ob naturæ defectum, vel si disciplina pervaserit, censura compresserit. [e] Peregrin. Hierosol.

hardly live honest. The consideration of this, belike, made Vibius the Spaniard, when his friend [a] Crassus, that rich Roman gallant, lay hid in the cave, *ut voluptatis quam ætas illa desiderat copiam facerat*, to gratify him the more, send two [b] lusty lasses to accompany him, all that while he was there imprisoned. And Surenus, the Parthian general, when he warred against the Romans, to carry about with him 200 concubines, as the Swisse souldiers do now (commonly) their wives. But because this course is not generally approved, but rather contradicted as unlawful and abhorred, [c] in most countries they doe much encourage them to marriage; give great rewards to such as have many children, and mulct those that will not marry; *Jus trium liberorum;* and in Agellius, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 15. Ælian. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 5. Valerius, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. [d] we read, that three children freed the father from painful offices; and five from all contribution. *A woman shall be saved by bearing children.* Epictetus would have all marry, and as [e] Plato will, 6 *de legibus*, he that marrieth not before 35 yeers of age, must be compelled and punished, and the mony consecrated to Juno's temple, or applied to publique uses. They account him, in some countries, unfortunate that dies without a wife, a most unhappy man, as [f] Boetius inferres; and if at all happy, yet *infortunio felix*, unhappy in his supposed happiness. [g] They commonly deplore his estate, and much lament him for it: O my sweet son, &c. See *Lucian de luctu; Sands fol.* 83, &c.

Yet notwithstanding, many with us are of the opposite part, they are married themselves, and for others let them burne, fire and flame, they care not, so they be not troubled with them. Some are too curious, and some too covetous; they may marry when they will, both for ability and meanes; but so nice, that except, as Theophilus the emperour was presented by his mother Euphrosune, with all the rarest beauties of the empire, in the great chamber of his palace, at once, and bid to give a golden apple to her he liked best. If they might so take and choose whom they list, out of all the faire maids their nation affords, they could happly condescend to marry: otherwise, &c. why should a man marry, saith another epicurean rout, what's matrimony but a matter of mony; why should free nature be entrenched on, confined or obliged, to this or that man or woman, with these manicles of body and goods? &c. There are those too, that dearly love, admire and follow women all their

[a] Plutarch. vita ejus; Adolescentiæ medio constitutus. [b] Ancillas duas egregiâ formâ et ætatis flore. [c] Alex. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 8. [d] Tres filii patrem ab excubiis, quinque ab omnibus officiis liberabant. [e] Præcepto primo, cogatur nubere aut mulctator, et pecunia templo Junonis dedicetur et publica fiat. [f] Consol. 3. pros. 7. [g] Nic Hill. Epic. philos.

lives long, *sponsi Penelopes*, never well but in their companies, wistly gazing on their beauties, observing close, hanging after them, dallying still with them, and yet dare not, will not marry. Many poor people, and of the meaner sort, are too distrustful of God's providence; *they will not marry, dare not, for such worldly respects*, fear of want, woes, miseries, or that they shall light, as [a] Lemnius saith, *on a scolde, a slut, or a bad wife.* And therefore, [b] *Tristem Juventam Venere desertâ colunt*, they are resolved to live single, as [c] Epaminondas did.

> [d] Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cœlibe vitâ;

and ready with Hippolitus, to abjure all women. [e] *Detestor omnes, horreo, fugio, execror, &c.* But,

> Hippolite, nescis quod fugis vitæ bonum,
> Hippolite, nescis ———

alas, poor Hippolitus, thou knowest not what thou saiest; 'tis otherwise, Hippolitus. [f] Some make a doubt, *an uxor literato sit ducenda*, whether a scholler should marry; if she be faire, she will bring him back from his grammer to his horne-book; or else, with kissing and dalliance she will hinder his study; if foule, with scolding; he cannot well intend to both, as Philippus Beroaldus, that great Bononian doctor once writ, *impediri enim studia literarum, &c.* but he recanted at last, and in a solemn sort, with true conceived words, he did ask the world and all women, forgiveness. But you shall have the story as he relates himself, in his Commentaries on the sixt of Apuleius. For a long time I lived a single life, *et ab uxore ducenda semper abhorrui, nec quicquam libero lecto censui jucundius*; I could not abide marriage; but as a rambler, *erraticus ac volaticus amator* (to use his own words) *per multiplices amores discurrebam*; I took a snatch where I could get it; nay more, I railed at marriage down right, and in a publique auditory, when I did interpret that sixt Satyre of Juvenal, out of Plutarch and Seneca, I did heap up all the dicteries I could, against women: but now recant with Stesichorus, *Palinodiam cano, nec pœnitet censeri in ordine maritorum*; I approve of marriage, I am glad I am a [g] married man, I am heartily glad I have a wife, so sweet a wife, so noble a wife, so yong, so chast a wife, so loving a wife, and I do wish and desire all

[a] Qui se capistro matrimonii alligari non patiuntur. Lemn. l. 4. 13. de occult. nat. Abhorrent multi a matrimonio, ne morosam, querulam, acerbam, amaram uxorem perferre cogantur. [b] Senec. Hippol. [c] Cœlebs enim vixerat, nec ad uxorem ducendam unquam induci potuit. [d] Senec. Hippol. [e] Hor. [f] Æneas Silvius de dictis Sigismundi. Heinsius. Primiero. [g] Habeo uxorem ex animi sententiâ, Camillam Paleotii Jurisconsulti filiam.

other men to marry; and especially schollers: that as of old, Martia did by Hortensius, Terentia by Tullus, Calphurnia to Plinius, Pudentilla to Apuleius, [a] hold the candle whilst their husbands did meditate and write, so theirs may do to them, and as my dear Camilla doth to me. Let other men be averse; raile then and scoffe at women, and say what they can to the contrary, *vir sine uxore malorum expers est, &c.* a single man is a happy man, but this is a toye.

[b] Nec dulces amores sperne, puer, neque tu choreas:

these men are too distrustful and much to blame, to use such speeches;

[c] Parcite paucorum diffundere crimen in omnes.

They must not condemne all for some. As there be some bad, there be many good wives; as some be vitious, some be vertuous: read what Salomon hath said in their praises, Prov. 31. and Siracides, *cap.* 26. & 36. *Blessed is the man that hath a vertuous wife, for the number of his dayes shall be double. A vertuous woman rejoyceth her husband, and he shall fulfil the yeares of his life in peace. A good wife is a good portion* (36. 24.) *an helpe, a pillar of rest, columna quietis.*

[d] Qui capit uxorem, fratrem capit atque sororem.

And 25, *He that hath no wife, wandereth to and fro, mourning. Minuuntur atræ conjuge curæ;* women are the sole, only joye, and comfort of a mans life; born *ad usum et lusum hominum. Firmamenta familiæ;*

[e] Deliciæ humani generis, solatia vitæ,
Blanditiæ noctis, placidissima cura diei,
Vota virûm, juvenum spes, &c.

[f] *A wife is a yong mans mistress, a middle ages companion, an old mans nurse: Particeps lætorum et tristium,* a prop, an helpe, &c.

[g] Optima viri possessio est uxor benevola,
Mitigans iram et avertens animam ejus a tristitiâ.

Mans best possession is a loving wife,
She tempers anger and diverts all strife.

There is no joye, no comfort, no sweetness, no pleasure in the world like to that of a good wife.

Quam cum chara domi conjux, fidusque maritus
Unanimes degunt——

[a] Legentibus et meditantibus, Candelas et Candelabrum tenuerunt. [b] Hor. [c] Ovid. [d] Apuranius. [e] Lœchæus. [f] Bacon's Essaies. [g] Euripides.

saith our Latin Homer. She is stil the same in sickness and in health; his eye, his hand, his bosome friend, his partner at all times, his other self, not to be separated by any calamity, but ready to share all sorrow, discontent; and as the Indian women doe, live and dye with him, nay more, to dye presently for him. Admetus, king of Thessaly, when he lay upon his death bed, was told by Apollo's oracle, that if he could get any body to dye for him, he should live longer yet; but, when all refused, his parents, *etsi decrepiti*, friends and followers forsook him, Alceste, his wife, though yong, most willingly undertook it; what more can be desired or expected? And although on the other side, there be an infinite number of bad husbands (I should rail downright against some of them) able to dicourage any woman, yet there be some good ones again, and those most observant of marriage rites. An honest country fellow (as Fulgosus relates it) in the kingdom of Naples, [a] at plough by the sea side, saw his wife carried away by Mauritanian pirats; he ran after in all haste, up to the chin first, and when he could wade no longer, swam, calling to the governour of the ship to deliver his wife, or if he must not have her restored, to let him follow as a prisoner; for he was resolved to be a gally slave, his drudg, willing to endure any misery, so that he might but enjoye his dear wife. The Moors seeing the mans constancy, and relating the whole matter to their governour at Tunis, set them both free, and gave them an honest pension to maintain themselves during their lives. I could tell many stories to this effect; but put case it often prove otherwise, because marriage is troublesom, wholly therefore to avoid it, is no argument; [b] *He that will avoid trouble must avoid the world.* (Eusebius *præpar. Evang.* 5. *cap.* 50.) Some trouble there is in marriage, I deny not. *Etsi grave sit matrimonium*, saith Erasmus, *edulcatur tamen multis*, &c. yet there be many things [c] to sweeten it; a pleasant wife, *placens uxor*; pretty children, *dulces nati*; *deliciæ filiorum hominum*; the chiefe delight of the sons of men, Ecclus. 26. &c. And though it were all troubles, [d] *utilitatis publicæ causâ devorandum, grave quid libenter subeundum*, it must willingly be undergon for publique goods sake.

> [e] Audite (populus) hæc, inquit Susarion,
> Malæ sunt mulieres, veruntamen O populares,
> Hoc sine malo, domum inhabitare non licet.

[a] Cum juxta mare agrum coleret, omnis enim miseriæ immemorem conjugalis amor eum fecerat. Non sine ingenti admiratione, tantâ hominis caritate motus rex liberos esse jussit, &c. [b] Qui vult vitare molestias vitet mundum. [c] Τίς βίος τίς ἡδονὴ ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης; Quid vita est, quæso, quidve esse sine Cypride dulce? Mimner. [d] Erasmus. [e] E Stobæo.

Hear me, O my country men, saith Susarion,
Women are naught, yet no life without one.

[a] Malum est mulier, sed necessarium malum.

they are necessary evils, and for our own ends we must make use of them to have issue. [b] *Supplet Venus ac restituit humanum genus;* and to propagate the church. For to what end is a man born? why lives he, but to increase the world? and how shall he do that well, if he do not marry? *Matrimonium humano generi immortalitatem tribuit*, saith Nevisanus, matrimony makes us immortal; and according to [c] Tacitus, 'tis *firmissimum imperii munimentum*, the sole and chief prop of an empire.

[d] Indigne vivit per quem non vivit et alter,

which Pelopidas objected to Epaminondas, he was an unworthy member of the common-wealth, that left not a childe after him to defend it. And as [f] Trismegistus to his son Tatius, *have no commerce with a single man:* Holding (belike) that a batchelor could not live honestly as he should; and with Georgius Wicelius, a great divine and holy man, who of late by twenty six arguments commends marriage as a thing most necessary for all kinde of persons, most laudable and fit to be embraced: and is perswaded withall, that no man can live and dye religiously, and as he ought, without a wife; *persuasus neminem posse neque pie vivere, neque bene mori citra uxorem.* He is false, an enemy to the common-wealth, injurious to himself, destructive to the world, an apostate to nature, a rebell against heaven and earth. Let our wilful, obstinate, and stale bachelors ruminate of this. *If we could live without wives,* as Marcellus Numidicus said in [g] Agellius, *we would all want them; but because we cannot, let all marry, and consult rather to the publique good, then their own private pleasure or estate.* It were an happy thing, as wise [h] Euripides hath it, if we could buy children with gold and silver, and be so provided, *sine mulierum congressu*, without womens company, but that may not be.

[i] Orbis jacebit squallido turpis situ,
Vanum sine ullis classibus stabit mare,
Alesque cœlo deerit, et sylvis fera.

[a] Menander. [b] Seneca Hip. lib. 3. num. 1. [c] Hist. lib. 4. [d] Palingenius. [e] Bruson. lib. 7. cap. 23. [f] Noli societatem habere, &c. [g] Lib. 1. cap. 6. Si, inquit, Quirites, sine uxore esse possemus, omnes careremus; sed quoniam sic est, saluti potius publicæ quam voluptati consulendum. [h] Beatum foret si liberos auro et argento mercari, &c. [i] Seneca. Hip.

Earth, ayr, sea, land eftsoon would come to nought,
The world it self should be to ruine brought.

necessity therefore compels us to marry.

But what do I trouble my self, to finde arguments to perswade to, or commend marriage? behold a brief abstract of all that which I have said, and much more, succinctly, pithily, pathetically, perspicuously, and elegantly delivered in twelve motions to mitigate the miseries of marriage, by [a] Jacobus de Voragine.

1 *Res est? habes quæ tueatur et augeat.*
2 *Non est? habes quæ quærat.*
3 *Secundæ res sunt? felicitas duplicatur.*
4 *Adversæ sunt? Consolâtur, adsidet, onus participat ut tolerabile fiat.*
5 *Domi es? solitudinis tædium pellit.*
6 *Foras? Discedentem visu prosequitur, absentem desiderat, redeuntem læta excipit.*
7 *Nihil jucundum absque societate; nulla societas matrimonio suavior.*
8 *Vinculum conjugalis caritatis adamantinum.*
9 *Accrescit dulcis affinium turba; duplicatur numerus parentum, fratrum, sororum, nepotum.*
10 *Pulchrâ sis prole parens.*
11 *Lex Mosis sterilitatem matrimonii execratur, quanto amplius cœlibatum?*
12 *Si natura pœnam non effugit, ne voluntas quidem effugiet.*

1 Hast thou meanes? thou hast one to keep and increase it.
2 Hast none? thou hast one to helpe to get it.
3 Art in prosperity? thine happiness is doubled.
4 Art in adversity? shee'l comfort, assist, bear a part of thy burden to make it more tolerable.
5 Art at home? shee'l drive away melancholy.
6 Art abroad? shee lookes after thee going from home, wishes for thee in thine absence, and joyfully welcomes thy returne.
7 There's nothing delightsome without society; no society so sweet as matrimony.
8 The band of conjugal love is adamantine.
9 The sweet company of kinsmen increaseth, the number of parents is doubled, of brothers, sisters, nephews.
10 Thou art made a father by a faire and happy issue.
11 Moses curseth the barrenness of matrimony, how much more a single life?

[a] Gen. 2. Adjutorium simile, &c.

12 If Nature escape not punishment, surely thy *will* shall not avoid it.

All this is true, say you, and who knowes it not? but how easy a matter is it to answer these motives, and to make an *anti-parodia* quite opposite unto it? To exercise myself, I will essay.

1 Hast thou meanes? thou hast one to spend it.
2 Hast none? thy beggery is increased.
3 Art in prosperity? thy happiness is ended.
4 Art in adversity? like Job's wife shee'l aggravate thy misery; vexe thy soule; make thy burden intollerable.
5 Art at home? shee'l scold thee out of doores.
6 Art abroad? if thou be wise keep thee so; shee'l perhaps graft hornes in thine absence; scowle on thee coming home.
7 Nothing gives more content then solitariness; no solitariness like this of a single life.
8 The band of marriage is adamantine; no hope of loosing it; thou art undone.
9 Thy number increaseth, thou shalt be devoured by thy wives friends.
10 Thou art made a cornuto by an unchast wife; and shalt bring up other folkes children in stead of thine owne.
11 Paul commends marriage, yet he preferres a single life.
12 Is marriage honourable? What an immortall crown belongs to virginity?

So Siracides himself, speaks as much as may be, for and against women; so doth almost every philosopher plead *pro* and *con*; every poet thus argues the case (though what cares *vulgus hominum* what they say?) so can I conceive, peradventure, and so canst thou. When all is said, yet since some be good, some bad, let's put it to the venture. I conclude therefore with Seneca.

——— cur Toro viduo jaces?
Tristem juventam solve: nunc luxus rape,
Effunde habenas, optimos vitæ dies
Effluere prohibe.

Why dost thou lye alone, let thy youth and best dayes to passe away? Marry whilst thou maist, *donec virenti canities abest morosa*, whilest thou art yet able, yet lusty,

[a] Elige cui dicas, tu mihi sola places,

[a] Ovid.

make thy choyce, and that freely, forthwith, make no delay, but take thy fortune as it falls. 'Tis true,

[a] —— calamitosus est qui inciderit
In malam uxorem, felix qui in bonam.

'Tis an hazard both wayes I confess, to live single or to marry;

[b] Nam et uxorem ducere et non ducere, malum est;

it may be bad, it may be good; as it is a cross and calamity on the one side, so 'tis a sweet delighte, an incomparable happiness, a blessed estate, a most unspeakable benefit, a sole content on the other; 'tis all in the proofe. Be not then so wayward, so covetous, so distrustful, so curious and nice, but let's all marry, *mutuos foventes amplexus. Take me to thee, and thee to me;* to morrow is St. Valentine's day, let's keep it holiday for Cupid's sake, for that great god Love's sake, for Hymen's sake, and celebrate [c] Venus Vigil with our ancestors, for company together, singing as they did,

Cras amet, qui nunquam amavit; quique amavit, cras amet,
Ver novum, ver jam canorum, vere natus orbis est,
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus coma resolvit, &c.——
Cras amet, &c.——

Let him that is averse from marriage read more in Barbarus *de re uxor. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. Lemnius *de institut. cap.* 4. P. Godfridus *de Amor. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. [d] Nevisanus *lib.* 3. Alex. ab Alexandro, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. Tunstall, Erasmus Tracts *in laudem matrimonii, &c.* and I doubt not but in the end he will rest satisfied, recant with Beroaldus, do penance for his former folly, singing some penitentiall ditties, desire to be reconciled to the deity of this great god Love, go a pilgrimage to his shrine, offer to his image, sacrifice upon his altar, and be as willing at last to embrace marriage as the rest. There will not be found, I hope, [e] *No not in that severe family of stoicks, who shall refuse to submit his grave beard, and supercilious lookes to the clipping of a wife;* or disagree from his fellowes in this point. *For what more willingly* (as [f] Varro holds) *can a proper man see then a faire wife, a sweet wife, a loving wife?* can the world afford a better sight, sweeter content, a fairer object, a more gratious aspect?

[a] Euripides. [b] E græco Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7. [c] Pervigilium Veneris e vetere poetâ. [d] Domus non potest consistere sine uxore. Nevisanus lib. 3. num. 18. [e] Nemo in severissimâ Stoicorum familiâ, qui non barbam quoque et supercilium amplexibus uxoris submiserit, aut in istâ parte a reliquis dissenserit. Heinsius Primiero. [f] Quid libentius homo masculus videre debet quam bellam uxorem?

Since then, this of marriage, is the last and best refuge and cure of heroical love, all doubts are cleared and impediments removed; I say again, what remaines, that but according to both their desires, they be happily joyned, since it cannot otherwise be helped. God send us all good wives; every man his wish in this kinde, and me nine!

> [a] And God that all this world hath ywrought,
> Send him his love, that hath it so deare bought.

If all parties be pleased, aske their banes, 'tis a match. [b] *Fruitur Rhodanthe sponsa, sponso Dosicle;* Rhodanthe and Dosicles shall go together; Clitiphon and Leucippe, Theagines and Chariclea; Poliarchus hath his Argenis, Lysander Calista, (to make up the maske) [c] *Potiturque suâ puer Iphis Ianthi.*

> And Troilus in lust and in quiet,
> Is with Cressid, his own heart sweet.

And although they have hardly passed the pikes, through many difficulties and delayes brought the match about, yet let them take this of [d] Aristænetus (that so marry) for their comforte [e]. *After many troubles and cares, the marriages of lovers are more sweet and pleasant.* As we commonly conclude a comœdy with a [f] wedding, and shaking of hands, let's shut up our discourse, and end all with an [g] *epithalamium.*

Feliciter nuptis, God give them joye together. [h] *Hymen O Hymenæe, Hymen ades O Hymenæe! Bonum factum.* 'Tis well done. *Haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine Divum,* 'tis an happy conjunction, a fortunate match, an even couple.

> Ambo animis, ambo præstantes viribus, ambo
> Florentes annis,——

they both excell in gifts of body and minde, are both equal in yeares, youth, vigor, alacrity; she is faire and lovely as Lais or Helena, he as another Charinus or Alcibiades,

> ——— [i] ludite ut lubet, et brevi
> Liberos date.———

> Then modestly go sport and playe,
> And let's have every year a boy.

[a] Chaucer. [b] Conclusio Theod. Prodromi. 9. 1. Amor. [c] Ovid. [d] Epist. 4. l. 2. Jucundiores multo et suaviores longe post molestas turbas amantium nuptiæ. [e] Olim meminisse juvabit. [f] Quid expectatis, intus fiunt nuptiæ. The musick, guests, and all the good cheere is within. [g] The conclusion of Chaucer's Poem of Troilus and Cressid. [h] Catullus. [i] Catullus. J. Secundus sylvar. lib. Jam virgo thalamum subibit, unde ne virgo redeat, marite cura.

[a] *Goe give a sweet smel as incense, and bring forth flowres, as the lilly;* that we may say hereafter,

Scitus Mecastor natus est Pamphilo puer.

In the mean time I say,

[b] Ite, agite O juvenes, [c] non murmura vestra columbæ,
Brachia non hederæ, neque vincant oscula conchæ.

Gentle youths go sport your selves betimes,
Let not the doves outpass your murmurings,
Or ivy clasping armes, or oyster kissings.

And in the morn betime, as those [d] Lacedæmonian lasses saluted Helena and Menelaus, singing at their windowes and wishing good successe, do we at yours:

Salve O sponsa, salve felix, det vobis Latona
Felicem Sobolem; Venus Dea det æqualem amorem
Inter vos mutuo; Saturnus durabiles divitias.
Dormite, in pectora mutuo amorem inspirantes,
Et desiderium!———

Good morrow master bridegroom, and mistress bride,
Many fair lovely bernes to you betide!
Let Venus to you mutual love procure,
Let Saturne give you riches to endure.
Long may you sleep in one anothers armes,
Inspiring sweet desire, and free from harmes.

Even all your lives long,

[e] Contingat vobis turturum concordia,
Corniculæ vivacitas———

The love of turtles hap to you,
And ravens yeares still to renew.

Let the Muses sing (as he said) the Graces dance, not at their weddings only but all their dayes long; *so couple their hearts, that no irksomeness or anger ever befall them; Let him never call her other name then my joye, my light; or she call him otherwise then sweet-heart. To this happiness of theirs, let*

[a] Ecclus. 39. 14. [b] Galeni Epithal. [c] O noctem quater et quater beatam.
[d] Theocritus edyl. 18. [e] Erasm. Epithal. P. Ægidii. Nec saltent modo sed duo charissima pectora indissolubili mutuæ benevolentiæ nodo copulent, ut nihil unquam eos incedere possit iræ vel tædii. Illa perpetuo nihil audiat nisi, mea lux: Ille vicissim nihil nisi, anime mi: Atque huic jucunditati ne senectus detrahat, imo potius aliquid adeugeat.

not old age any whit detract, but as their yeares, so let their mutual love and comfort increase. And when they depart this life,

——— concordes quoniam vixere tot annos,
Auferat hora duos eadem, nec conjugis usquam
Busta suæ videat, nec sit tumulandus ab illa.

Because they have so sweetly liv'd together,
Let not one dye a day before the other,
He bury her, she him, with even fate,
One houre their soules, let jointly separate.

Fortunati ambo si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

Atque hæc de amore dixisse sufficiat, *sub correctione,* [a] quod ait ille, *cujusque melius sentientis.* Plura qui volet de remediis amoris, legat Jasonem Pratensem, Arnoldum, Montaltum, Savanarolam, Langium, Valescum, Crimisonum, Alexandrum Benedictum, Laurentium, Valleriolam, e Poetis Nasonem, e nostratibus Chaucerum, &c. with whom I conclude,

[b] For my words here and every part,
I speak hem all under correction
Of you that feeling have in love's art,
And put it all in your discretion,
To intreat or make diminution
Of my language that I you beseech:
But now to purpose of my rather speech.

[a] Kornmannus de lineâ amoris. [b] Finis 3. book of Troilus and Cressid.

(if I may so call them) successours, emulators, subjects, or such as they have offended. [a] *Omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit: They are still suspitious, lest their authority should be diminished,* [b] as one observes; and as Comineus hath it, [c] *It cannot be expressed what slender causes they have of their griefe and suspition, a secret disease, that commonly lurkes and breedes in princes families.* Sometimes it is for their honour onely; as that of Adrian the emperour, [d] *that killed all his emulators.* Saul envied David; Domitian Agricola, because he did excell him, obscure his honour as he thought, eclipse his fame. Juno turned Prætus daughters into kine, for that they contended with her for beauty; Cyparissæ king Eteocles' children, were envied of the goddesses for their excellent good parts, and dancing amongst the rest, saith [e] Constantine; *and for that cause, flung downe headlong from heaven, and buried in a pit; but the earth took pity of them, and brought out cypress trees to preserve their memories.* [f] Niobe, Arachne, and Marsias can testifie as much. But it is most grievous when it is for a kingdome it self, or matters of commodity, it produceth lamentable effects, especially amongst tyrants, *in despotico imperio,* and such as are more feared then beloved of their subjects, that get and keep their soveraignty by force, and feare. [g] *Quod civibus tenere te invitis scias,* &c. as Phalaris, Dionysius, Periander held theirs. For though feare, cowardise and jealousie, in Plutarch's opinion, be the common causes of tyranny, as in Nero, Caligula, Tiberius, yet most take them to be symptomes. For [h] *what slave, what hangman* (as Bodine well expresseth this passion, *l.* 2. *c.* 5. *de rep.*) *can so cruelly torture a condemned person, as this feare and suspition? Feare of death, infamie, torments, are those furies and vultures that vexe and disquiet tyrants, and torture them day and night, with perpetuall terrors and affrights, envy, suspition, feare, desire of revenge, and a thousand such disagreeing perturbations, turn and affright the soule out of the hinges of health; and more grievously wound and pierce, then those cruel masters can exasperate and vexe their prentises*

[a] Lucan. [b] Danæus Aphoris. polit. Semper metuunt ne eorum authoritas minuatur. [c] Belli Neapol. lib. 5. Dici non potest quam tenues et infirmas causas habent mœroris et suspitionis, et hic est morbus occultus, qui in familiis principum regnat. [d] Omnes æmulos interfecit. Lamprid. [e] Constant. agricult. lib. 10. c. 5. Cyparissæ Eteoclis filiæ, saltantes ad æmulationem Dearum in puteum demolitæ sunt, sed terra miserata, cupressos inde produxit. [f] Ovid. Met. [g] Seneca. [h] Quis autem carnifex addictum supplicio crudelius afficiat, quam metus? Metus, inquam mortis, infamiæ, cruciatus, sunt illæ ultrices furiæ quæ tyrannos exagitant, &c. Multo acerbius sauciant et pungunt, quam crudeles domini servos vinctos, fustibus ac tormentis exulcerare possunt.

or servants, with clubbes, whippes, chaines and tortures. Many terrible examples we have in this kinde, amongst the Turkes especially, many jealous outrages; [a] Selimus killed Cornutus his yongest brother, five of his nephewes, Mustapha Bassa, and divers others. [b] Bajazet, the second Turke, jealous of the valour and greatness of Acmet Bassa, caused him to be slaine. [c] Solyman the magnificent, murdered his own son Mustapha; and 'tis an ordinary thing amongst them, to make away their brothers, or any competitors, at the first comming to the crown: 'tis all the solemnity they use at their fathers funerals. What mad pranks, in his jealous fury, did Herode of old commit in Jury, when he massacred all the children of a yeare old? [d] Valens, the emperour in Constantinople, when as he left no man alive of quality in his kingdome that had his name begun with Theo, Theodoti, Theognosti, Theodosii, Theoduli, &c. They went all to their long home, because a wizard told him that name should succeed in his empire. And what furious designes hath [e] Jo. Basilius, that Muscovian tyrant, practised of late? It is a wonder to read that strange suspition, which Suetonius reports of Claudius Cæsar, and of Domitian; they were afraid of every man they saw: And, which Herodian reports of Antoninus and Geta, those two jealous brothers; the one could not endure so much as the others servants; but made away him, his chiefest followers, and all that belonged to him, or were his well-wishers. [f] *Maximinus perceiving himselfe to be odious to most men, because he was come to that height of honour out of base beginnings, and suspecting his meane parentage would be objected to him; caused all the Senators that were nobly descended, to be slaine in a jealous humour, turned all the servants of Alexander, his predecessor, out of doores, and slew many of them, because they lamented their masters death, suspecting them to be traytors, for the love they bare to him.* When Alexander in his fury had made Clitus, his deare friend, to be put to death, and saw now, (saith [g] Curtius) an alienation in his subjects hearts, none durst talk with him; he began to be jealous of himselfe, lest they should attempt as much on him, *and said, they lived like so many wilde beasts*

[a] Lonicerus Tom. 1. Turc. hist. c. 24. [b] Jovius vita ejus. [c] Knowles. Busbequius. Sand. fol. 52. [d] Nicephorus lib. 11. c. 45. Socrates lib. 7. cap. 35. Neque Valens alicui pepercit qui Theo cognomine vocaretur. [e] Alexand. Gaguin. Muscov. hist. descrip. c. 5. [f] Dr. Fletcher; Timet omnes ne insidiæ essent, Herodian. l. 7. Maximinus invisum se sentiens, quod ex infimo loco in tantam fortunam venisset moribus ac genere barbarus, metuens ne natalium obscuritas objiceretur, omnes Alexandri prædecessoris ministros ex aulâ ejecit, pluribus interfectis quod mœsti essent ad mortem Alexandri, insidias inde metuens. [g] Lib. 8. Tanquam feræ solitudine vivebant, terrentes alios, timentes.

in a wildernesse, one afraide of another. Our moderne stories afford us many notable examples. [a] Henry the third of France, jealous of Henry of Loraine Duke of Guise, Anno 1588. caused him to be murdered in his owne chamber. [b] Lewes the eleventh, was so suspitious, he durst not trust his children; every man about him he suspected for a traytor: Many strange tricks Comineus telleth of him. How jealous was our Henry the [c] fourth of king Richard the second, so long as he lived, after he was deposed? and of his own son Henry, in his later dayes? which the Prince well perceiving, came to visite his father in his sicknesse, in a watchet velvet gowne, full of oilet holes, and with needles sticking in them, (as an embleme of jealousie) and so pacified his suspitious father, after some speeches and protestations, which he had used to that purpose. Perpetual imprisonment, as that of Robert [d] Duke of Normandy, in the dayes of Henry the first; forbidding of marriage to some persons, with such like edicts and prohibitions, are ordinary in all states. In a word ([e] as he said) three things cause jealousie: a mighty state, a riche treasure, a faire wife. Or where there is a crackt title, much tyranny, and many exactions. In our state, as being freed from all these feares and miseries, we may be most secure and happy under the raign of our fortunate prince.

> [f] His fortune hath indebted him to none,
> But to all his people universally;
> And not to them but for their love alone,
> Which they account as placed worthily.
> He is so set, he hath no cause to be
> Jealous, or dreadfull of disloyalty;
> The pedistall whereon his greatnesse stands,
> Is held of all our hearts, and all our hands.

But I rove, I confesse. These æquivocations, jealousies, and many such, which crucifie the soules of men, are not here properly meant, or in this distinction of ours included; but that alone which is for beauty, tending to love, and wherein they can brooke no corrival, or endure any participation. And this jealousie belongs as well to bruite beasts as men. Some creatures, saith [g] Vives, swans, doves, cockes, bulls, &c. are jealous as well as men, and as much moved, for feare of communion.

[a] Serres fol. 56. [b] Neap. belli lib. 5. Nulli prorsus homini fidebat, omnes insidiari sibi putabat. [c] Camden's Remaines. [d] Mat. Paris. [e] R. T. notes in blason jealousie. [f] Daniel in his Panegyrick to the king. [g] 3. De animâ cap. de zel. Animalia quædam zelotypiâ tanguntur, ut olores, columbæ, galli, tauri, &c. ob metum communionis.

[a] Grege pro toto bella juvenci,
Si conjugio timuere suo,
Possunt timidi prælia cervi,
Et mugitus dant concepti signa furoris.

In Venus' cause what mighty battels make
Your raving bulls, and stirs for their herds' sake?
And harts and bucks that are so timorous,
Will fight and roare, if once they be but jealous.

In bulls, horses, goats, this is most apparently discerned, bulls especially; *alium in pascuis non admittit;* he will not admit another bull to feed in the same pasture, saith [b] Oppian: which Stephanus Bathorius, late king of Poland, used as an impresse, with that motto, *Regnum non capit duos.* R. T. in his blason of jealousie, telleth a story of a swan about Windsore, that finding a strange cocke with his mate, did swim, I know not how many miles after him, to kill him; and when he had so done, came back and killed his hen; a certaine truth, he saith, done upon Thames, as many water-men, and neighbour gentlemen can tell. *Fidem suam liberet;* for my part, I do beleeve it may be true; for swans have ever been branded with that epithite of jealousie.

[c] The jealous swanne against his death that singeth,
And eke the owle that of death bode bringeth.

[d] Some say as much of elephants, that they are more jealous then any other creatures whatsoever; and those old Ægyptians, as [e] Pierius informeth us, expresse, in their hieroglyphicks, the passion of jealousie by a camell; [f] because that fearing the worst still about matters of venery, he loves solitudes, that he may enjoye his pleasure alone, *et in quoscunque obvios insurgit, zelotypiæ stimulis agitatus,* he will quarrel and fight with whosoever come next, man or beast, in his jealous fits. I have reade as much of [g] crocodiles; and if Peter Martyr's authority be authentique, *legat. Babylonicæ lib.* 3. you shall have a strange tale to that purpose confidently related. Another story of the jealousie of dogs, see in Hieron. Fabricius *Tract.* 3. *cap.* 5. *de loquelâ animalium.*

But this furious passion is most eminent in men; and is as well amongst batchelors, as married men. If it appear amongst batchelors we commonly call them rivals or corrivals, a meta-

[a] Seneca. [b] Lib. 11. Cynoget. [c] Chaucer in his assembly of fowls.
[d] Aldrovand. [e] Lib. 12. [f] Sibi timeris circa res venereas, solitudines amat, quo solus sola fœmina fruatur. [g] Crocodili zelotypi et uxorum amantissimi, &c.

phor derived from a river, *rivales a* [a] *rivo*; for as a river, saith Acron *in Hor. art. Poet.* and *Donat. in Ter. Eunuch.* divides a common grounde betwixt two men, and both participate of it, so is a woman indifferent betwixt two suiters, both likely to enjoye her; and thence comes this emulation, which breakes out many times into tempestuous stormes, and produceth lamentable effects, murder it self, with much cruelty, many single combats. They cannot endure the least injury done unto them before their mistress; and in her defence, will bite off one anothers noses; they are most impatient of any floute, disgrace, the least emulation or participation in that kinde. [b] *Lacerat lacertum Largi mordax Memnius.* Memnius the Roman (as Tully tels the story *de oratore lib.* 2.) being corrival with Largus at Terracina, bit him by the arme, which fact of his was so famous, that it afterwards grew to a proverbe, in those parts. [c] Phædria could not abide his corrival Thraso: for when Parmeno demanded, *numquid aliud imperas?* whether he would command him any more service: *No more* (saith he) *but to speake in his behalfe, and to drive away his corrival, if he could.* Constantine in the eleventh book of his husbandry, *cap.* 11. hath a pleasant tale of the pine tree; [d] she was once a faire maid, whom Pineus and Boreas two corrivals, dearly sought; but jealous Boreas broke her neck, &c. And in his 18 chapter he telleth another tale of [e] Mars, that in his jealousie slew Adonis. Petronius calleth this passion *amantium furiosam æmulationem*, a furious emulation; and their symptomes are well expressed by Sir Jeffery Chaucer, in his first Canterbury tale. It will make the neerest and dearest friends fall out; they will endure all other things to bee common, goods, lands, monys, participate of each others pleasures, and take in good part any disgraces, injuries in another kinde; but, as Propertius well describes it in an elegy of his, in this they will suffer nothing, have no corrivals.

[f] Tu mihi vel ferro pectus, vel perde veneno,
A dominâ tantum te modo tolle meâ:
Te socium vitæ, te corporis esse licebit,
Te dominum admitto rebus amice meis.
Lecto te solum, lecto te deprecor uno,
Rivalem possum non ego ferre Jovem.

[a] Qui dividit agrum communem; inde deducitur ad amantes. [b] Erasmus chil. 1. Cent. 9. adag. 99. [c] Ter. Eun. act. 1. sc. 1. Munus nostrum ornato verbis, et istum æmulum, quoad poteris, ab ea pellito. [d] Pinus puella quondam fuit, &c. [e] Mars zelotypus Adonidem interfecit. [f] R. T.

Stab me with sword, or poyson strong
Give me to work my bane;
So thou court not my lass, so thou
From mistress mine refrain.
Command my selfe, my body, purse,
As thine own goods take all,
And as my neerest dearest friend,
I ever use thee shall.
O spare my love, to have alone
Her to my self I crave,
Nay, Jove himselfe I'll not endure
My rival for to have.

This jealousie which I am to treat of, is that which belongs to married men, in respect of their owne wives; to whose estate, as no sweetnesse, pleasure, happinesse can be compared in the world, if they live quietly and loveingly together; so if they disagree or be jealous, those bitter pils of sorrow and grief, disasterous mischieves, mischances, tortures, gripings, discontents, are not to be separated from them. A most violent passion it is, where it taketh place, an unspeakable torment, a hellish torture, an infernal plague, as Ariosto cals it; *A fury, a continual fever, full of suspition, feare, and sorrow; a martyrdome, a mirth-marring monster. The sorrow and grief of heart of one woman jealous of another, is heavier then death, Ecclus* 26. 6. as [a] Peninnah did Hannah, *vexe her and upbraid her sore.* 'Tis a main vexation, a most intollerable burden, a corrosive to all content, a frenzy, a madness it self, as [b] Benedetto Varchi proves out of that select sonnet of Giovanni de la Casa, that reverend Lord, as he stiles him.

SUBSECT. II.

Causes of Jealousie. Who are most apt. Idleness, melancholy, impotency, long absence, beauty, wantonness, naught themselves. Allurements from time, place, persons, bad usage.

ASTROLOGERS make the stars a cause or signe of this bitter passion; and out of every mans horoscope will give a probable conjecture whether he will be jealous or no, and at what time, by direction of the significators to their several promissors: their aphorismes are to be read in Albubator, Pontanus, Skoner, Junctine, &c. Bodine *cap.* 5. *meth. hist.* ascribes

[a] 1 Sam. 1. 6. [b] Blason of Jealousie.

a great cause to the country or clime, and discourseth largely there of this subject, saying, that southerne men are more hot, lascivious, and jealous, then such as live in the north; they can hardly containe themselves in those hotter climes, but are most subject to prodigious lusts. Leo Afer telleth incredible things almost, of the lust and jealousie of his country men of Africke, and especially such as live about Carthage; and so doth every geographer of them in [a] Asia, Turkie, Spaniards, Italians. Germany hath not so many drunkards, England tobacconists, France dancers, Holland mariners, as Italy alone hath jealous husbands. And in [b] Italy, some account them of Piacenza more jealous then the rest. In [c] Germany, France, Brittain, Scandia, Poland, Muscovy, they are not so troubled with this ferall malady, although Damianus a Goes, which I doe much wonder at, in his topography of Laplande, and Herbastein of Russia, against the stream of all other geographers, would fasten it upon those northerne inhabitants. Altomarius Poggius, and Munster in his description of Baden, reports that men and women of all sorts, go commonly into the bathes together, without all suspition, *the name of jealousie* (saith Munster) *is not so much as once heard of among them:* In Frisland the women kiss him they drink to, and are kissed again of those they pledge. The virgins in Holland go hand in hand with yong men from home, glide on the ice, such is their harmless liberty, and lodge together abroad without suspition, which rash Sansovinus, an Italian, makes a great signe of unchastity. In France, upon small acquaintance, it is usual to court other mens wives, to come to their houses, and accompany them arme in arme in the streets, without imputation. In the most northerne countries, yong men and maids familiarly dance together, men and their wives, [d] which, Siena only excepted, Italians may not abide. The [e] Greekes, on the other side, have their private bathes for men and women, where they must not come neer, not so much as see one another: and as [f] Bodine observes *lib. 5. de repub. the Italians could never endure this,* or a Spaniard; the very conceit of it would make him mad: and for that cause they locke up their women, and will not suffer them to be neer men, so much as in the [g] church,

[a] Mulierum conditio misera; nullam honestam credunt nisi domo conclusa vivat. [b] Fines Morison. [c] Nomen zelotypiæ apud istos locum non habet. lib. 3. c. 8. [d] Fines Moris. part. 3. cap. 2. [e] Busbequius. Sands. [f] Præ amore et zelotypia sæpius insaniunt. [g] Australes ne sacra quidem publica fieri patiuntur, nisi uterque sexus pariete medio dividatur; et quum in Angliam, inquit, legationis causâ profectus essem, audivi Mendozam legatum Hispaniarum dicentem, turpe esse viros et fœminas, &c.

but with a partition between. He telleth moreover, how that *when he was embassadour in England, he heard Mendoza, the Spanish legate, finding fault with it, as a filthy custome for men and women to sit promiscuously in churches together: but Dr. Dale, the master of the requests, told him again, that it was indeed a filthy custome in Spain, where they could not contain themselves from lascivious thoughts in their holy places, but not with us.* Baronius, in his Annals out of Eusebius, taxeth Licinius the emperour for a decree of his made to this effect, *Jubens ne viri simul cum mulieribus in Ecclesiâ interessent:* for being prodigiously naught himself, *aliorum naturam ex suâ vitiosâ mente spectavit,* he so esteemed others. But we are far from any such strange conceits, and will permit our wives and daughters to go to the taverne with a friend, as Aubanus saith, *modo absit lascivia,* and suspect nothing; to kiss comming and going, which as Erasmus writes in one of his epistles, they cannot endure. England is a paradise for women, and hell for horses: Italy a paradise for horses, hell for women, as the diverbe goes. Some make a question whether this headstrong passion rage more in women then men, as Montagne *l.* 3. But sure it is more outragious in women, as all other melancholy is, by reason of the weakness of their sexe. Scaliger, *Poet. lib. cap.* 13. concludes against women. [a] *Besides their inconstancy, treachery, suspition, dissimulation, superstition, pride,* (for all women are by nature proud) *desire of soveraignty, if they be great women* (he gives iustance in Juno) *bitterness and jealousie are the most remarkable affections.*

[b] Sed neque fulvus aper media tam fulvus in irâ est,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec Leo, &c. ———

Tyger, bore, bear, viper, lioness,
A womans fury cannot express.

[c] Some say red-headed women, pale-coloured, black-eyed and of a shril voice, are most subject to jealousie.

[d] High colour in a woman choler shews,
Naught are they, peevish, proud, malicious;
But worst of all, red, shril, and jealous.

[a] Idea. Mulieres præterquam quod sunt infidæ, suspicaces, inconstantes, insidiosæ, simulatrices, superstitiosæ, et si potentes, intolerabiles, amore zelotypæ supra modum. [b] Ovid. 2. de art. [c] Bartello. [d] R. T.

Comparisons are odious; I neither parallel them with others, nor debase them any more: men and women are both bad, and too subject to this pernicious infirmity. It is most part a symptome and cause of melancholy, as Plater and Valescus teach us: melancholy men are apt to be jealous, and jealous apt to be melancholy.

> [a] Pale jealousie, childe of insatiate love,
> Of heart-sick thoughts which melancholy bred,
> A hell-tormenting feare, no faith can move,
> By discontent with deadly poyson fed;
> With headless youth and errour vainly led.
> A mortall plague, a vertue-drowning floode,
> A hellish fire, not quenched but with bloud.

If idleness concurr with melancholy, such persons are most apt to be jealous; 'tis [b] Nevisanus' note, *An idle woman is presumed to be lascivious, and often jealous. Mulier cum sola cogitat, male cogitat:* And 'tis not unlikely, for they have no other business to trouble their heads with.

More particular causes be these which follow. Impotency first, when a man is not able of himselfe to performe those dues which he ought unto his wife: for though he be an honest liver, hurt no man, yet Trebius the lawyer may make a question, *an suum cuique tribuat*, whether he give every one their owne; and therefore, when he takes notice of his wants, and perceives her to be more craving, clamorous, unsatiable and prone to lust then is fit, he begins presently to suspect, that wherein he is defective, she will satisfie her selfe, she will be pleased by some other meanes. Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly expressed this humor in an epigram to his Lycoris.

> Jamque alios juvenes aliosque requirit amores,
> Me vocat imbellem decrepitumque senem, &c.

For this cause is most evident in old men, that are cold and drye by nature, and married *succi plenis*, to yong wanton wives. With old doting Janivere in Chaucer, they begin to mistrust all is not well;

> ——— she was yong and he was old,
> And therefore he feared to be a Cuckold.

And how should it otherwise be? Old age is a disease of it self, loathsome, full of suspition and feare; when it is at best, unable, unfit for such matters. [c] *Tam apta nuptiis quam*

[a] R. T.

[b] Lib. 2. num. 8. Mulier otiosa facile præsumitur luxuriosa, et sæpe zelotypa.

[c] Lib. 2. num. 4.

bruma messibus, as welcome to a yong woman as snow in harvest, saith Nevisanus: *Et si capis juvenculam, faciet tibi cornua.* Marry a lusty maid and she will surely graft hornes on thy head. [a] *All women are slippery, often unfaithfull to their husbands*, (as Æneas Silvius *epist.* 38. seconds him) *but to old men, most treacherous of all:* they had rather *mortem amplexarier*, lye with a corse than such a one. [b] *Oderunt illum pueri, comtemnunt mulieres.* On the other side, many men, saith Hieronymus, are suspitious of their wives, [c] if they be lightly given, but old folkes above the rest. In so much that she did not complain without a cause, in [d] Apuleius of an old, bald, bedridden knave she had to her good man. *Poor woman as I am, what shall I doe? I have an old grim sire to my husband, as bald as a coute, as little and as unable as a childe*, a bedfull of bones, *he keeps all the doores barred and locked upon me, woe is me, what shall I doe?* He was jealous, and she made him a cuckold for keeping her up. Suspition without a cause, hard usage is able of it selfe to make a woman flye out, that was otherwise honest.

——[e] plerasque bonas tractatio pravas
Esse facit,——

bad usage aggravates the matter. *Nam quando mulieres cognoscunt maritum hoc advertere, licentius peccant*, as [f] Nevisanus holds, when a woman thinks her husband watcheth her, she will sooner offend; [g] *Liberius peccant, et pudor omnis abest*, rough handling makes them worse: as the good wife of Bathe in Chaucer brags,

In his own grease I made him frie,
For anger and for very jealousie.

Of two extreames, this of hard usage is the worst. 'Tis a great fault (for some men are *uxorii*) to be too fond of their wives, to dote on them as [h] senior Deliro on his Fallace, to be too effeminate; or as some doe, to be sick for their wives, breed children for them, and like the [i] Tiberini, lye in for them, as some birds hatch egges by turns, they do all womens offices. Cælius Rhodiginus *ant. lect. lib. 6. cap.* 24. makes mention of

[a] Quum omnibus infideles fœminæ, senibus infidelissimæ. [b] Mimnermus. [c] Vix aliqua non impudica, et quam non suspectam merito quis habeat. [d] Lib. 5. de aur. asino. At ego misera, patre meo seniorem maritum nacta sum, dein cucurbitâ calviorem et quovis puero pumiliorem, cunctam domum seris et catenis obditam custodientem. [e] Chaloner. [f] Lib. 4. n. 80. [g] Ovid. 2. de art. amandi. [h] Every man out of his humour. [i] Calcagninus Apol. Tiberini ab uxorum partu earum vices subeunt, ut aves per vices incubant, &c.

a fellow out of Seneca, [a] that was so besotted on his wife, he could not endure a moment out of her company; he wore her scarfe, when he went abroad, next his heart, and would never drinke but in that cup she began first. We have many such fondlings, that are their wives' packhorses and slaves, (*nam grave malum uxor superans virum suum*, as the comical poet hath it, there's no greater misery to a man then to let his wife domineer) to carry her muffe, dog, and fan; let her weare the breeches, lay out, spende and do what she will, go and come, whither, when she will, they give consent.

Here take my muffe, and do you hear, good man;
Now give me Pearl, and carry you my fan, &c.

——[b] poscit pallam, redimicula, inaures;
Curre, quid hic cessas? vulgo vult illa videri,
Tu pete lecticas——

many brave and worthy men have trespassed in this kinde, *multos foras claros, domestica hæc destruxit infamia*, and many noble senators and souldiers (as [c] Pliny notes) have lost their honour, in being *uxorii*, so sottishly overruled by their wives. And therefore Cato, in Plutarch, made a bitter jeste on his fellow citizens, the Romans, *we govern all the world abroad, and our wives at home rule us.* These offend in one extreame; but too hard and too severe, are far more offensive on the other. As just a cause may be, long absence of either party, when they must of necessity be much from home, as lawyers, physicians, marriners, by their professions; or otherwise make frivolous impertinent journeyes; tarry long abroad to no purpose, lye out and are gadding still, upon small occasions, it must needs yeeld matter of suspition, when they use their wives unkindly in the mean time, and never tarry at home, it cannot use but ingender some such conceit.

[d] Uxor si cessas amare te cogitat
Aut tete amari, aut potare, aut animo obsequi,
Et tibi bene esse soli, quum sibi sit male.

If thou be absent long, thy wife then thinks,
Th' art drunk, at ease, or with some pretty minks,
'Tis well with thee, or else beloved of some,
Whil'st she, poor soule, doth fare full ill at home.

Hippocrates, the physician, had a smack of this disease; for when he was to go from home as far as Abdera, and some

[a] Exiturus fasciâ uxoris pectus alligabat, nec momento præsentiâ ejus carere poterat, potumque non hauriebat nisi prægustatum labris ejus. [b] Chaloner.
[c] Panegyr. Trajano. [d] Ter. Adelph. Act. 1. sce. 1.

other remote cities of Greece, he writ to his friend Dionysius (if at least those [a] epistles be his) [b] *to oversee his wife in his absence,* (as Apollo set a raven to watch his Coronis) *although she lived in his house with her father and mother, whom he knew would have a care of her; yet that would not satisfie his jealousie, he would have his speciall friend Dionysius to dwell in his house with her, all the time of his peregrination, and to observe her behaviour, how she carried her self in her husbands absence; and that she did not lust after other men.* [c] *For a woman had need to have an overseer to keep her honest; they are bad by nature, and lightly given all, and if they be not curbed in time, as an unproyned tree, they will be full of wilde branches, and degenerate of a sudden.* Especially in their husbands absence: though one Lucretia were trusty, and one Penelope, yet Clytemnestra made Agamemnon a cuckold; and no question there be too many of her conditions. If their husbands tarry too long abroad upon unnecessary business, well they may suspect: or if they run one way, their wives at home will flye out another. *Quid pro quo.* Or if present, and give them not that content which they ought, [d] *Primum ingratæ, mox invisæ noctes quæ per somnum transiguntur,* they cannot endure to lye alone, or to fast long. [e] Peter Godfridus, in his second book of love, and sixt chapter, hath a story out of St. Anthonie's life, of a gentleman, who by that good mans advise, would not meddle with his wife in the passion week, but for his pains, she set a pair of hornes on his head. Such another he hath, out of Abstemius, one perswaded a new married man, [f] *to forbear the three first nights, and he should all his life time after be fortunate in cattle;* but his impatient wife would not tarry so long: well he might speede in cattle; but not in children. Such a tale hath Heinsius, of an impotent and slack scholler, a meere student, and a friend of his, that seeing by chance a fine damsel sing and dance, would needs marry her; the match was soon made, for he was yong and riche, *genis gratus, corpore glabellus, arte multiscius, et fortunâ opulentus,* like that Apollo in [g] Apuleius. The first

[a] Fab. Calvo. Ravennate interprete. [b] Dum rediero domum meam habitabis, et licet cum parentibus habitet hac meâ peregrinatione; eam tamen et ejus mores observabis uti absentiâ viri sui probe degat, nec alios viros cogitet aut quærat. [c] Fœmina semper custode eget, qui se pudicam contineat; suapte enim naturâ nequitias insitas habet, quas nisi indies comprimat, ut arbores stolones emittunt, &c. [d] Heinsius. [e] Uxor cujusdam nobilis quum debitum maritale sacrâ passionis hebdomadâ non obtineret, alterum adiit. [f] Ne tribus prioribus noctibus rem haberet cum eâ, ut esset in pecoribus fortunatus, ab uxore morosæ impatiente, &c. [g] Totam noctem bene et pudice nemini molestus dormiendo transegit; mane autem quum nullius conscius facinoris sibi esset, et inertiæ puderet, audisse se dicebat cum dolore calculi solere eam conflictari. Duo præcepta juris unâ nocte expressit, neminem læserat et honeste vixerat, sed an suum cuique reddidisset, quæri poterat. Mutius opinor et Trebatius hoc negassent. lib. 1.

night, having liberally taken his liquor (as in that countrey they do) my fine scholler was so fusled, that he no sooner was laid in bed, but he fell fast asleep, never waked till morning, and then much abashed, *purpureis formosa rosis cum Aurora ruberet*, when the faire morn with purple hew 'gan shine, he made an excuse, I know not what, out of Hippocrates Cous, &c. and for that time it went currant; but when as afterward, he did not play the man as he should do, she fell in league with a good fellow, and whil'st he sate up late at his study about those criticismes, mending some hard places in Festus or Pollux, came cold to bed, and would tell her stil what he had done, she did not much regard what he said, &c. [a] *Shee would have another matter mended much rather, which he did not perceive was corrupt:* thus he continued at his study late, she at her sport, *alibi enim festivas noctes agitabat*, hating all schollers for his sake, till at length he began to suspect, and turne a little yellow, as well he might; for it was his owne fault; and if men be jealous in such cases ([b] as oft it falls out) the mends is in their owne hands; they must thank themselves. Who will pitie them, saith Neander, or be much offended with such wives, *si deceptæ prius viros decipiant, et cornutos reddant*, if they deceive those that cozened them first? A lawyers wife in [c] Aristænetus, because her husband was negligent in his business, *quando lecto danda opera*, threatned to cornute him: and did not stick to tell Philinna one of her gossips as much, and that aloud for him to hear: *If he follow other mens matters, and leave his own, I'll have an orator shall plead my cause*; I care not if he know it.

A fourth eminent cause of jealousie, may be this, when he that is deformed, and as Pindarus says of Vulcan, *sine gratiis natus*, hirsute, ragged, yet vertuously given, will marry some very faire nice peece, or light huswife, begins to misdoubt (as well he may) she doth not affect him. [d] *Lis est cum formâ magna pudicitiæ*; beautie and honesty have ever been at oddes. Abraham was jealous of his wife because she was faire: so was Vulcan of his Venus, when he made her creeking shooes, saith [e] Philostratus, *ne mœcharetur, sandalio scilicet deferente*, That he might hear, by them, when she stirred; which Mars *indigne ferre*, [f] was not well pleased with. Good cause had Vulcan to do as he did, for she was no honester then she should be. Your fine faces have commonly this fault, and it is hard to finde, saith

[a] Alterius loci emendationem serio optabat, quem corruptum esse ille non invenit.
[b] Such another tale is in Neander de Jocosariis his first tale.
[c] Lib. 2. Ep. 3. Si pergit alienis negotiis operam dare, sui negligens, erit alius mihi orator qui rem meam agat.
[d] Ovid. Rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitiæ.
[e] Epist.
[f] Quod strideret ejus calceamentum.

Francis Philelphus, in an epistle to Saxola his friend, a rich man honest, a proper woman not proud or unchast. *Can she be faire and honest too?*

> [a] Sæpe etenim occuluit pictâ sese Hydra sub herbâ,
> Sub specie formæ, incauto se sæpe marito
> Nequam animus vendit,——

He that marries a wife that is snout-faire alone, let him look, saith [b] Barbarus, for no better successe then Vulcan had with Venus, or Claudius with Messalina. And 'tis impossible almost in such cases, the wife should containe, or the good man not be jealous. For when he is so defective, weak, ill proportioned, unpleasing in those parts which women most affect, and she most absolutely faire and able on the other side, if she be not very vertuously given, how can she love him? and although she be not faire, yet if he admire her and think her so, in his conceit she is absolute; he holds it unpossible for any man living not to dote as he doth; to look on her and not lust or covet, and if he be in company with her, not to lay siege to her honestie: or else, out of a deep apprehension of his infirmities, deformities, and other mens good parts, out of his own little worth and desert, he distrusts himselfe, (for what is jealousie but distrust?) he suspects she cannot affect him, nor be so kinde and loving as she should; she certainly loves some other man better then himselfe.

[c] *Nevisanus lib. 4. num. 72.* will have barrenness to be a main cause of jealousie. If her husband cannot play the man, some other shall; they will leave no remedies unassayed, and thereupon the good man growes jealous, I could give an instance, but be it as it is.

I finde this reason given by some men, because they have been formerly naught themselves; they think they may be so served by others; they turned up trumpe, before the cards were shuffled; they shall have therefore *legem talionis*, like for like.

> [d] Ipse miser docui, quo posset ludere pacto
> Custodes, eheu nunc premor arte meâ!
>
> Wretch as I was, I taught her bad to be,
> And now mine own slye tricks are put on me.

Mala mens, malus animus, as the saying is, ill dispositions cause ill suspitions.

[a] Hor. epist. 15. [b] De re uxoriâ lib. 1. cap. 5. [c] Cum steriles sunt, ex mutatione viri se putant concipere. [d] Tibullus eleg. 6.

[a] There is none jealous, I durst pawne my life,
But he that hath defil'd anothers wife:
And for that he himself hath gone astray,
He straightway thinks his wife will tread that waye.

To these two above named causes, or incendiaries of this rage, I may very well annex those circumstances of time, place, persons, by which it ebbes and flowes, the fewell of this furie, as [b] Vives truely observes; and such like accidents or occasions, proceeding from the parties themselves, or others, which much aggravate and intend this suspitious humour. For many men are so lasciviously given, either out of a depraved nature, or too much liberty, which they do assume unto themselves, by reason of their greatnesse, in that they are noble men, (for *licentia peccandi, et multitudo peccantium* are great motives) though their own wives be never so faire, noble, vertuous, honest, wise, able and well given, they must have change.

[c] Qui cum legitimi junguntur fœdere lecti,
Virtute egregiis, facieque domoque puellis,
Scorta tamen, fœdasque lupas in fornice quærunt,
Et per adulterium nova carpere gaudia tentant.

Who being match'd to wives most vertuous,
Noble and faire, fly out lascivious.

Quod licet ingratum est, that which is ordinary, is unpleasant. Nero (saith Tacitus) abhorred Octavia his own wife, a noble vertuous lady, and loved Acte a base quean in respect. [d] Cerinthus rejected Sulpitia, a noble mans daughter, and courted a poore servant maid.

——— Tanta est alienâ in messe voluptas,

for that [e] *stolne waters be more pleasant:* or as Vitellius the emperour was wont to say, *Jucundiores amores, qui cum periculo habentur;* like stolne venison, still the sweetest is that love, which is most difficultly attained: they like better to hunt by stealthe in another mans walk, then to have the fairest course that may be, at game of their own.

[f] Aspice ut in cœlo modo Sol, modo Luna ministret,
Sic etiam nobis una puella parum est.

As Sun and Moone in Heaven change their course,
So they change loves, though often to the worse.

[a] Withers Sat. [b] 3. de Animâ. Crescit ac decrescit zelotypia cum personis, locis, temporibus, negotiis. [c] Marullus. [d] Tibullus Epig. [e] Prov. 9. 17. [f] Propert. eleg. 2.

Or that some faire object so forcibly moves them, they cannot contain themselves, be it heard or seen they will be at it. [a] Nessus the Centaure, was by agreement, to carry Hercules and his wife over the river Evenus; no sooner had he set Deianira on the other side, but would he have offered violence unto her, leaving Hercules to swim over as he could: and though her husband was a spectator, yet he would not desist till Hercules with a poysoned arrow shot him to death. [b] Neptune saw by chance, that Thessalian Tyro, Eunippius wife; he forthwith, in the furie of his lust, counterfeited her husbands habit, and made him a cuckold. Tarquin heard Collatine commend his wife, and was so far enraged, that in midst of the night to her he went. [c] Theseus stole Ariadne, *vi rapuit*, that Trazenian Anaxa, Antiope, and now being old, Helena, a girle not yet ready for an husband. Great men are most part thus affected all, as an horse they neigh, saith [d] Jeremiah, after their neighbours wives;

——— ut visa pullus adhinnit equa.

And if they be in company with other women, though in their own wives presence, they must be courting and dallying with them. Juno, in Lucian, complains of Jupiter that he was still kissing Ganymede before her face, which did not a little offend her: And besides he was a counterfeit Amphitryo, a bull, a swan, a golden showre, and plaid many such bad pranks, too long, too shamefull to relate.

Or they care little for their own ladies, and fear no lawes, they dare freely keep whores at their wives noses. 'Tis too frequent with noblemen to be dishonest; *Pietas, probitas, fides, privata bona sunt*, as [e] he said long since; piety, chastity, and such like vertues, are for private men: not to be much looked after in great courts: And what Suetonius said of the good princes of his time, they might be all engraven in one ring, we may truely hold of chast potentates of our age. For great personages will familiarly run out in this kinde, and yeeld occasion of offence. [f] Montaigne, in his essayes, gives instance in Cæsar, Mahomet the Turke, that sacked Constantinople, and Ladislaus king of Naples, that besieged Florence: great men, and great souldiers, are commonly great &c. *probatum est*, they are good doers. Mars and Venus are equally ballanced in their actions.

[g] Militis in galeâ nidum fecêre columbæ,
Apparet Marti quam sit amica Venus.

[a] Ovid. lib. 9. Met. Pausanias, Strabo, quum crevit imbribus hyemalibus, Deianiram suscipit, Herculem nando sequi jubet. [b] Lucian. tom. 4. [c] Plutarch. [d] Cap. 5. 8. [e] Seneca. [f] Lib. 2. cap. 23. [g] Petronius Catal.

A dove within a head-piece made her nest,
'Twixt Mars and Venus see an interest.

Especially if they be bald, for bald men have ever been suspitious (reade more in Aristotle *sect.* 4. *prob.* 19.) as Galba, Otho, Domitian, and remarkable Cæsar amongst the rest. [a] *Urbani, servate uxores, mœchum calvum adducimus;* besides, this bald Cæsar, saith Curio in Sueton, was *omnium mulierum vir;* he made love to Eunöe queen of Mauritania, to Cleopatra, to Posthumia wife to Sergius Sulpitius, to Lollia wife to Gabinius, to Tertulla of Crassus, and to Mutia Pompey's wife; and I know not how many besides. And well he might, for if all be true that I have reade, he had a licence to lye with whom he list. *Inter alios honores Cæsari decretos* (as Sueton. *cap.* 52. *de* Julio, and Dion *lib.* 44. relate) *jus illi datum, cum quibuscunque fœminis se jungendi.* Every private history will yeeld such variety of instances: Otherwise good, wise, discreet men, vertuous and valiant, but too faulty in this. Priamus had fifty sons, but seventeen alone lawfully begotten. [b] Philippus bonus left fourteen bastards. Laurence Medices, a good prince and a wise, but, saith [c] Machiavel, prodigiously lascivious. None so valiant as Castruccius Castrucanus, but as the said author hath it, [d] none so incontinent as he was. And 'tis not only predominant in grandies, this fault: but if you will take a great mans testimony, 'tis familiar with every base souldier in France, (and elsewhere I think) *This vice* (saith [e] mine author) *is so common with us in France, that he is of no accompt, a meer coward, not worthy the name of a souldier, that is not a notorious whoremaster.* In Italy, he is not a gentleman, that besides his wife hath not a courtisan and a mistress. 'Tis no marvail then, if poore women in such cases be jealous, when they shall see themselves manifestly neglected, contemned, loathed, unkindly used: their disloyal husbands to entertain others in their rooms, and many times to court ladies to their faces: other mens wives to weare their jewels: how shall a poore woman in such a case moderate her passions?

[f] Quis tibi nunc Dido cernenti talia sensus?

How on the other side shall a poore man contain himself from this feral maladie, when he shall see so manifest signes of his wives inconstancy? when as, like Milo's wife, she dotes upon every yong man she sees; or as [g] Martial's Sota,

[a] Sueton. [b] Pontus Heuter vita ejus. [c] Lib. 8. Flor. hist. Dux omnium optimus et sapientissimus, sed in re venereâ prodigiosus. [d] Vita Castruccii. Idem uxores maritis abalienavit. [e] Sesellius lib. 2. de repub. Gallorum. Ita nunc apud infimos obtinuit hoc vitium, ut nullius fere pretii sit, et ignavus miles, qui non in scortatione maxime excellat, et adulterio. [f] Virg. Æn. 4. [g] Epig. 9. lib. 4.

——— deserto sequitur Clitum marito.

Though her husband be proper and tall, faire and lovely to behold, able to give contentment to any one woman, yet she will taste of the forbidden fruit: Juvenal's Iberina to an hair, she is as well pleased with one eye, as one man. If a yong gallant come by chance into her presence, a fastidious brisk, that can weare his cloaths well in fashion, with a locke, gingling spur, a feather, that can cringe, and withal complement, court a gentlewoman, she raves upon him, *O what a lovely proper man he was*, another Hector, an Alexander, a goodly man, a demi-god, how sweetly he carried himselfe, with how comely a grace, *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*, how neatly he did weare his cloaths!

[a] Quam sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis,

how bravely did he discourse, ride, sing and dance, &c. and then she begins to loath her husband, *repugnans osculatur*, to hate him and his filthie beard, his goatish complexion, as Doris said of Polyphemus, [b] *Totus qui saniem, totus ut hircus olet*, he is a rammy fulsome fellow, a goblin faced fellow, he smels, he stinkes,

Et cæpas simul alliumque ructat———

si quando ad thalamum, &c. how like a dizard, a foole, an asse he looks, how like a clowne he behaves himselfe! [c] shee will not come neer him by her good will, but wholly rejects him, as Venus did her fuliginous Vulcan, at last,

Nec Deus hunc mensâ, Dea nec dignata cubili est.

So did Lucretia a lady of Senes, after she had but seen Eurialus, *in Eurialum tota ferebatur, domum reversa*, &c. she would not hold her eys off him in his presence,

——— [d] Tantum egregio decus enitet ore,

and in his absence could think of none but him, *odit virum*, she loathed her husband forthwith, might not abide him.

[e] Et conjugalis negligens tori, viro
Præsente, acerbo nauseat fastidio.

All against the lawes of matrimony,
She did abhor her husbands phisnomy,

and sought all opportunity to see her sweet-heart again. Now when the good man shall observe his wife so lightly given, *to be*

[a] Virg. 4. Æn. [b] Secundus syl. [c] Æneas Silvius. [d] Virg. 4. Æn. [e] S. Græco Simonidis.

so free, and familiar with every gallant, her immodesty and wantonness (as [a] Camerarius notes) it must needs yeeld matter of suspition to him, when she still pranks up her self beyond her meanes and fortunes, makes impertinent journeys, unnecessary visitations, staies out so long, with such and such companions, so frequently goes to playes, masks, feasts, and all publique meetings, shall use such immodest [b] gestures, free speeches, and withal shew some distast of her own husband; how can he chuse, though he were another Socrates, but be suspitious, and instantly jealous?

> [c] Socraticas tandem faciet transcendere metas;

More especially, when he shall take notice of their more secret and slye tricks, which to cornute their husbands they commonly use, (*dum ludis, ludos hæc te facit*) they pretend love, honour, chastity, and seem to respect them before all men living, saints in shew, so cunningly can they dissemble, they will not so much as look upon another man, in his presence; [d] so chast, so religious, and so devout, they cannot endure the name or sight of a quean, an harlot, out upon her! and in their outward carriage are most loving and officious, will kiss their husband, and hang about his neck, (dear husband, sweet husband) and with a composed countenance, salute him, especially when he comes home, or if he go from home; weep, sigh, lament, and take upon them to be sick and swoune, (like Jocundo's wife in [e] Ariosto, when her husband was to depart) and yet arrant, &c. they care not for him,

> Aye me, the thought (quoth she) makes me so fraid,
> That scarse the breath abideth in my brest;
> Peace, my sweet love and wife, Jocundo said,
> And weeps as fast, and comforts her his best, &c.
> All this might not asswage the womans pain:
> Needs must I dye before you come again,
> Nor how to keep my life I can devise,
> The doleful dayes and nights I shall sustain,
> From meat my mouth, from sleep will keep mine eys, &c.
> That very night that went before the morrow,
> That he had pointed surely to depart,
> Jocundo's wife was sick, and swoun'd for sorrow
> Amid his armes, so heavy was her heart.

And yet for all these counterfeit tears and protestations, Jocundo coming back in all haste, for a jewell he had forgot,

[a] Cont. 2. ca. 38. Oper. subcis. Mulieris liberius et familiarius communicantis cum omnibus licentia et immodestia, sinistri sermonis et suspitionis materiam viro præbet. [b] Voces liberæ, oculorum colloquia, contrectationes parum verecundæ, motus immodici, &c. Heinsius. [c] Chaloner. [d] What is here said, is not prejudicial to honest women. [e] Lib. 28. sc. 13.

His chast and yoke-fellow he found,
Yok't with a knave, all honesty neglected;
Th' adulterer sleeping very sound,
Yet by his face was easily detected:
A beggars brat bred by him from his cradle,
And now was riding on his masters saddle.

Thus can they cunningly counterfeit, as [a]Platina describes their customes, *kiss their husbands, whom they had rather see hanging on the gallowes, and swear they love him dearer then their own lives; whose soule they would not ransome for their little dogs;*

——— similis si permutatio detur,
Morte viri cupiunt animam servare catellæ.

Many of them seem to be precise and holy forsooth, and will go to such a [b]church, to hear such a good man, by all meanes, an excellent man, when 'tis for no other intent (as he follows it) then *to see and to be seen, to observe what fashions are in use, to meet some pander, bawde, monke, frier, or to entise some good fellow.* For they perswade themselves, as [c]Nevisanus shews, *That it is neither sin nor shame to lye with a lord or a parish priest, if he be a proper man:* [d]*and though she kneele often, and pray devoutly, 'tis* (saith Platina) *not for her husbands welfare, or childrens good, or any friend, but for her sweet-hearts return, her panders health.* If her husband would have her go, she fains her self sick, [e]*Et simulat subito condoluisse caput:* her head akes, and she cannot stir: but if her paramour ask as much, she is for him in all seasons, at all houres of the night. [f]In the kingdome of Malabar, and about Goa in the East-Indies, the women are so subtile, that with a certain drink they give them to drive away cares as they say, [g]*they will make them sleep for twenty foure houres, or so intoxicate them, that they can remember naught of that they saw done, or heard, and by washing of their feet, restore them again, and so make their husbands cuckolds to their faces.* Some are ill disposed at all times, to all persons they like, others more wary to some few, at such and such seasons; as

[a] Dial. amor. Pendet fallax et blanda circa oscula mariti, quem in cruce, si fieri posset, deosculari velit. Illius vitam cariorem esse suâ jurejurando affirmat: quem certe non redimeret animâ catelli si posset. [b] Adeunt templum ut rem divinam audiant, ut ipsæ simulant, sed vel ut Monachum fratrem, vel adulterum linguâ, oculis, ad libidinem provocent. [c] Lib. 4. num. 81. Ipsæ sibi persuadent, quod adulterium cum principe vel cum præsule, non est pudor, nec peccatum. [d] Deum rogat, non pro salute mariti, filii, cognati vota suscipit, sed pro reditu mæchi si abest, pro valetudine lenonis si ægrotet. [e] Tibullus. [f] Gotardus Artus descript. Indiæ Orient. Linchoften. [g] Garcias ab Horto hist. lib. 2. cap. 24. Daturam herbam vocat et describit. Tam proclives sunt ad venerem mulieres, ut viros inebrient per 24 horas, liquore quodam, ut nihil videant, recordentur, at dormiant; et post lotionem pedum, ad se restituunt, &c.

Augusta, Livia, *non nisi plenâ navi vectorem tollebat.* But as he said,

> [a] No pen could write, no tongue attain to tell,
> By force of eloquence, or help of art,
> Of womens treacheries the hundredth part.

Both, to say truth, are often faulty; men and women give just occasions in this humor of discontent, aggravate and yeeld matter of suspition: but most part of the chief causes proceed from other adventitious accidents and circumstances, though the parties be free, and both well given themselves. The undiscreet carriage of some lascivious gallant (*et e contra* of some light woman) by his often frequenting of an house, bold unseemly gestures, may make a breach, and by his over familiarity, if he be inclined to yellowness, colour him quite out. If he be poor, basely born, saith Benedetto Varchi, and otherwise unhandsome, he suspects him the lesse; but if a proper man, such as was Alcibiades in Greece, and Castruccius Castrucanus in Italy, well descended, commendable for his good parts, he taketh on the more, and watcheth his doings. [b] Theodosius the emperour, gave his wife Eudoxia a golden apple when he was a suiter to her, which she long after bestowed upon a yong gallant in the court, of her especiall acquaintance. The emperour, espying this apple in his hand, suspected forthwith, more then was, his wives dishonesty, banished him the court, and from that day following forbare to accompany her any more. [c] A rich merchant had a faire wife; according to his custome, he went to travell; in his absence a good fellow tempted his wife; she denied him; yet he dying a little after, gave her a legacy for the love he bore her. At his return, her jealous husband, because she had got more by land then he had done at sea, turned her away upon suspition.

Now when those other circumstances of time and place, opportunity and importunity shall concurre, what will they not effect?

> Faire opportunitie can win the coyest she that is,
> So wisely he takes time, as hee'll be sure he will not miss:
> Then he that loves her gamesome vein, and tempers toyes with art,
> Brings love that swimmeth in her eys, to dive into her heart.

As at playes, masks, great feasts and banquets, one singles out his wife to dance, another courts her in his presence, a third tempts her, a fourth insinuates with a pleasing complement, a sweet smile, ingratiates himself with an amphibological speech,

[a] Ariosto, lib. 28. st. 75. [b] Lipsius Polit. [c] Seneca lib. 2. controv. 8.

as that merry companion in the [a]satyrist did to his Glycerium, *adsidens et interiorem palmam amabiliter concutiens,*

Quod meus hortus habet, sumas impune licebit,
Si dederis nobis quod tuus hortus habet,

with many such, &c. and then as he saith,

[b] She may no while in chastity abide,
That is assaid on every side.

For after a great feast,

[c] Vino sæpe suum nescit amica virum.

Noah (saith [d]Hierome) *shewed his nakedness in his drunkenness, which for six hundred yeers he had covered in soberness.* Lot lay with his daughters in his drink, as Cyneras with Myrrha,

—— quid enim Venus ebria curat?

The most continent may be overcome, or if otherwise they keep bad company, they that are modest of themselves, and dare not offend, *confirmed by* [f] *others, grow impudent, and confident, and get an ill habit.*

[g] Alia quæstûs gratiâ matrimonium corrumpit,
Alia peccans multas vult morbi habere socias.

Or if they dwell in suspected places, as in an infamous inne, neer some stewes, neer monkes, friers, Nevisanus addes, where be many tempters and solliciters, idle persons that frequent their companies, it may give just cause of suspition. Martial of old enveighed against them that counterfeited a disease to go to the bath; for so, many times,

——relicto
Conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helena.

Æneas Silvius puts in a caveat against princes courts, because there be *tot formosi juvenes qui promittunt*; so many brave suiters to tempt, &c. [h] *If you leave her in such a place, you shall likely find her in company you like not; either they come to her, or she is gone to them.* [i]Kornmannus makes a doubting jest in his lascivious countrey, *Virginis illibata censeatur ne castitas ad quam frequenter accedant scholares?* And

[a] Bodicher. Sat. [b] Chaucer. [c] Tibullus. [d] Epist. 85. ad Oceanum. Ad unius horæ ebrietatem nudat femora, quæ per sexcentos annos sobrietate contexerat. [e] Juv. Sat. 13. [f] Nihil audent primo, post ab aliis confirmatæ, audaces et confidentes sunt. Ubi semel verecundiæ limites transierint. [g] Euripides. l. 63. [h] De miser. Curialium. Aut alium cum eâ invenies, aut isse alium reperies. [i] Cap. 18. de Virg.

Baldus, the lawyer scoffes on, *quum scholaris, inquit, loquitur cum puellâ, non præsumitur ei dicere, pater noster*; when a scholler talkes with a maid, or another mans wife in private, it is presumed he saith not a *pater noster*. Or if I shall see a monke or frier climbe up by a ladder at midnight into a virgins or widdowes chamber window, I shall hardly think he then goes to administer the sacraments, or to take her confession. These are the ordinary causes of jealousie, which are intended or remitted as the circumstances vary.

MEMB. II. SUBSECT. I.

Symptomes of Jealousie; Feare, Sorrow, Suspition, strange Actions, Gestures, Outrages, Locking-up, Oathes, Trials, Lawes, &c.

OF all passions, as I have already proved, love is most violent, and of those bitter potions which this Love-Melancholy affords, this bastard jealousie is the greatest, as appears by those prodigious symptomes which it hath, and that it produceth. For besides feare and sorrow, which is common to all melancholy, anxiety of minde, suspition, aggravation, restless thoughts, paleness, meagerness, neglect of business, and the like, these men are farther yet misaffected, and in an higher strain. 'Tis a more vehement passion, a more furious perturbation, a bitter pain, a fire, a pernicious curiosity, a gall corrupting the hony of our life, madness, vertigo, plague, hell, they are more then ordinarily disquieted, they lose *bonum pacis*, as [a] Chrysostome observes; and though they be rich, keep sumptuous tables, be nobly allied, yet *miserrimi omnium sunt*, they are most miserable; they are more then ordinarily discontent, more sad, *nihil tristius*, more then ordinarily suspitious. *Jealousie*, saith [b] Vives, *begets unquietness in the minde, night and day: he hunts after every word he hears, every whisper, and amplifies it to himself* (as all melancholy men do in other matters) *with a most injust calumny of others, he misinterprets every thing is said or done, most apt to mistake or misconstrue*; he pryes into every corner, follows close, observes to an hair. 'Tis proper to jealousie so to do,

> Pale hag, infernall fury, pleasures smart,
> Envies observer, pryeing in every part.

[a] Hom. 38. in c. 17. Gen. Etsi magnis affluunt divitiis, &c. [b] 3. de Animâ. Omnes voces, auras, omnes susurros captat zelotypus, et amplificat apud se cum iniquissimâ de singulis calumniâ. Maxime suspitiosi, et ad pejora credendum proclives.

Besides those strange gestures of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eys, menacing, ghastly looks, broken pace, interrupt, precipitate, half-turns. He will sometimes sigh, weep, sob for anger,

Nempe suos imbres etiam ista tonitrua fundunt,

swear and bely, slander any man, curse, threaten, braule, scold, fight; and sometimes again flatter, and speak faire, ask forgiveness, kisse and coll, condemn his rashness and folly, vow, protest and swear he will never do so again; and then eftsoons, impatient as he is, rave, roar, and lay about him like a mad man, thump her sides, drag her about, perchance, drive her out of doors, send her home, he will be divorced forthwith, she is a whore, &c. by and by, with all submiss complement intreat her faire, and bring her in again; he loves her dearly; she is his sweet, most kinde and loving wife; he will not change, not leave her for a kingdome; so he continues off and on, as the toy takes him, the object moves him, but most part brauling, fretting, unquiet he is; accusing and suspecting not strangers only, but brothers and sisters, father and mother, neerest and dearest friends. He thinks with those Italians,

Chi non tocca parentado,
Tocca mai e rado.

And through feare, conceives unto himself things almost incredible and impossible to be effected. As an hearn when she fishes, still pryeing on all sides; or as a cat doth a mouse, his eye is never off hers; he glotes on him, on her, accurately observing on whom she looks, who looks at her, what she saith, doth, at dinner, at supper, sitting, walking, at home, abroad, he is the same, still enquiring, mandring gazing, listning, affrighted with every small object; why did she smile, why did she pitty him, commend him? why did she drink twice to such a man? why did she offer to kisse, to dance? &c. a whore, a whore, an arrant whore. All this he confesseth in the poet,

[a] Omnia me terrent, timidus sum, ignosce timori,
Et miser in tunicâ suspicor esse virum.
Me lædit si multa tibi dabit oscula mater,
Me soror, et cum qua dormit amica simul.

Each thing affrights me, I do feare,
Ah pardon me my feare:
I doubt a man is hid within
The cloathes that thou dost wear.

Is 't not a man in womans apparel? is not some body in that

[a] Propertius.

great chest, or behinde the door, or hangings, or in some of those barrels? May not a man steal in at the window with a ladder of ropes, or come down the chimney, have a false key, or get in when he is asleep? If a mouse do but stir, or the winde blow, a casement clatter, that's the villaine, there he is. By his good will, no man shall see her, salute her, speak with her, she shall not go forth of his sight, so much as to do her needs. [a] *Non ita bovem Argus, &c.* Argus did not so keep his cow, that watchful dragon the golden fleece, or Cerberus the comming-in of hell, as he keepes his wife. If a dear friend or neer kinsman come as guest to his house, to visit him, he will never let him be out of his own sight and company, lest peradventure, &c. If the necessity of his business be such, that he must go from home, he doth either lock her up, or commit her with a deale of injunctions and protestations to some trusty friends, him and her he sets and bribes to oversee. One servant is set in his absence to watch another, and all to observe his wife, and yet all this will not serve, though his business be very urgent, he will, when he is halfeway, come back again in all post hast, rise from supper, or at midnight, and be gone, and sometimes leave his business undone, and as a stranger court his own wife in some disguised habit. Though there be no danger at all, no cause of suspition, she live in such a place, where Messalina her self could not be dishonest if she would, yet he suspects her as much as if she were in a bawdy house, some princes court, or in a common inne, where all comers might have free accesse. He cals her on a sudden, all to naught; she is a strumpet, a light huswife, a bitch, an arrant whore. No perswasion, no protestation can divert this passion, nothing can ease him, secure or give him satisfaction. It is most strange to report what outragious acts by men and women have been committed in this kinde; by women especially, that will run after their husbands into all places and companies, as [b] Jovianus Pontanus wife did by him, follow him whithersoever he went, it matters not, or upon what business, raving like Juno in the tragœdy, miscalling, cursing, swearing, and mistrusting every one she sees. Gomesius, in his third book of the life and deeds of Francis Ximenius, sometime Archbishop of Toledo, hath a strange story of that incredible jealousie, of Joane queen of Spain, wife to king Philip, mother of Ferdinand and Charles the 5th. Emperours. When her husband Philip, either for that he was tyred with his wives jealousie, or had some great business, went into the low-countries, she was so impatient and melancholy upon his departure, that she would scarce eat her meat,

[a] Æneas Silv. [b] Ant. Dial.

or converse with any man; and though she were with child, the season of the yeer very bad, the winde against her, in all haste she would to sea after him. Neither Isabella, her queen mother, the archbishop, or any other friend could perswade her to the contrary, but she would after him. When she was now come into the Low-countries, and kindly entertained by her husband, she could not contain her self, [a] *but in a rage, ran upon a yellow hair'd wench,* with whom she suspected her husband to be nought, *cut off her hair, did beat her blacke and blew, and so dragged her about.* It is an ordinary thing for women, in such cases, to scrat the faces, slit the noses of such as they suspect; as Henry the seconds importune Juno did by Rosamond at Woodstock: for she complains in a moderne [b] poet, she scarse spake,

> But flies with eager fury to my face,
> Offering me most unwomanly disgrace.
> Look how a tigresse, &c.
> So fell she on me in outragious wise,
> As could disdain and jealousie devise.

Or if it be so, they dare not, or cannot execute any such tyrannical injustice, they will miscall, rail and revile, bear them deadly hate and malice, as [c] Tacitus observes; *The hatred of a jealous woman is inseparable against such as she suspects.*

> [d] Nulla vis flammæ, tumidique venti
> Tanta, nec teli metuenda torti,
> Quanta cum conjux viduata tædis
> Ardet et odit.

> Windes, weapons, flames make not such hurly burly,
> As raving women turn all topsie turvy.

So did Agrippina by Lollia, and Calphurnia in the dayes of Claudius. But women are sufficiently curbed in such cases, the rage of men is more eminent, and frequently put in practise. See but with what rigour those jealous husbands tyrannize over their poor wives. In Greece, Spain, Italy, Turkie, Africke, Asia, and generally over all those hot countries, [e] *Mulieres vestræ terra vestra, arate sicut vultis.* Mahomet, in his Alcoran, gives this power to men: Your wives are as your land, till them, use them, intreat them faire or fowl, as you will yourselves.

> [f] Mecastor, lege durâ vivunt mulieres.

They lock them stil in their houses, which are as so many pri-

[a] Rabie conceptâ, cæsariem abrasit, puellæque mirabiliter insultans, faciem vibicibus fœdavit. [b] Daniel. [c] Annal. lib. 12. Principis mulieris zelotypæ est in alias mulieres quas suspectas habet, odium inseparabile. [d] Seneca in Medea. [e] Alcoran cap. Bovis, interprete Ricardo præd. 8. Confutationis. [f] Plautus.

sons to them; will suffer no body to come at them, or their wives to be seen abroad:

——— nec campos liceat lustrare patentes.

They must not so much as look out. And if they be great persons, they have eunuchs to keep them, as the Grand Seignior among the Turkes, the Sophies of Persia, those Tartarian Mogors, and kings of China. *Infantes masculos castrant innumeros ut regi serviant*, saith [a] Riccius; *they geld innumerable infants* to this purpose. The king of [b] China *maintains 10000 eunuchs in his family, to keep his wives.* The Xeriffes of Barbary keep their curtisans in such strict manner, that if any man come but in sight of them, he dies for it; and if they chance to see a man, though from their windowes, and do not instantly crie out, they must be put to death. The Turkes have, I know not how many, black deformed eunuchs (for the white serve for other ministeries) to this purpose sent commonly from Ægypt, deprived in their childhood of all their privities; and brought up in the seraglie at Constantinople, to keep their wives, which are so penned up, they may not confer with any living man, or converse with yonger women, have a cucumber or carret sent in to them for their diet, but sliced, for feare, &c. and so live, and are left alone to their unchast thoughts, all the dayes of their lives. The vulgar sort of women, if at any time they come abroad, which is very seldome, to visit one another, or to go to their bathes, are so covered, that no man can see them, as the matrons were in old Rome, *lecticâ aut sellâ tectâ vectæ;* so [c] Dion and Seneca record, *Velatæ totæ incedunt;* [d] Which Alexander ab Alexandro relates of the Parthians, *lib. 5. cap. 24.* which, with Adreas Tiraquellus his commentator, I rather think should be understood of Persians. I have not yet said all. They do not onely lock them up, *sed et pudendis seras adhibent.* Hear what Bembus relates, *lib. 6.* of his Venetian History, of those inhabitants that dwell about Quiloa in Africke. *Lusitani, inquit, quorundam civitates adierunt, qui natis statim fœminis naturam consuunt, quoad urinæ exitus ne impediatur, easque quum adoleverint sic consutas in matrimonium collocant, ut sponsi prima cura sit conglutinatas puellæ oras ferro interscindere.* In some parts of Greece at this day, like those old Jewes, they will not beleeve their wives are honest, *nisi pannum menstruatum prima nocte videant.* Our countryman [e] Sands, in his peregrination, saith, it is severely observed in Zazynthus, or Zante; and Leo Afer in his time, at Fez in Africke, *non credunt virgi-*

[a] Expedit. in Sinas l. 3. c. 9. [b] Decem eunuchorum millia numerantur in Regiâ familiâ, qui servant uxores ejus. [c] Lib. 37. ep. 81. [d] Semotas a viris servant in interioribus, ab eorum conspectu immunes. [e] Lib. 1. fol. 7.

nem esse, nisi videant sanguineam mappam; si non, ad parentes pudore rejicitur. Those sheets are publiquely shewed by their parents, and kept as a signe of incorrupt virginity. The Jewes of old, examined their maids *ex tenui membrana*, called hymen, which Laurentius in his Anatomy, Columbus, *lib.* 12. *cap.* 16. Capivaccius, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 11. *de uteri affectibus*, Vincent. Alsarus Genuensis *quæsit. med. cent.* 4. Hieronymus Mercurialis *consult.* Ambros. Pareus, Julius Cæsar Claudinus *Respons.* 4. as that also *de* [a] *ruptura venarum ut sanguis fluat*, copiously confute: 'tis no sufficient trial, they contend. And yet others again defend it. Gasper Bartholinus *Institut. Anat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 31. Pinæus of Paris, Albertus Magnus *de secret. mulier. cap.* 9 *et* 10. &c. and think they speak too much in favour of women. [b] Ludovicus Boncialus, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. *muliebr. naturalem illam uteri labiorum constrictionem, in quâ virginitatem consistere volunt, astringentibus medicinis fieri posse vendicat; et si defloratæ sint, astutæ* [c] *mulieres* (*inquit*) *nos fallunt in his. Idem* Alsarius Crucius Genuensis *iisdem fere verbis. Idem* Avicenna *lib.* 3. *Fen.* 20. *tract.* 1. *cap.* 47. [d] Rhasis *Continent. lib.* 24. Rodericus a Castro *de nat. mul. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. An old bawdy nurse, in [e] Aristænetus, (like that Spanish Cælestina, [f] *quæ quinque mille virgines fecit mulieres, totidemque mulieres arte suâ virgines*) when a faire maid of her acquaintance wept and made her moane to her, how she had been deflowred, and now ready to be married, was afraid it would be perceived, comfortably replyed, *Noli vereri filia, &c. Fear not, daughter, I'll teach thee a trick to help it. Sed hæc extra callem.* To what end are all those astrologicall questions, *an sit virgo, an sit casta, an sit mulier?* and such strange absurd trials in Albertus Magnus, Bap. Porta, Mag. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 21, in Wecker. *lib.* 5. *de secret.* by stones, perfumes, to make them pisse, and confess I know not what, in their sleep. Some jealous brain was the first founder of them. And to what passion may we ascribe those severe laws against jealousie, *Num.* 5. 14. Adulterers, *Deut. cap.* 22. *v.* 22. amongst the Hebrewes? amongst the Ægyptians (reade [g] Bohemus *l.* 1 *c.* 5. *de mor. gen.* of the Carthaginians, *cap.* 6. of Turkes, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 11.) amongst the Athenians of old? Italians at this day, wherein they are to be severely punished, cut in peeces, burned, *vivi-comburio*, buried alive, with severall expurgations, &c. are they not as so many symptomes of incre-

[a] Disruptiones hymenis sæpe fiunt a propriis digitis vel ab aliis instrumentis. [b] Idem Rhasis Arab. Cont. [c] Ita clausæ pharmacis ut non possunt coitum exercere. [d] Qui et Pharmacum præscribit docetque. [e] Epist. 6. Mercero Inter. [f] Barthius. Ludus illi temeratum pudicitiæ florem mentitis machinis pro integro vendere. Ego docebo te, qui mulier ante nuptias sponso te probes virginem. [g] Qui mulierem violasset, virilia execabant, et mille virgas dabant.

gunde his queen. In a jealous humour, he came from hunting, and stole behinde his wife, as she was dressing and combing her head in the sun, gave her a familiar touch with his wand, which she mistaking for her lover said, *Ah Landre, a good knight should strike before, and not behinde:* but when she saw herself betrayed by his presence, she instantly took order to make him away. Hierome Osorius, in the eleventh book of the deeds of Emanuel king of Portugal, to this effect hath a tragical narration, of one Ferdinandus Chalderia, that wounded Gotherinus, a noble countryman of his, at Goa in the East Indies, [a] *and cut off one of his legs, for that he looked, as he thought, too familiarly upon his wife; which was afterwards a cause of many quarrels, and much bloudshed.* Guianerius, *cap.* 36. *de ægritud. matr.* speakes of a silly jealous fellow, that seeing his childe new born, included in a kell, thought sure a [b] *Franciscan, that used to come to his house, was the father of it, it was so like the friers coule; and thereupon threatned the frier to kill him.* Fulgosus, of a woman in Narbone, that cut off her husbands privities in the night, because she thought he plaid false with her. The story of [c] Jonuses Bassa and faire Manto his wife, is well known to such as have read the Turkish history; and that of Joane of Spain, of which I treated in my former section. Her jealousie, saith Gomesius, was cause of both their deaths. King Philip died for grief a little after, as [d] Martian his physician gave it out; *and she, for her part, after a melancholy discontented life, mispent in lurking holes, and corners, made an end of her miseries.* Fœlix Plater in the first booke of his observations, hath many such instances; of a physician, of his acquaintance, [e] *that was first mad through jealousie, and afterwards desperate.* Of a merchant [f] *that killed his wife in the same humour, and after precipitated himself.* Of a doctor of law that cut off his mans nose. Of a painters wife in Basil, anno 1600, that was mother of nine children, and had been 27 yeers married, yet afterwards jealous, and so impatient, that she became desperate, and would neither eat nor drink in her own house, for feare her husband should poyson her. 'Tis a common signe this; for when once the humours are stirred, and the imagination misaffected, it will vary itself in divers forms; and many such absurd

[a] Qui Goæ uxorem habens, Gotherinum principem quendam virum quod uxori suæ oculos adjecisset, ingenti vulnere deformavit in facie, et tibiam abscidit, unde mutuæ cædes. [b] Eo quod infans natus involutus esset panniculo, credebat eum filium fratris Francisci, &c. [c] Knowles. [d] Zelotypiæ reginæ regis mortem accelleravit paulo post, ut Martianus medicus mihi retulit. Illa autem atrâ bile inde exagitata, in latebras se subducens, præ ægritudine animi reliquum tempus consumpsit. [e] A zelotypiâ redactus ad insaniam et desperationem. [f] Uxorem interemit, inde desperabundus, ex alto se præcipitavit.

symptomes will accompany, even madness it self. Sckenkius *observat. lib.* 4. *cap. de Uter.* hath an example of a jealous woman, that by this meanes had many fits of the mother: and in his first book, of some that through jealousie, ran mad: of a baker that gelded himself to try his wives honesty, &c. Such examples are too common.

MEMB. IV. SUBSECT. I.

Cure of Jealousie. By avoiding occasions; not to be idle: By good counsell. To contemn it; not to watch or lock them up: to dissemble it, &c.

AS of all other melancholy, some doubt whether this malady may be cured or no; they think 'tis like the [a] gout, or Switzers, whom we commonly call Wallones, those hired souldiers, if once they take possession of a castle, they can never be got out.

Qui timet ut sua sit, ne quis sibi subtrahat illam,
Ille Machaoniâ vix ope salvus erit.

[b] This is that cruel wound against whose smart,
No liquors force prevailes, or any plaister,
No skill of starres, no depth of magick art,
Devised by that great clerk Zoroaster;
A wound that so infects the soule and heart,
As all our sense and reason it doth master;
A wound whose pange and torment is so durable,
As it may rightly called be incurable.

Yet what I have formerly said of other melancholy, I will say again, it may be cured, or mitigated at least, by some contrary passion, good counsell and perswasion, if it be withstood in the beginning, maturely resisted, *and as those ancients hold,* [c] *the nailes of it be pared before they grow too long.* No better meanes to resist or repell it, then by avoiding idleness; to be stil seriously busied about some matters of importance, to drive out those vaine fears, foolish fantasies and irksome suspitions out of his head, and then to be perswaded by his judicious friends, to give eare to their good counsell and advice, and wisely to consider, how much he discredits himself, his friends, dishonours his children, disgraceth his family, publisheth his shame, and as a trumpeter of his own misery, divulgeth,

[a] Tollere nodosam nescit medicina podagram. [b] Ariosto lib. 31. staff. 5.
[c] Veteres mature suadent ungues amoris esse radendos, priusquam producant se nimis.

macerates, grieves himself and others: what an argument of weakness it is, how absurd a thing in its own nature, how ridiculous, how brutish a passion, how sottish, how odious. How harebraine a disease, mad and furious. For as [a] Hierome well hath it, *Odium sui facit, et ipse novissime sibi odio est*, others hate him, and at last he hates himself for it. If he will but hear them speake, no doubt he may be cured. [b] Joane, queen of Spain, of whom I have formerly spoken, under pretence of changing ayr, was sent to Complutum, or Alcada de las Heneras, where Ximenius the archbishop of Toledo then lived, that by his good counsell (as for the present she was) she might be eased. [c] *For a disease of the soule, if concealed, tortures and overturnes it, and by no physicke can sooner be removed then by a discreet mans comfortable speeches.* I will not here insert any consolatory sentences to this purpose, or forestall any mans invention, but leave it to every one to dilate and amplifie, as he shall think fit in his own judgement. Let him advise with Siracides *cap.* 9. 1. *Be not jealous over the wife of thy bosome;* reade that comfortable and pithy speech to this purpose of Ximenius in the author himself, as it is recorded by Gomesius; consult with Chaloner *lib.* 9. *de repub. Anglor.* or Cælia in her epistles, &c. Onely this I will adde, that if it be considered aright, which causeth this jealous passion, be it just or unjust, whether with or without cause, true or false, it ought not so hainously to be taken; 'tis no such real or capital matter, that it should make so deep a wounde. 'Tis a blow that hurts not, an insensible smart, grounded many times upon false suspition alone, and so fostered by a sinister conceit. If she be not dishonest, he troubles and macerates himself without a cause; or put case, which is the worst, he be a cuckold, it cannot be helped, the more he stirres in it, the more he aggravates his own misery. How much better were it, in such a case, to dissemble or contemne it? why should that be feared which cannot be redressed? *multæ tandem deposuerunt* (saith [d] Vives) *quum flecti maritos non posse vident*, many women when they see there is no remedy, have been pacified; and shall men be more jealous then women? 'Tis some comfort in such a case to have companions.

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris;

Who can say he is free? Who can assure himself he is not one *de præterito*, or secure himself *de futuro?* If it were his case

[a] In Jovianum. [b] Gomesius lib. 3. de reb. gestis Ximenii. [c] Urit enim præcordia ægritudo animi compressa, et in angustias adducta mentem subvertit, nec alio medicamine facilius erigitur, quam cordati hominis sermone. [d] 3. De animâ.

alone, it were hard; but being as it is, almost a common calamity, 'tis not so grievously to be taken. If a man have a locke, which every mans key will open, as well as his owne, why should he think to keep it private to himself? In some countries they make nothing of it, *ne nobiles quidem*, saith [a] Leo Afer, in many parts of Africke (if she be past fourteen) there's not a noble man that marries a maid, or that hath a chast wife; 'tis so common; as the moone gives horns once a moneth to the world, do they to their husbands, at least. And 'tis most part true, which that [b] Caledonian lady, (wife of Argetocoxus, a British prince) told Julia Augusta, when she took her up for dishonesty, *We Brittaines are naught at least with some few choyce men of better sort, but you Romans lye with every base knave; you are a company of common whores.* Severus the emperour, in his time, made lawes for the restraint of this vice; and as [c] Dion Nicæus relates in his life, *tria millia mœchorum*, three thousand cuckold makers, or *naturæ monetam adulterantes*, as Philo cals them, false coyners and clippers of natures mony, were summoned into the court at once. And yet,

Non omnem molitor quæ fluit undam videt;

the miller sees not all the water that goes by his mill: no doubt but as in our dayes, these were of the commonalty; all the great ones were not so much as called in question for it. [d] Martial's Epigram, I suppose, might have been generally applied in those licencious times, *Omnia solus habes*, &c. thy goods, lands, mony, wits are thine owne, *Uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo;* but neighbour Candidus your wife is common. Husband and cuckold in that age, it seems were reciprocal termes; the emperours themselves, did wear Actæon's badge; how many Cæsars might I reckon up together, and what a catalogue of cornuted kings and princes in every story? Agamemnon, Menelaus, Philippus of Greece, Ptolomeus of Ægypt, Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompeius, Cato, Augustus, Antonius, Antoninus, &c. that wore fair plumes of bulls feathers in their crests. The bravest souldiers and most heroical spirits could not avoid it. They have been active and passive in this business, they have either given or taken hornes. [e] King Arthur, whom we call one of the nine worthies, for all his great valour was unworthily served by Mordred, one of his round-table knights: and Guithera, or Helena Alba his faire wife, as Leland

[a] Lib. 3. [b] Argetocoxi Caledonii Reguli uxor, Juliæ Augustæ cum ipsam morderet quod inhoneste versaretur, respondet; Nos cum optimis viris consuetudinem habemus; vos Romanas autem occulte passim homines constuprant. [c] Leges de mœchis fecit, ex civibus plures in jus vocati. [d] L. 3. Epig. 26. [e] Asser. Arthuri; Parcerem libenter heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas aurem vellicaret. Leland.

interprets it, was an arrant honest woman. *Parcerem libenter* (saith [a]mine author) *Heroinarum læsæ majestati, si non historiæ veritas aurem vellicaret*, I could willingly winke at a faire ladies faults, but that I am bound, by the lawes of history, to tell the truth. Against his will, God knows, did he write it, and so do I repeat it. I speak not of our times all this while; we have good, honest, vertuous men and women, whom fame, zeale, feare of God, religion and superstition containes; and yet for all that, we have too many knights of this order, so dubbed by their wives; many good women abused by dissolute husbands, in some places; and such persons you may as soon enjoyn to carry water in a sieve, as to keep themselves honest. What shall a man do now in such a case? What remedy is to be had? how shall he be eased? By suing a divorce? that is hard to be effected: *si non caste, tamen caute*, they carry the matter so cunningly, that though it be as common as simony, as clear and as manifest as the nose in a mans face, yet it cannot be evidently proved, or they likely taken in the fact: they will have a knave Gallus to watch; or, with that Roman [b]Sulpitia, all made fast and sure,

> Ne se Cadurcis destitutam fasciis,
> Nudam Caleno concumbentem videat.

She will hardly be surprised by her husband, be he never so wary. Much better then to put it up: the more he strives in it, the more he shall divulge his owne shame: make a vertue of necessity, and conceal it. Yea, but the world takes notice of it, 'tis in every mans mouth: let them talke their pleasure, of whom speak they not in this sense? From the highest to the lowest, they are thus censured, all. There is no remedy then but patience. It may be 'tis his owne fault, and he hath no reason to complain, 'tis *quid pro quo*, she is bad, he is worse. [c]*Bethinke thy self, hast thou not done as much for some of thy neighbours? why dost thou require that of thy wife, which thou wilt not performe thy self?* Thou rangest like a *town bull*; [d]*why art thou so incensed if she tread awry?*

Emilia in Othello

> [e]Be it that some woman break chast wedlocks lawes,
> And leaves her husband and becomes unchast:
> Yet commonly it is not without cause,
> She sees her man in sin her goods to waste,
> She feels that he his love from her withdrawes,
> And hath on some, perhaps, less worthy plac't,

[a] Leland's assert. Arthuri. [b] Epigram. [c] Cogita an sic aliis tu unquam feceris; an hoc tibi nunc fieri dignum sit? severus aliis, indulgens tibi, cur ab uxore exigis quod non ipse præstas? Plutar. [d] Vaga libidine cum ipse quovis rapiaris, cur si vel modicum aberret ipsa, insanis? [e] Ariosto li. 28. staffe 80.

Who strikes with sword, the scabbard them may strike,
And sure, love craveth love, like asketh like.

Ea semper studebit, saith [a] Nevisanus, *pares reddere vices*, she will quit it if she can. And therefore as well adviseth Siracides, *cap.* 9. 1. *teach her not an evill lesson against thy self*, which as Jansenius, Lyranus, on this text, and Carthusianus interpret, is no otherwise to bee understood, then that she do thee not a mischief. I do not excuse her in accusing thee; but if both be naught, mend thy self first; for as the old saying is, A good husband makes a good wife.

Yea, but thou repliest, 'Tis not the like reason betwixt man and woman, through her fault my children are bastards, I may not endure it; [b] *Sit amarulenta, sit imperiosa, prodiga, &c.* let her scolde, brawle, and spend, I care not, *modo sit casta*, so she be honest, I could easily bear it; but this I cannot, I may not, I will not; my faith, my fame, mine eye must not be touched, as the diverbe is,

Non patitur tactum fama, fides, oculus.

I say the same of my wife, touch all, use all, take all but this. I acknowledge that of Seneca to be true, *Nullius boni jucunda possessio sine socio*, there is no sweet content in the possession of any good thing without a companion, this only excepted, I say, *This*. And why this? Even this which thou so much abhorrest, it may be for thy progenies good; [c] better be any mans son then thine, to be begot of base Irus, poor Seius, or mean Mœvius, the town swineheards, a shepheards son: and well is he, that like Hercules, hath any two fathers; for thou thy self hast, peradventure, more diseases then an horse, more infirmities of body and minde, a cankerd soule, crabbed conditions, make the worst of it, as it is *vulnus insanabile, sic vulnus insensibile*, as it is incurable, so it is insensible. But art thou sure it is so?

[d] res agit ille tuas?

doth he so indeed? It may be, thou art over suspitious, and without a cause as some are: if it be *octimestris partus*, born at eight moneths, or like him, and him, they fondly suspecte he got it; if she speake or laugh familiarly with such or such men, then presently she is naught with them: such is thy weakness. Whereas charity, or a well-disposed minde, would interpret all unto the best. S[t]. Francis, by chance, seeing a frier familiarly kissing another mans wife, was so far from misconceiving it, that he presently kneeled down and thanked God

[a] Sylva nupt. l. 4. num. 72. [b] Lemnius lib. 4. Cap. 10. de occult. nat. mir.
[c] Optimum bene nasci. [d] Mart.

there was so much charity left: but they, on the other side, will ascribe nothing to naturall causes, indulge nothing to familiarity, mutual society, friendship: but out of a sinister suspition, presently locke them close, watch them, thinking by those meanes to prevent all such inconveniences, that's the way to help it; whereas by such tricks they doe aggravate the mischiefe. 'Tis but in vain to watch that which will away.

> [a] Nec custodiri si velit ulla potest;
> Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia serves;
> Omnibus exclusis, intus adulter erit,
>
> None can be kept resisting for her part;
> Though body be kept close, within her heart
> Advoutry lurks, t' exclude it there's no art.

Argus with an hundred eys cannot keep her, *et hunc unus sæpe fefellit amor*, as in [b] Ariosto.

> If all our hearts were eys, yet sure, they said,
> We husbands of our wives should be betray'd.

Hierome holds, *Uxor impudica servari non potest, pudica non debet, infida custos castitatis est necessitas*, to what end is all your custody? A dishonest woman cannot be kept; an honest woman ought not to be kept; necessity is a keeper not to be trusted. *Difficile custoditur, quod plures amant;* That which many covet, can hardly be preserved, as [c] Salisburiensis thinks. I am of Æneas Silvius minde, [d] *Those jealous Italians do very ill to locke up their wives; for women are of such a disposition, they will most covet that which is denyed most, and offend least when they have free liberty to trespass.* It is in vain to locke her up if she be dishonest; *et tyrannicum imperium*, as our great master Aristotle cals it, too tyrannical a taske, most unfit. For when she perceives, her husband observes her and suspects, *liberius peccat*, saith [e] Nevisanus. [f] *Toxica zelotypo dedit uxor mœcha marito*, she is exasperated, seeks, by all meanes, to vindicate her self, and will therefore offend, because she is unjustly suspected. The best course then is to let them have their owne wills, give them free liberty, without any keeping.

> In vain our friends from this do us dehort,
> For beauty will be where is most resort.

[a] Ovid. amor. lib. 3. eleg. 4. [b] Lib. 4. st. 72. [c] Policrat. lib. 8. c. 11. De amor. [d] Eurial. et Lucret. Qui uxores occludunt, meo judicio minus utiliter faciunt; sunt enim eo ingenio mulieres, ut id potissimum cupiant, quod maxime denegatur. Si liberas habent habenas, minus delinquunt; frustra seram adhibes, si non sit sponte casta. [e] Quando cognoscunt maritos hoc advertere. [f] Ausonius.

If she be honest as Lucretia to Collatinus, Laodamia to Protesilaus, Penelope to her Ulysses, she will so continue her honour, good name, credit;

Penelope conjux semper Ulyssis ero.

And as Phocias wife in [a] Plutarch, called her husband *her wealth, treasure, world, joye, delight, orbe and spheare*, she will hers. The vow she made unto her good man; love, vertue, religion, zeale, are better keepers than all those locks, eunuches, prisons; she will not be moved.

[b] At mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Aut pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentes umbras Erebi, noctemque profundam,
Ante pudor quam te violem, aut tua jura resolvam.

First I desire the earth to swallow mee,
Before I violate mine honesty:
Or thunder from above drive me to hell,
With those pale ghosts, and ugly night to dwell.

She is resolv'd with Dido to be chast; though her husband be false, she will be true: and as Octavia writ to her Anthony;

[c] These wals that here do keep me out of sight,
Shall keep me all unspotted unto thee,
And testifie that I will do thee right,
I'll never stain thine house, though thou shame mee.

Turn her loose to all those Tarquins and Satyres, she will not be tempted. In the time of Valence the emperour, saith [d] St. Austin, one Archidamus, a consul of Antioch, offered an hundred pound of gold to a faire yong wife, and besides to set her husband free, who was then *sub gravissimâ custodiâ*, a dark prisoner, *pro unius noctis concubitu:* but the chast matron would not accept of it. [e] When one commended Theana's fine arme to his fellows, she took him up short, *Sir, 'tis not common;* she is wholly reserved to her husband. [f] Bilia had an old man to her spouse, and his breath stunke, so that nobody could abide it abroad, *comming home one day, he reprehended his wife, because she did not tell him of it: she vowed unto him she woulde have told him, but that she thought every mans breath had been as strong as his.* [g] Tigranes and Armena his lady were invited to supper by king Cyrus; when they came home, Tigranes

[a] Opes suas, mundum suum, thesaurum suum, &c. [b] Virg. Æn. [c] Daniel. [d] 1 de serm. d. in monte ros. 16. [e] O quam formosus lacertus hic, quidam inquit ad æquales conversus; at illa, publicus, inquit, non est. [f] Bilia Dinutum virum senem habuit et spiritum fœtidum habentem, quem quum quidam exprobrasset, &c. [g] Numquid tibi, Armena, Tigranes, videbatur esse pulcher? et illum, inquit, ædepol, &c. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

asked his wife, how she liked Cyrus, and what she did especially commend in him? *she swore she did not observe him. When he replyed again, what then she did observe, whom looked she on? She made answer, Her husband, that said he would dye for her sake.* Such are the properties and conditions of good women: and if she be well given, she will so carry her self; if otherwise she be naught, use all the meanes thou canst, she will be naught. *Non deest animus sed corruptor*, she hath so many lyes, excuses, as an hare hath muses, tricks, panders, bawdes, shifts to deceive, 'tis to no purpose to keep her up, or to reclaime her by hard usage. Faire meanes, peradventure, may do somewhat.

[a] Obsequio vinces aptius ipse tuo.

Men and women are both in a predicament in this behalfe, sooner won, and better pacified. *Duci volunt, non cogi:* though she be as arrant a scolde as Xantippe, as cruel as Medea, as clamorous as Hecuba, as lustfull as Messalina, by such meanes (if at all) she may be reformed. Many patient [b] Grizels by their obsequiousness in this kinde, have reclaimed their husbands from their wandring lusts. In Nova Francia and Turkie (as Leah, Rachel, and Sarah did to Abraham and Jacob) they bring their fairest damsels to their husbands beds. Livia seconded the lustfull appetites of Augustus: Stratonice wife to king Seleucus did not only bring Electra, a faire maid, to her goodmans bed, but brought up the children begot on her, as careful as if they had been her owne. Tertius Æmilius wife, Cornelia's mother, perceiving her husbands intemperance, *rem dissimulavit*, made much of the maid, and would take no notice of it. A new married man, when a pickthank friend of his, to curry favour, had shewn him his wife familiar in private with a yong gallant, courting and dallying, &c. Tush, said he, let him do his worst; I dare trust my wife, though I dare not trust him. The best remedy then is by faire meanes; if that will not take place, to dissemble it as I say, or turn it off with a jest. Hear Guexerra's advise in this case, *vel joco excipies, vel silentio eludes*; for if you take exceptions at every thing your wife doth, Solomon's wisdome, Hercules valour, Homer's learning, Socrates patience, Argus vigilancy will not serve turne. Therefore *Minus malum*, [c] a less mischief, Nevisanus holds, *dissimulare*, to be [d] *Cunarum emptor*, a buyer of cradles, as the proverb is, then to be too

[a] Ovid. [b] Read Petrarch's tale of patient Grizel in Chaucer. [b] Sil. nup. lib. 4. num. 80. [d] Erasmus.

solicitous. [a] *A good fellow, when his wife was brought to bed before her time, bought halfe a dozen of cradles before hand for so many children, as if his wife should continue to bear children at every two moneths.* [b] Pertinax the emperour, when one told him a fidler was too familiar with his empress, made no reckoning of it. And when that Macedonian Philip was upbraided with his wives dishonesty, *cum tot victor regnorum ac populorum esset*, &c. a conquerour of kingdomes could not tame his wife, (for she thrust him out at doores) he made a jest of it. *Sapientes portant cornua in pectore, stulti in fronte*, saith Nevisanus; wise men beare their hornes in their hearts, fooles on their foreheads. Eumenes king of Pergamus was at deadly feud with Perseus of Macedonia, in so much that Perseus hearing of a journey he was to take to Delphos, [c] set a company of souldiers to intercept him in his passage; they did it accordingly, and as they supposed, left him stoned to death. The newes of this fact was brought instantly to Pergamus: Attalus, Eumenes brother proclaimed himself king forthwith, took possession of the crown, and married Stratonice the queen. But by and by, when contrary newes was brought, that king Eumenes was alive, and now comming to the citie, he laid by his crown, left his wife, as a private man went to meet him, and congratulate his returne. Eumenes though he knew all particulars passed, yet dissembling the matter, kindly embraced his brother, and took his wife into his favour again, as if no such matter had been heard of or done. Jocundo in Ariosto, found his wife in bed with a knave, both asleep, went his wayes, and would not so much as wake them, much less reprove them for it. [d] An honest fellow, finding in like sort, his wife had plaid false at tables, and born a man too many, drew his dagger, and swore if he had not been his very friend, he would have kill'd him. Another hearing one had done that for him, which no man desires to be done by a deputy, followed in a rage with his sword drawne, and having overtaken him, laid adultery to his charge; the offender hotly pursued, confessed it was true; with which confession he was satisfied, and so left him, swearing that if he had denyed it, he would not have put it up. How much better is it to do thus, then to macerate himself, impatiently to rave and rage, to enter an action (as Arnoldus

[a] Quum accepisset uxorem peperisse secundo a nuptiis mense, cunas quinas vel senas coemit, ut si forte uxor singulis bimensibus pareret. [b] Julius Capitol. vita ejus. Quum palam Citharœdus uxorem diligeret, minime curiosus fuit. [c] Disposuit armatos qui ipsum interficerent: hi protenus mandatum exequentes, &c. Ille et rex declaratur, et Stratonicem quæ fratri nupserat, uxorem ducit; sed postquam audivit fratrem vivere, &c. Attalum comiter accepit, pristinamque uxorem complexus, magno honore apud se habuit. [d] Sir John Harrington's notes in 28. book of Ariosto.

Tilius did in the court of Tholouse, against Martin Guerre his fellow souldier, for that he counterfeited his habit, and was too familiar with his wife) so to divulge his own shame, and to remaine for ever a cuckold on record? How much better be Cornelius Tacitus, then Publius Cornutus, to contemne in such cases, or take no notice of it? *Melius sic errare, quam zelotypiæ curis*, saith Erasmus, *se conficere*, better be a wittall and put it up, then to trouble himself to no purpose. And though he will not *omnibus dormire*, be an asse, as he is an oxe, yet to wink at it as many do, is not amisse at some times, in some cases, to some parties, if it be for his commodity, or some great mans sake, his land-lord, patron, benefactor, (as Calbas the Roman saith [a] Plutarch did by Mœcenas, and Phayllus of Argos did by king Philip, when he promised him an office on that condition, he might lye with his wife) and so to let it passe:

——— [b] pol me haud pœnitet,
Scilicet boni dimidium dividere cum Jove,

it never troubles me, said Amphitrio, to be cornuted by Jupiter; let it not molest thee then; be friends with her.

[c] Tu cum Alcmenâ uxore antiquam in gratiam
Redi ———

let it, I say, make no breach of love betwixt you. Howsoever, the best way is, to contemne it; which [d] Henry the second, king of France, advised a courtier of his, jealous of his wife, and complaining of her unchastness, to reject it, and comfort himself; for he that suspects his wives incontinencie, and fears the popes curse, shall never live a merry houre, or sleep a quiet night: no remedy but patience. When all is done, according to that counsell of [e] Nevisanus, *si vitium uxoris corrigi non potest, ferendum est:* If it may not be helped, it must be endured. *Date veniam et sustinete taciti*, 'tis Sophocles advice, keep it to thy self; and which Chrysostome calls *palæstram philosophiæ, et domesticum Gymnasium*, a school of philosophie, put it up. There is no other cure, but time to wear it out, *Injuriarum remedium est oblivio*, as if they had drunk a draught of Lethe in Trophonius den. To conclude, age will bereave her of it, *dies dolorem minuit*, time and patience must end it.

[f] The mind's affections patience will appease,
It passions kills, and healeth each disease.

[a] Amator. Dial. [b] Plautus scen. ult. Amphit. [c] Idem. [d] T. Daniel conjurat. French. [e] Lib. 4. num. 80. [f] R. T.

SUBSECT. II.

By prevention before, or after marriage; Plato's communitie; marry a Curtisan; Philters; Stewes; to marry one equal in yeers, fortunes, of a good family, education, good place, to use them well, &c.

OF such medicines as conduce to the cure of this malady, I have sufficiently treated; there be some good remedies remaining, by way of prevention, precautions, or admonitions, which if rightly practised, may do much good. Plato, in his commonwealth, to prevent this mischiefe, belike, would have all things common, wives and children all as one: and which Cæsar in his commentaries observed of those old Britaines, that first inhabited this land; they had ten or twelve wives allotted to such a family, or promiscuously to be used by so many men: not one to one, as with us; or foure, five or six to one, as in Turkie. The [a] Nicholaites, a sect that sprung, saith Austin, from Nicholas the deacon, would have women indifferent; and the cause of this filthie sect, was Nicholas the deacons jealousie, for which, when he was condemned, to purge himself of his offence, he broched this heresie, that it was lawfull to lye with one anothers wives, and for any man to lye with his. Like to those [b] anabaptists in Munster, that would consort with other mens wives as the spirit moved them. Or as [c] Mahomet, the seducing prophet, would needs use women as he list himself, to beget prophets; 205 their Alcoran saith, were in love with him, and [d] he as able as fortie men. Amongst the old Carthaginians, as [e] Bohemus relates out of Sabellicus, the king of the countrey lay with the bride the first night, and once in a yeer they went promiscuously together. Munster *Cosmog. lib.* 3. *cap.* 497. ascribes the beginning of this brutish custome (injustly) to one Picardus a frenchman, that invented a new sect of Adamites, to go naked as Adam did, and to use promiscuous venery at set times. When the priest repeated that of Genesis, *Increase and multiply*, out [f] went the candles in the place where they met, *and without all respect of age, persons, conditions, catch that catch may, every man took her came*

[a] Lib. de heres. Quum de zelo culparetur, purgandi se causâ permisisse fertur, ut ea qui vellet uteretur; quod ejus factum in sectam turpissimam versum est, qua placet usus indifferens fœminarum. [b] Sleiden. Com. [c] Alcoran. [d] Alcoran edit. a Bibliandro. [e] De mor. gent. lib. 1. cap. 6. Nupturæ regi de virginandæ exhibentur. [f] Lumina extinguebantur, nec personæ et ætatis habita reverentia, in quam quisque per tenebras incidit, mulierem cognoscit.

next, &c. some fasten this on those ancient Bohemians and Russians: [a] others on the inhabitants of Mambrium, in the Lucerne valley in Pedemont; and, as I read, it was practised in Scotland amongst christians themselves; untill king Malcome's time, the king, or the lord of the town, had their maidenheads. In some parts of [b] India, in our age; and those [c] Islanders; [d] as amongst the Babylonians of old, they will prostitute their wives and daughters (which Chalcocondila, a Greek modern writer, for want of better intelligence, puts upon us Britaines) to such travellers or sea-faring men as come amongst them by chance, to shew how far they were from this feral vice of jealousie, and how little they esteemed it. The kings of Calecut, as [e] Lod. Vertomannus relates, will not touch their wives till one of their Biarmi or high priests have lain first with them, to sanctifie their wombes. But those Essæi and Montanists, two strange sects of old, were in another extream; they would not marry at all, or have any society with women, [f] *because of their intemperance, they held them all to be naught.* Nevisanus the lawyer, *lib. 4. num. 33. syl. nupt.* would have him that is inclined to this malady, to prevent the worst, marry a quean; *Capiens meretricem, hoc habet saltem boni, quod non decipitur, quia scit eam sic esse, quod non contingit aliis.* A fornicator, in Seneca, constuprated two wenches in a night: for satisfaction, the one desired to hang him, the other to marry him. [g] Hierome, king of Syracuse in Sicily, espoused himself to Pitho, keeper of the stewes; and Ptolomy took Thais, a common whore, to be his wife; had two sons, Leontiscus and Lagus by her, and one daughter Irene: 'tis therefore no such unlikely thing. [h] A citizen of Eugubine gelded himself to try his wives honesty, and to be freed from jealousie: so did a baker in [i] Basil, to the same intent. But of all other presidents in this kinde, that of [k] Combalus is most memorable: who, to prevent his masters suspition, for he was a beautiful yong man, and sent by Seleucus his lord and king, with Stratonice the queen, to conduct her into Syria, fearing the worst, gelded

[a] Leander Albertus. Flagitioso ritu cuncti in ædem convenientes post impuram concionem, extinctis luminibus, in Venerem ruunt. [b] Lod. Vertomannus navig. lib. 6. cap. 8. et Marcus Polus lib. 1. cap. 46. Uxores viatoribus prostituunt. [c] Dithmarus, Bleskenius, ut Agetas Aristoni. Pulcherrimam uxorem habens amico prostituit. [d] Herodot. in Erato. Mulieres Babyloni cæcum hospite permiscentur ob argentum quod post Veneri sacrum. Bohemus lib. 2. [e] Navigat. lib. 5. cap. 4. Prius thorum non init, quam a digniore sacerdote nova nupta defiorata sit. [f] Bohemus lib. 2. cap. 3. Ideo nubere nollent ob mulierum intemperantiam, nullam servare viro fidem putabant. [g] Stephanus præfat. Herod. Alius e lupanari meretricem, Pitho dictam, in uxorem duxit; Ptolomæus Thaidem nobile scortum duxit, et ex ea duos filios suscepit, &c. [h] Poggius Florent. [i] Felix Plater. [k] Lucian Salmutz Tit. 2. de porcellanis com. in Pancirol. de nov. repert. et Plutarchus.

himself before he went, and left his genitals behind him in a box, sealed up. His mistress, by the way, fell in love with him, but he not yeelding to her, was accused to Seleucus of incontinency, (as that Bellerophon was in like case, falsely traduced by Sthenobia, to king Prætus her husband, *cum non posset ad coitum inducere*) and that by her, and was therefore at his comming home, cast into prison: the day of hearing appointed, he was sufficiently cleared and acquitted by shewing his privities, which, to the admiration of the beholders, he had formerly cut off. The Lydians used to geld women whom they suspected, saith Leonicus *var. hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 59. as well as men. To this purpose [a] Saint Francis, because he used to confess women in private, to prevent suspition, and prove himself a maid, stripped himself before the bishop of Assise and others: and frier Leonard, for the same cause, went through Viterbium in Italy, without any garments.

Our pseudocatholickes, to help these inconveniences which proceed from jealousie, to keep themselves and their wives honest, make severe lawes: against adultery, present death: and withal, fornication a venial sin. As a sink to convey that furious and swift stream of concupiscence, they appoint and permit stewes, those punks and pleasant sinners, the more to secure their wives in all populous cities; for they hold them as necessary as churches. And howsoever unlawful, yet to avoid a greater mischiefe, to be tolerated in policy, as usury, for the hardness of mens hearts; and for this end, they have whole colledges of curtisans in their towns and cities. Of [b] Cato's minde, belike, that would have his servants (*cum ancillis congredi coitús causâ, definito ære, ut graviora facinora evitarent, cæteris interim interdicens*) familiar with some such feminine creatures, to avoid worse mischiefs in his house, and made allowance for it. They hold it unpossible for idle persons, yong, rich, and lusty, so many servants, monkes, friers, to live honest; too tyrannical a burden to compel them to be chast; and most unfit to suffer poor men, yonger brothers and souldiers at all to marry, as also diseased persons, votaries, priests, servants. Therefore, as well to helpe and ease the one as the other, they tolerate and wink at these kind of brothel houses and stewes. Many probable arguments they have to prove the lawfulness, the necessity, and a toleration of them, as of usury; and without question in policy, they are not to be contradicted: but altogether in religion. Others prescribe philters, spels, charms to keep men and women honest. [c] *Mulier ut alienum virum non admittat præter suum: Ac-*

[a] Stephanus e l. confor. Bonavent. c. 6. vit. Francisci. [b] Plutarch. vit. ejus.
[c] Wecker lib. 5. secret.

cipe fel hirci, et adipem, et exsicca, calescat in olio, &c. et non alium præter te amabit. In Alexi, Porta, &c. plura invenies, et multo his absurdiora; uti et in Rhasi, ne mulier virum admittat, et maritum solum diligat, &c. But these are most part Pagan, impious, irreligious, absurde, and ridiculous devices.

The best meanes to avoid these and like inconveniences, are, to take away the causes and occasions. To this purpose, [a] Varro writ Satyram Menippeam, but it is lost. [b] Patricius prescribes foure rules to be observed in chusing of a wife (which who so will may reade) Fonseca the Spaniard in his 45. c. *Amphitheat. Amoris*, sets down six special cautions for men, foure for women: Sam. Neander out of Shonbernerus, five for men, five for women: Anthony Guiverra many good lessons: [c] Cleobulus two alone, others otherwise; as first, to make a good choyce in marriage, to invite Christ to their wedding, and which [d] Saint Ambrose adviseth, *Deum conjugii præsidem habere*, and to pray to him for her, (*A Domino enim datur uxor prudens, Prov.* 19.) not to be too rash and precipitate in his election, to run upon the first he meets, or dote on every stout faire peece he sees, but to chuse her as much by his ears as eys; to be well advised whom he takes, of what age, &c. and cautelous in his proceeding. An old man should not marry a yong woman, or a yong man an old woman:

> [e] Quam male inæquales veniunt ad aratra juvenci!

such matches must needs minister a perpetual cause of suspition, and be distastful to each other.

> [f] Noctua ut in tumulis, super atque cadavera bubo,
> Talis apud Sophoclem nostra puella sedet.
>
> Night-crows on tombes, owl sits on carcass dead,
> So lyes a wench with Sophocles in bed.

For Sophocles, as [g] Athenæus describes him, was a very old man, as cold as January, a bedfellow of bones; and doted yet upon Archippe a yong curtisan, then which nothing can be more odious. [h] *Senex maritus uxori juveni ingratus est*, an old man is a most unwelcome guest to a yong wench, unable, unfit.

> [i] Amplexus suos fugiunt puellæ,
> Omnis horret amor, Venusque Hymenque.

[a] Citatur a Gellio. [b] Lib. 4. Tit. 4. de instit. reipub. de officio mariti.
[c] Ne cum eâ blande nimis agas, ne objurges præsentibus extraneis. [d] Epist. 70.
[e] Ovid. [f] Alciat. emb. 116. [g] Deipnosoph. l. 3. cap. 12. [h] Euripides.
[i] Pontanus biarum lib. 1.

And as, in like case, a good fellow that had but a peck of corn weekly to grinde, yet would needs build a new mill for it, found his errour eftsoons, for either he must let his mill lye waste, pull it quite down, or let others grinde at it. So these men, &c.

Seneca therefore, disallowes all such unseasonable matches; *habent enim maledicti locum crebræ nuptiæ.* And as [a]Tully farther inveighs, *'tis unfit for any, but ugly and filthy in old age. Turpe senilis amor,* one of the three things [b]God hateth. Plutarch, in his book *contra Coleten,* rails downright at such kinde of marriages, which are attempted by old men, *qui jam corpore impotenti, et a voluptatibus deserti, peccant animo;* and makes a question, whether, in some cases, it be tolerable at least for such a man to marry,

—— qui Venerem affectat sine viribus:

that is now past those venerous exercises, *as a gelded man lyes with a virgin and sighs,* Ecclus 30. 20. and now complains with him in Petronius, *funerata est hæc pars jam, quæ fuit olim Achillea,* he is quite done.

[c]Vixit puellæ nuper idoneus,
Et militavit non sine gloriâ.

But the question is, whether he may delight himself, as those Priapeian popes, which in their decrepid age lay commonly between two yong wenches every night, *contactu formosarum et contrectatione, num adhuc gaudeat;* and as many doting syres still do to their own shame, their childrens undoing, and their families confusion: he abhors it, *tanquam ab agresti et furioso domino fugiendum,* it must be avoided as a bedlame master, and not obeyed.

Alecto——————
Ipsa faces præfert nubentibus, et malus Hymen
Triste ululat,———

the divel himself makes such matches. [d]Levinus Lemnius reckons up three things, which generally disturb the peace of marriage. The first is, when they marry intempestive or unseasonably, *as many mortall men marry precipitately and inconsiderately, when they are effæte and old. The second, when they marry unequally for fortunes and birth. The third, when a sick impotent person weds one that is sound, novæ nuptæ spes frustratur:* Many dislikes instantly follow. Many doting

[a] Offic. lib. Luxuria cum omni ætati turpis, tum senectuti fœdissima. [b] Ecclus. 25. 2. An old man that dotes, &c. [c] Hor. lib. 3. ode 26. [d] Cap. 54. instit. ad optimam vitam. Maxima mortalium pars præcipitanter et inconsiderate nubit, idque eâ ætate quæ minus apta est, quum senex adolescentulæ, sanus morbidæ, dives pauperi, &c.

dizards, it may not be denyed, as Plutarch confesseth, [a] *recreute themselves with such obsolete, unseasonable and filthy remedies* (so he calls them) *with a remembrance of their former pleasures, against nature, they stir up their dead flesh:* but an old leacher is abominable; *mulier tertio nubens,* [b] Nevisanus holds, *præsumitur lubrica et inconstans,* a woman that marries the third time may be presumed to be no honester then she should. Of them both, thus Ambrose concludes, in his comment upon Luke, [c] *they that are coupled together, not to get children, but to satisfie their lust, are not husbands, but fornicators;* with whom St. Austin consents. Matrimony, without hope of children, *non matrimonium, sed concubium dici debet,* is not a wedding, but a jumbling or coupling together. In a word, except they wed for mutual society, helpe and comfort one of another, (in which respects, though [d] Tiberius denye it, without question old folks may well marry) for sometimes a man hath most need of a wife, according to Puccius, when he hath no need of a wife; otherwise, it is most odious, when an old Acheronticke dizard, that hath one foote in his grave, a *silicernium,* shall flicker after a lusty yong wench that is blithe and bonny:

[e] —— salaciorque
Verno passere, et albulis columbis.

What can be more detestable?

[f] Tu cano capite amas senex nequissime
Jam plenus ætatis, animâque fœtidâ,
Senex hircosus tu osculare mulierem?
Utine adiens vomitum potius excuties.

Thou old goat, hoary leacher, naughty man,
With stinking breath, art thou in love?
Must thou be slavering? she spewes to see
Thy filthie face, it doth so move.

Yet as some will, it is much more tolerable for an old man to marry a yong woman (our ladies match they call it) for *cras erit mulier,* as he said in Tully. Cato the Roman, Critobulus in [g] Xenophon, [h] Tiraquellus of late, Julius Scaliger, &c. and many famous precedents we have in that kinde; but not *e contra:* 'tis not held fit for an ancient woman to match with a yong man. For as Varro will, *Anus dum ludit morti delicias*

[a] Obsoleto, intempestivo, turpi remedio fatentur se uti; recordatione pristinarum voluptatum se recreant, et adversante naturâ, pollinctam carnem et enectam excitant. [b] Lib. 2. nu. 35. [c] Qui vero non procreandæ prolis, sed explendæ libidinis causâ, sibi invicem copulantur, non tam conjuges quam fornicarii habentur. [d] Lex Papia. Sueton. Claud. c. 23. [e] Pontanus biarum lib. 1. [f] Plautus mercator. [g] Symposio. [h] Vide Thuani historiam.

facit; 'tis Charon's match between [a] Cascus and Casca, and the divel himself is surely well pleased with it. And therefore, as the poet inveighs, thou old Vetustina bed-ridden quean, thou art now skin and bones,

> [b] Cui tres capilli, quatuorque sunt dentes,
> Pectus cicadæ, crusculumque formicæ,
> Rugosiorem quæ geris stolâ frontem,
> Et aranearum cassibus pares mammas.
>
> That hast three hairs, foure teeth, a brest
> Like grashopper, an emmets crest,
> A skin more rugged then thy coat,
> And duggs like spiders web to boot.

Must thou marry a youth again? And yet *ducentas ire nuptum post mortes amant*: howsoever it is, as [c] Apuleius gives out of his Merõe, *congressus annosus, pestilens, abhorrendus*, a pestilent match, abominable, and not to be endured. In such case, how can they otherwise choose but be jealous, how should they agree one with another? This inequality is not in yeers only, but in birth, fortunes, conditions, and all good qualities.

> [d] Si qua voles apte nubere, nube pari;

'Tis my counsell, saith Anthony Guiverra, to choose such a one. *Civis Civem ducat, Nobilis Nobilem*, let a citizen match with a citizen, a gentleman with a gentlewoman; he that observes not this precept (saith he) *non generum sed malum genium; non nurum sed Furiam; non vitæ comitem, sed litis fomitem domi habebit*: in stead of a faire wife shall have a furie; for a fit son-in-law a meer fiend, &c. examples are too frequent.

Another main caution fit to be observed, is this, that though they be equal in yeers, birth, fortunes, and other conditions, yet they do not omit vertue and good education, which Musonius and Antipater so much inculcate in Stobæus:

> Dos est magna parentum
> Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
> Certo fœdere castitas.

If, as Plutarch adviseth, one must eat *modium salis*, a bushell of salt with him, before he choose his friend, what care should be had in choosing a wife, his second self; how sollicitous should he be to know her qualities and behaviour? and when he is assured of them, not to prefer birth, fortune, beauty, before bringing up, and good conditions. [e] Coquage, god of cuckolds, as one merrily said, accompanies the goddesse Jealousie, both

[a] Calabect. vet. poetarum. [b] Martial. lib. 3. 62. Epig. [c] Lib. 1. Miles.
[d] Ovid. [e] Rabelais hist. Pantagruel. l. 3. cap. 33.

follow the fairest, by Jupiter's appointment, and they sacrifice to them together. Beauty and honesty seldom agree; straight personages have often crooked manners; faire faces, foule vices; good complexions, ill conditions. *Suspitionis plena res est, et insidiarum*, beauty (saith [a] Chrysostome) is full of treachery and suspition: he that hath a faire wife, cannot have a worse mischiefe, and yet most covet it; as if nothing else in marriage, but that and wealth were to be respected. [b] Francis Sforza, duke of Millain, was so curious in this behalfe, that he would not marry the duke of Mantua's daughter, except he might see her naked first; which Lycurgus appointed in his lawes, and Morus in his Utopian Commonwealth approves. [c] In Italy, as a traveller observes, if a man have three or foure daughters, or more, and they prove faire, they are married eftsoons: if deformed, they change their lovely names of Lucia, Cynthia, Camæna, call them Dorothie, Ursula, Bridgit, and so put them into monasteries, as if none were fit for marriage, but such as are eminentlie faire: but these are erroneous tenents: a modest virgin well conditioned, to such a fair-snout peece, is much to be preferred. If thou wilt avoid them, take away all causes of suspition and jealousie, marry a coarse peece, fetch her from Cassandra's [d] Temple, which was wont in Italy to be a sanctuary of all deformed maids, and so thou shalt be sure that no man will make thee cuckold, but for spight. A citizen of Bizance in Thrace, had a filthy dowdy, deformed slut to his wife, and finding her in bed with another man, cryed out as one amazed; *O miser! quæ te necessitas huc adegit?* O thou wretch, what necessity brought thee hither? as well he might; for who can affect such a one? But this is warily to be understood, most offend in another extream; they prefer wealth before beauty, and so she be rich, they care not how she look; but these are all out as faulty as the rest. *Attendenda semper uxoris forma*, as [e] Salisburiensis adviseth, *ne si alteram aspexeris, mox eam sordere putes*, as the knight in Chaucer that was married to an old woman;

> And all day after hid him as an owle,
> So woe was him, his wife looked so foule.

Have a care of thy wifes complexion, lest whilst thou seest another, thou loathest her, she prove jealous, thou naught,

[a] Hom. 80. Qui pulchram habet uxorem, nihil pejus habere potest. [b] Arnisæus.
[c] Itinerar. Ital. Coloniæ edit. 1620. Nomine trium Ger. fol. 304. Displicuit quod dominæ filiabus immutent nomen inditum in Baptismo, et pro Catharina Margareta, &c. ne quid de sit ad luxuriam, appellant ipsas nominibus Cynthiæ, Camænæ, &c.
[d] Leonicus de var. lib. 3. c. 43. Asylus virginum deformium Cassandræ templum. Plutarch. [e] Polycrat. l. 8. cap. 11.

Si tibi deformis conjux, si serva venusta,
Ne utaris servâ,———

I can perhaps give instance. *Molestum est possidere quod nemo habere dignetur*, a misery to possess that which no man likes: on the other side, *Difficile custoditur quod plures amant.* And as the bragging souldier vaunted in the comœdy, *nimia est miseria pulchrum esse hominem nimis.* Scipio did never so hardly besiege Carthage, as these yong gallants will beset thine house, one with wit or person, another with wealth, &c. If she be faire, saith Guazzo, she will be suspected howsoever. Both extreams are naught, *Pulchra cito adamatur, fœda facile concupiscit*, the one is soon beloved, the other loves: one is hardly kept, because proud and arrogant, the other not worth keeping; what is to be done in this case? Ennius, in Menelippe, adviseth thee as a friend, to take *statam formam, si vis habere incolumem pudicitiam*, one of a middle size, neither too faire, nor too foule;

[a] Nec formosa magis quam mihi casta placet,

with old Cato, though fit, let her beauty be, *neque lectissima, neque illiberalis*, between both. This I approve; but of the other two I resolve with Salisburiensis, *cæteris paribus*, both rich alike, endowed alike, *majori miseriâ deformis habetur quam formosa servatur*, I had rather marry a faire one, and put it to the hazard, then be troubled with a blowze; but doe thou as thou wilt, I speak only for my self.

Howsoever, *quod iterum moneo*, I would advise thee thus much, be she faire or foule, to choose a wife out of a good kindred, parentage, well brought up, in an honest place.

[b] Primum animo tibi proponas quo sanguine creta,
Quâ formâ, quâ ætate, quibusque ante omnia virgo
Moribus, in junctos veniat nova nupta penates.

He that marries a wife out of a suspected inne or alehouse, buyes a horse in Smithfield, and hires a servant in Pauls, as the diverbe is; shall likely have a jade to his horse, a knave for his man, an arrant honest woman to his wife. *Filia præsumitur esse matri similis*, saith [c] Nevisanus: *Such* [d] *a mother, such a daughter; mali corvi malum ovum*, cat to her kinde.

[e] Scilicet expectas ut tradat mater honestos
Atque alios mores quam quos habet? ———

[a] Marullus. [b] Chaloner lib. 9. de repub. Ang. [c] Lib. 2. num. 159.
[d] Si genetrix caste, caste quoque filia vivit; Si meretrix mater, filia talis erit.
[e] Juven. Sat. 6.

If the mother be dishonest, in all likelihood the daughter will *matrizare*, take after her in all good qualities,

> Creden' Pasiphae non tauripotente futuram
> Tauripetam? ——

If the dam trot, the foale will not amble. My last caution is, that a woman do not bestowe her self upon a fool, or an apparent melancholy person; jealousie is a symptome of that disease, and fools have no moderation. Justina, a Roman lady, was much persecuted, and after made away by her jealous husband, she caused and enjoyned this epitaph, as a caveat to others, to be engraven on her tombe.

> [a] Discite ab exemplo Justinæ, discite patres,
> Ne nubat fatuo filia vestra viro, &c.
>
> Learn parents all, and by Justina's case,
> Your children to no dizards for to place.

After marriage, I can give no better admonitions then to use their wives well; and which a friend of mine, that was a married man, told me, I will tell you as good cheape, saith Nicostratus in [b] Stobæus, to avoid future strife, and for quietness sake, *when you are in bed, take heed of your wives flattering speeches over night, and curtain sermons in the morning.* Let them do their endeavour likewise to maintain them to their meanes, which [c] Patricius ingeminates, and let them have liberty with discretion, as time and place requires. Many women turn queans by compulsion, as [d] Nevisanus observes, because their husbands are so harde, and keep them so short in diet and apparell, *paupertas cogit eas meretricari*, poverty and hunger, want of meanes, makes them dishonest, or bad usage; their churlish behaviour forceth them to fly out; or bad examples, they doe it to cry quittance. In the other extream, some are too liberal, as the proverbe is, *Turdus malum sibi cacat*, they make a rod for their own tailes, as Candaules did to Gyges in [e] Herodotus, commend his wifes beauty himselfe, and besides would needs have him see her naked. Whilst they give their wives too much liberty to gad abroad, and bountifull allowance, they are accessary to their own miseries; *animæ uxorum pessime olent*, as Plautus jybes, they have deformed soules; and by their painting and colours procure *odium mariti*, their husbands hate; especially,

[a] Camerarius cent. 2. cap. 54. oper. subcis. [b] Ser. 72. Quod amicus quidam uxorem habens mihi dixit, dicam vobis, in cubili cavendæ adulationes vesperi, mane clamores. [c] Lib. 4. tit. 4. de institut. Reipub. cap. de officio mariti et uxoris. [d] Lib. 4. syl. nup. num. 81. Non curant de uxoribus, nec volunt iis subvenire de victu, vestitu, &c. [e] In Clio. Speciem uxoris supra modum extollens, fecit ut illam nudam coram aspiceret.

——— [a] cum misere viscantur labra mariti.

Besides, their wives (as [b] Basil notes) *Impudenter se exponunt masculorum aspectibus, jactantes tunicas, et coram tripudiantes,* impudently thrust themselves into other mens companies, and by their undecent wanton carriage, provoke and tempt the spectators. Vertuous women should keep house; and 'twas well performed and ordered by the Greeks,

——— mulier ne qua in publicum
Spectandam se sine arbitro præbeat viro:

which made Phidias, belike, at Elis paint Venus treading on a tortoise, a symbole of womens silence and house keeping. For a woman abroad and alone, is like a deer broke out of a parke, *quam mille venatores insequuntur,* whom every hunter followes; and besides, in such places, she cannot so well vindicate her self, but as that virgin Dinah (Gen. 34. 2) *going forth to see the daughters of the land,* lost her virginity, she may be defiled and overtaken on a sudden.

Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?

And therefore I know not what philosopher he was, that would have women come but thrice abroad all their time, [c] *to be baptized, married, and buried;* but he was too strait laced. Let them have their liberty in good sort, and go in good sort, *modo non annos viginti ætatis suæ domi relinquant,* as a good fellowe said, so that they look not twenty yeers yonger abroad then they do at home, they be not spruce, neate, angels abroad, beasts, dowdies, sluts at home; but seek by all meanes to please and give content to their husbands; to be quiet, above all things; obedient, silent and patient; if they be incensed, angry, chide a little, their wives must not [d] cample againe, but take it in good part. An honest woman, I cannot now tell where she dwelt, but by report an honest woman she was, hearing one of her gossips by chance complain of her husbands impatience, told her an excellent remedie for it, and gave her withall a glasse of water, which when he brauled, she should hold still in her mouth, and that *toties quoties,* as often as he chid; she did so two or three times with good successe, and at length seeing her neighbour, gave her great thankes for it, and would needs know the ingredients: [e] she told her in brief what it was, *faire water,* and no more: for it was not the water, but her silence which performed the cure.

[a] Juven. Sat. 6. He cannot kisse his wife for paint. [b] Orat. contra ebr.
[c] Ad baptismum, matrimonium, et tumulum. [d] Non vociferatur illa si maritus obganniat. [e] Fraudem aperiens, ostendit ei non aquam, sed silentium iracundiæ moderari.

Let every froward woman imitate this example, and be quiet within doores, and (as [a] M. Aurelius prescribes) a necessary caution it is to be observed of all good matrons that love their credits, to come little abroad, but followe their work at home; look to their houshold affaires and private business, *œconomiæ incumbentes*, be sober, thrifty, wary, circumspect, modest, and compose themselves to live to their husbands meanes, as a good huswife should do.

> [b] Quæ studiis gavisa coli, partita labores
> Fallet opus cantu, formæ assimulata coronæ
> Cura puellaris, circum fusosque rotasque
> Cum volvet, &c.

Howsoever 'tis good to keepe them private, not in prison.

> [c] Quisquis custodit uxorem vectibus et seris,
> Etsi sibi sapiens, stultus est, et nihil sapit.

Reade more of this subject, Horol. *princ. lib. 2. per totum.* Arnisæus *polit.* Cyprian, Tertullian, Bossus *de mulier. apparat.* Godfridus *de Amor. lib. 2. cap. 4.* Levinus Lemnius *cap. 54. de institut.* Christ. Barbarus *de re uxor. lib. 2. cap. 2.* Franciscus Patricius *de institut.* Reipub. *lib. 4. Tit. 4 et 5. de officio mariti et uxoris*, Christ. Fonseca *Amplitheat. Amor. cap. 45.* Sam. Neander. &c.

These cautions concerne him; and if by these, or his own discretion, otherwise he cannot moderate himself, his friends must not be wanting by their wisdome, if it be possible, to give the party grieved satisfaction, to prevent and remove the occasions, objects, if it may be to secure him. If it be one alone, or many, to consider whom he suspects, or at what times, in what places he is most incensed, in what companies. [d] Nevisanus makes a question, whether a yong physician ought to be admitted in case of sicknesse, into a new married mans house, to administer a julip, a syrupe, or some such physick. The Persians of old, would not suffer a yong physician to come amongst women. [e] Apollonides Cous made Artaxerxes cuckold, and was after buried alive for it. A gaoler, in Aristænetus, had a fine yong gentleman to his prisoner; [f] in commiseration of his youth and person he let him loose, to enjoye the liberty of the prison, but he unkindly made him a cornuto. Menelaus gave good welcome to Paris, a stranger; his whole house and family were at his commande; but he ungently stole away his best beloved wife. The like measure was offered to Agis, king of Lacedæmon, by [g] Alci-

[a] Horol. Princi. lib. 2. cap. 8. Diligenter cavendum fœminis illustribus ne frequenter exeant. [b] Chalòner. [c] Menander. [d] Lib. 5. num. 11. [e] Ctesias in Persicis finxit, vulvæ morbum esse nec curari posse, nisi cum viro concumberet, hâc arte voti compos, &c. [f] Exsolvit vinculis solutumque demisit, at ille inhumanus stupravit conjugem. [g] Plutarch. vita ejus.

biades an exile; for his good entertainment, he was too familiar with Timæa his wife, begetting a childe of her, called Leotichides; and bragging, moreover, when he came home to Athens, that he had a son should be king of the Lacedæmonians. If such objects were removed, no doubt but the parties might easily be satisfied, or that they could use them gently, and intreat them well, not to revile them, scoffe at, hate them, as in such cases commonly they doe; 'tis an humane infirmity, a miserable vexation; and they should not add griefe to griefe, nor aggravate their misery, but seek to please, and by all meanes, give them content; by good counsell; removing such offensive objects, or by mediation of some discreet friends. In old Rome, there was a temple erected by the matrones to the [a] Viriplaca Dea, another to *Venus verticorda, quæ maritos uxoribus reddebat benevolos*, whither (if any difference hapned betwixt man and wife) they did instantly resort: there they did offer sacrifice, a white hart, Plutarch records, *sine felle*, without the gall (some say the like of Juno's temple) and make their prayers for conjugall peace: before some [b] indifferent arbitratours and friends, the matter was heard betwixt man and wife, and commonly composed. In our times we want no sacred churches, or good men to end such controversies, if use were made of them. Some say that precious stone called [c] beryllus, others a diamond, hath excellent vertue, *contra hostium injurias, et conjugatos invicem conciliare*, to reconcile men and wives, to maintaine unitie and love; you may trye this when you will, and as you see cause. If none of all these meanes and cautions will take place, I know not what remedy to prescribe, or whither such persons may go for ease, except they can get into the same [d] Turkie paradise, *Where they shall have as many faire wives as they will themselves, with cleare eys, and such as look on none but their own husbands*; no fear, no danger of being cuckolds. Or else, I would have them observe that strict rule of [e] Alphonsus, to marry a deaf and dumb man to a blinde woman. If this will not help, let them, to prevent the worst, consult with an [f] astrologer, and see whether the significatours in her horoscope agree with his, that they be not *in signis et partibus odiose intuentibus aut imperantibus, sed mutuo et amice antisciis et obedientibus*; otherwise, (as they holde) there will be intolerable enmities between them. Or else get him *sigillum veneris*, a character-

[a] Rosinus lib. 2. 19. Valerius lib. 2. cap. 1. [b] Alexander ab Alexandro l. 4. cap. 8. et gen. dier. [c] Fr. Rueus de gemmis l. 2. cap. 8. et 15. [d] Strozius Cicogna lib. 2. cap. 15. spirit. et incan. Habent ibidem uxores quot volunt, cum oculis clarissimis, quos nunquam in aliquem præter maritum fixuri sunt, &c. Bredenbacchius, Idem et Bohemus, &c. [e] Uxor cæca ducat maritum surdum, &c [f] See Valent. Nabod. differ. com. in Alcabitium, ubi plura.

istical seal stamped in the daye and houre of Venus, when she is fortunate, with such and such set words and charmes; which Villanovanus and Leo Suavius prescribe, *ex sigillis magicis Salomonis, Hermetis, Raguelis, &c.* with many suche: which Alexis, Albertus, and some of our natural magitians put upon us: *ut mulier cum aliquo adulterare non possit, incide de capillis ejus, &c.* and he shall surely be gracious in all womens eys, and never suspect or disagree with his own wife, so long as he wears it. If this course be not approved, and other remedies may not be had, they must, in the last place, sue for a divorce: but that is somewhat difficult to effect, and not all out so fit. For as Felisacus, in his tracte *de justa uxore* urgeth, If that lawe of Constantine the great, or that of Theodosius and Valentinian, concerning divorce, were in use in our times, *innumeras propemodum viduas haberemus, et cœlibes viros*, we should have almost no married couples left. Try therefore those former remedies: or as [a]Tertullian reports of Democritus, that put out his eys because he could not look upon a woman without lust, and was much troubled to see that which he might not enjoye; let him make himself blinde, and so he shall avoid that care and molestation of watching his wife. One other soveraign remedie I could repeat, an especial antidote against jealousie, an excellent cure, but I am not now disposed to tell it, not that like a covetous emperick I conceal it for any gaine, but for some other reasons, I am not willing to publish it; if you be very desirous to know it, when I meet you next, I will peradventure tell you what it is in your ear. This is the best counsell I can give; which he that hath need of, as occasion serves may applye unto himself. In the mean time,

——— Dii talem terris avertite pestem,

as the proverbe is, from heresie, jealousie, and frensie, good Lord deliver us.

[a] Cap. 46. Apol. Quod mulieres sine concupiscentiâ aspicere non posset, &c.

SECT. IV.

MEMB. I. SUBSECT. I.

RELIGIOUS MELANCHOLY.

Its object God; what his beauty is; how it allureth. The parts and parties affected.

THAT there is such a distinct species of Love-Melancholy, no man hath ever yet doubted; but whether this sub-division of [a] *Religious Melancholy* be warrantable, it may be controverted.

> [b] Pergite Pierides, medio nec calle vagantem
> Linquite me, qua nulla pedum vestigia ducunt,
> Nulla rotæ currus testantur signa priores.

I have no patterne to followe as in some of the reste, no man to imitate. No physician hath as yet, distinctly written of it as of the other: all acknowledge it a most notable symptome, some a cause, but few a species or kinde. [c] Aretæus, Alexander, Rhasis, Avicenna, and most of our late writers, as Gordonius, Fuchsius, Plater, Bruel, Montaltus, &c. repeate it as a symptome. [d] *Some seem to be inspired of the holy Ghoste; some take upon them to be prophets; some are addicted to new opinions; some foretell strange things, de statu mundi et Antichristi*, saith Gordonius. Some will prophecy of the end of the world to a daye almost, and the fall of the Antichrist, as they have been addicted or brought up; for so melancholy works with them, as [e] Laurentius holds. If they have been precisely given, all their meditations tend that way, and in conclusion, produce strange effects, the humour imprints symptomes according to their several inclinations and conditions, which makes [f] Guianerius and [g] Felix Plater, put too much devotion, blinde zeal, feare of eternall punishment, and the last judgement, for a cause of those enthusiasticks and desperate persons. But some do not obscurely make a distinct species of it, dividing Love-Melancholy into that whose object is women;

[a] Called Religious, because it is still conversant about religion and such divine objects. [b] Grotius. [c] Lib. 1. cap. 16. Nonnulli opinionibus addicti sunt, et futura se prædicere arbitrantur. [d] Aliis videtur quod sunt prophetæ et inspirati a Spiritu sancto, et incipiunt prophetare, et multa futura prædicunt. [e] Cap. 6. de Melanch. [f] Cap. 5. Tractat. Multi ob timorem Dei sunt melancholici, et timorem gehennæ. They are still troubled for their sins. [g] Plater. c. 13.

and into the other, whose object is God. Plato *in Convivio*, makes mention of two distinct furies; and amongst our Neotericks, Hercules de Saxoniâ *lib.* 1. *pract. med. cap.* 16. *cap. de Melanch.* doth expresly treate of it as a distinct species. [a] *Love Melancholy (saith he) is twofolde; the first is that (to which peradventure some will not vouchsafe this name or species of melancholy) affection of those which put God for their object, and are altogether about prayer, fasting, &c. the other about women.* Peter Forestus, in his observations, delivereth as much in the same words: and Felix Platerus *de mentis alienat. cap.* 3. *frequentissima est ejus species, in qua curandâ sæpissime multum fui impeditus;* 'tis a frequent disease; and they have a ground of what they say, forth of Aretæus and Plato. [b] Aretæus, an old authour, in his third booke, *cap.* 6. doth so divide Love-Melancholy, and derives this second from the first, which comes by inspiration or otherwise. [c] Plato, in his Phædrus, hath these words, *Apollo's priests in Delphos, and at Dodona, in their furie do many pretty feats, and benefit the Greekes, but never in their right wits.* He makes them all mad, as well he might; and he that shall but consider that superstition of old, those prodigious effects of it (as in its place I will shew the several furies of our Fatidici Dii, Pythonissas, Sibyls, Enthusiasts, Pseudoprophets, Heretiques and Schismaticks in these our latter ages) shall instantly confess, that all the world again cannot afford so much matter of madness, so many stupend symptomes, as superstition, heresie, schisme hath brought out. That this species alone may be parallel'd to all the former, hath a greater latitude, and more miraculous effects; that it more besots and infatuates men, then any other above named whatsoever; doth more harme, work more disquietness to mankinde, and hath more crucified the soules of mortall men (such hath been the divels craft) then wars, plagues, sicknesses, dearth, famine and all the rest.

Give me but a little leave, and I will set before your eys, in briefe, a stupend, vast, infinite ocean of incredible madness and folly: a sea full of shelves and rockes, sands, gulfes, Euripes and contrary tides; full of fearfull monsters, uncouth shapes, roaring waves, tempests, and Siren calmes, Halcyonian seas, unspeakable misery, such comœdies and tragœdies, such absurde and ridiculous, ferall and lamentable fits, that I

[a] Melancholia Erotica vel quæ cum amore est, duplex est: prima quæ ab aliis forsan non meretur nomen melancholiæ, est affectio eorum qui pro objecto proponunt Deum, et ideo, nihil aliud curant aut cogitant quam Deum, jejunia, vigilias: altera ob mulieres. [b] Alia reperitur furoris species a prima vel a secunda, Deorum rogantium, vel afflatu numinum furor hic venit. [c] Qui in Delphis futura prædicunt vates, et in Dodonâ sacerdotes furentes quidem multa jocunda Graiis deferunt, sani vero exigua aut nulla.

know not whether they are more to be pitied or derided, or may bee beleeved; but that we daily see the same still practised in our dayes, fresh examples, *nova novitia*, fresh objects of misery and madness in this kinde, that are still represented unto us, abroad, at home, in the midst of us, in our bosomes.

But, before I can come to treat of these several errours and obliquities, their causes, symptomes, affections, &c. I must say something necessarily of the object of this love, God himself; what this love is; how it allureth; whence it proceeds; and (which is the cause of all our miseries) how we mistake, wander and swerve from it.

Amongst all those divine attributes that God doth vindicate to himself, eternity, omnipotency, immutability, wisdome, majesty, justice, mercy, &c. his [a] beauty is not the least. *One thing, saith David, have I desired of the Lord, and that I will still desire, to behold the beauty of the Lord, Psal. 27. 4. And out of Sion which is the perfection of beauty, hath God shined, Psal. 50. 2.* All other creatures are faire, I confess; and many other objects do much enamor us, a faire house, a faire horse, a comely person. [b] *I am amazed,* saith Austin, *when I look up to heaven, and behold the beauty of the stars, the beauty of angels, principalities, powers, who can expresse it? who can sufficiently commend, or set out this beauty which appears in us? so faire a body, so faire a face, eys, nose, cheeks, chin, browes, all faire and lovely to behold; besides the beauty of the soule which cannot be discerned. If we so labour, and be so much affected with the comeliness of creatures, how should we be ravished with that admirable lustre of God himself?* If ordinary beauty have such a prerogative and power, and what is amiable and faire, to draw the eys and ears, hearts and affections of all spectatours unto it, to move, win, entise, allure: how shall this divine forme ravish our soules, which is the fountain and quintessence of all beauty? *Cœlum pulchrum, sed pulchrior cœli fabricator;* if heaven be so faire, the sun so faire, how much fairer shall he be, that made them faire? *For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionally the maker of them is seen.* Wisd. 13. 5. If there be such pleasure in beholding a beautifull person alone, and as a plausible sermon, he so much affect us, what shall this beauty of God himself, that is infinitely fairer then all creatures, men, angels, &c. [c] *Omnis pulchritudo florum, hominum, angelorum, et rerum omnium pulcherrimarum ad Dei pulchritudinem*

[a] Deus bonus, justus, pulcher, juxta Platonem. [b] Miror et stupeo, cum cœlum aspicio et pulchritudinem syderum, angelorum, &c. et quis digne laudet quod in nobis viget, corpus tam pulchrum, frontem pulchrum, nares, genas, oculos, intellectum, omnia pulchra; si sic in creaturis laboramus, quid in ipso Deo? [c] Drexelius Nicet. lib. 2. cap. 11.

collata, nox est et tenebræ; all other beauties are night it self, meer darkness to this our inexplicable, incomprehensible, unspeakable, eternall, infinite, admirable and divine beauty. This lustre, *pulchritudo omnium pulcherrima*. This beauty and [a] *splendor of the divine Majesty*, is it that drawes all creatures to it, to seeke it, love, admire, and adore it. And those heathens, pagans, philosophers, out of those reliques they have yet left of Gods image, are so far forth incensed, as not only to acknowledge a God, but, though after their own inventions, to stand in admiration of his bounty, goodness, to adore and seeke him; the magnificence and structure of the world it self, and beauty of all his creatures, his goodness, providence, protection, inforceth them to love him, seeke him, fear him, though a wrong way to adore him. But for us that are Christians, regenerate, that are his adopted sons, illuminated by his word, having the eys of our hearts and understandings opened; how fairly doth he offer and expose himself? *Ambit nos Deus* (Austin saith) *donis et formâ suâ*, he wooes us by his beauty, gifts, promises, to come unto him; [b] *the whole scripture is a message, an exhortation, a love letter to this purpose*, to incite us, and invite us; [c] Gods Epistle, as Gregory cals it, *to his creatures*. He sets out his son and his church in that epithalamium or mysticall song of Solomon, to enamor us the more; comparing his head *to fine gold, his lockes curled and black as a raven*, Cant. 5. 10. *his eys like doves on rivers of waters, washed with milk; his lippes as lillies, dropping down pure juyce, his hands as rings of gold set with chrysolite: and his church to a vineyard, a garden inclosed, a fountaine of living waters, an orchard of pomegranates, with sweet sents of saffron, spike, calamus and cinamon, and all the trees of incense, as the chief spices, the fairest amongst women, no spot in her,* [d] *his sister, his spouse, undefiled, the onely daughter of her mother, dear unto her, faire as the moone, pure as the sun, looking out as the morning*. That by these figures, that glasse, these spiritual eys of contemplation, we might perceive some resemblance of his beauty, the love betwixt his church and him. And so in the 45 Psalm, this beauty of his church is compared to a *Queen in a vesture of gold of Ophir, embroidred raiment of needle worke, that the king might take pleasure in her beauty*. To incense us further yet, [e] John in his Apocalypse, makes a description of that heavenly Jerusalem, the beauty of it, and in it the maker of it; *Likening it to a city of pure gold, like unto cleer glasse, shining and garnished with all manner of*

[a] Fulgor divinæ majestatis. Aug. [b] In Psal. 64. Misit ad nos Epistolas et totam scripturam, quibus nobis faceret amandi desiderium. [c] Epist. 48. l. 4. Quid est tota scriptura nisi Epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creaturam suam? [d] Cap. 4. 9. [e] Cap. 21. 11.

precious stones, having no need of sun or moone: for the lambe is the light of it, the glory of God doth illuminate it: to give us to understand the infinite glory, beauty and happiness of it. Not that it is no fairer then these creatures to which it is compared, but that this vision of his, this lustre of his divine majesty, cannot otherwise be expressed to our apprehensions, *no tongue can tell, no heart can conceive it,* as Paul saith. Moses himself, Exod. 33. 18. when he desired to see God in his glory, was answered, that he might not endure it, no man could see his face and live. *Sensibile forte destruit sensum,* a strong object overcometh the sight, according to that axiome in philosophy: *fulgorem Solis ferre non potes, multo magis creatoris:* if thou canst not endure the sun beames, how canst thou endure that fulgor and brightness of him that made the sun? The sun it self, and all that we can imagine, are but shadowes of it; 'tis *visio præcellens,* as [a] Austin cals it, the quintessence of beauty this, *which far exceeds the beauty of heavens, sun and moone, stars, angels, gold and silver, woods, faire fields, and whatsoever is pleasant to behold.* All those other beauties fail, vary, are subject to corruption, to loathing; [b] *But this is an immortall vision, a divine beauty, an immortall love, an indefatigable love and beauty,* with sight of which we shall never be tired, nor wearied, but still the more we see, the more we shall covet him. [c] *For as one saith, where this vision is, there is absolute beauty; and where is that beauty, from the same fountaine comes all pleasure and happiness; neither can beauty, pleasure, happiness, be separated from his vision or sight, or his vision from beauty, pleasure, happiness.* In this life we have but a glimpse of this beauty and happiness; we shall hereafter, as John saith, see him as he is: thine eys, as Isay promiseth, 33. 17. *shall behold the King in his glory:* then shall we be perfectly enamored, have a full fruition of it, desire, [d] behold and love him alone, as the most amiable and fairest object, or *summum bonum,* the chiefest good.

This likewise should we now have done, had not our will been corrupted; and as we are enjoyned to love God with all our heart, and all our soule: for to that end were we born, to love this object, as [e] Melancthon discourseth, and to enjoye it. *And him our will would have loved and sought alone as our*

[a] In Psal. 85. Omnes pulchritudines terrenas auri, argenti, nemorum et camporum, pulchritudinem Solis et Lunæ, stellarum, omnia pulchra superans. [b] Immortalis hæc visio, immortalis amor, indefessus amor et visio. [c] Osorius. Ubicunque visio et pulchritudo divini aspectûs, ibi voluptas ex eodem fonte omnisque beatitudo, nec ab ejus aspectu voluptas, nec ab illa voluptate aspectus separari potest. [d] Leon Hebræus. Dubitatur an humana felicitas Deo cognoscendo an amando terminetur. [e] Lib. de animâ. Ad hoc objectum amandum et fruendum nati sumus; et hunc expetisset, unicum hunc amasset humana voluntas, ut summum bonum, et cæteras res omnes eo ordine.

summum bonum, *or principall good, and all other good things for Gods sake: and nature as she proceeded from it, would have sought this fountaine; but in this infirmity of humane nature this order is disturbed, our love is corrupt:* and a man is like that monster in [a] Plato, composed of a Scylla, a lyon, and a man. We are carried away headlong with the torrent of our affections: the world, and that infinite variety of pleasing objects in it, do so allure and enamor us, that we cannot so much as look towards God, seeke him, or think on him as we should: we cannot, saith Austin, *Rempub. cœlestem cogitare,* we cannot contain our selves from them, their sweetness is so pleasing to us. Marriage, saith [b] Gualter, detains many; *a thing in it self laudable, good and necessary, but many deceived and carried away with the blinde love of it, have quite laid aside the love of God, and desire of his glory. Meat and drinke hath overcome as many, whilest they rather strive to please, satisfie their guts and belly, then to serve God and nature.* Some are so busied about merchandise, to get mony, they loose their own soules, whiles covetously carried; and with an unsatiable desire of gain, they forget God. As much we may say of honour, leagues, friendships, health, wealth, and all other profits or pleasures in this life, whatsoever. [c] *In this world there be so many beautiful objects, splendors and brightness of gold, majesty of glory, assistance of friends, faire promises, smooth words, victories, triumphs, and such an infinite company of pleasing beauties to allure us, and drawe us from God, that we cannot look after him.* And this is it which Christ himself, those prophets and apostles so much thundred against, 1 John 2. 15. dehort us from. *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world: if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him,* 16. *For all that is in the world, as lust of the fleshe, the lust of the eys, and pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away and the lust thereof; but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for ever. No man,* saith our Saviour, *can serve two masters, but he must love the one and hate the other, &c. bonos vel malos mores, boni vel mali faciunt amores,* Austin well infers: and this is that which all the fathers inculcate. He cannot ([d] Austin admonisheth) bee Gods friend, that is delighted with the pleasures of the

[a] 9. de Repub. [b] Hom. 9. in epist. Johannis cap. 2. Multos conjugium decepit, res alioqui salutaris et necessaria, eo quod cæco ejus amore decepti, divini amoris et gloriæ studium in universum abjecerunt; plurimos cibus et potus perdit. [c] In mundo splendor opum, gloriæ majestas, amicitiarum præsidia, verborum blanditiæ, voluptatum omnis generis illecebræ, victoriæ, triumphi, et infinita alia ab amore Dei nos abstrahunt, &c. [d] In Psal. 32. Dei amicus esse non potest, qui mundi studiis delectatur: ut hanc formam videas, munda cor, serena cor, &c.

world: *make clean thine heart, purifie thine heart, if thou wilt see this beauty, prepare thy self for it. It is the eye of contemplation by which we must behold it; the wing of meditation which lifts us up and rears our soules with the motion of our hearts, and sweetnesse of contemplation.* So saith Gregory, cited by [a]Bonaventure. And as [b]Philo Judæus seconds him, *He that loves God, will soare aloft and take him wings; and leaving the earth flye up to heaven, wander with sun and moone, stars, and that heavenly troop, God himself being his guide.* If we desire to see him, we must lay aside all vain objects, which detain us and dazel our eys; and as [c]Ficinus adviseth us, *get us solar eys, spectacles as they that look on the sun: to see this divine beauty, lay aside all material objects, all sense, and then thou shalt see him as he is.* Thou covetous wretch, as [d]Austin expostulates, *Why dost thou stand gaping on this dross, muckhils, filthy excrements? behold a far fairer object; God himself wooes thee; behold him, enjoye him, he is sick for love. Cant 5.* He invites thee to his sight, to come into his *faire garden*, to eat and drink with him, to be merry with him, to enjoye his presence for ever. [e]Wisdome cryes out in the streets, besides the gates, in the top of high places, before the city, at the entry of the door, and bids them give ear to her instruction, which is better then gold or precious stones; no pleasures can be compared to it: leave all then, and follow her, *vos exhortor ô amici et obsecro.* In [f]Ficinus words, I exhort and beseech you, *that you would embrace and follow this divine love with all your hearts and abilities, by all offices and endeavours make this so loving God propitious unto you.* For whom alone, saith [g]Plotinus, *we must forsake the kingdomes and empires of the whole earth, sea, land, and ayr, if we desire to be ingrafted into him, leave all and follow him.*

Now, forasmuch, as this love of God is an *habit infused* of God, as [h]Thomas holds, 1. 2. *quæst.* 23. *by which a man is inclined to love God above all, and his neighbour as himself*, we must pray to God that he will open our eys, make

[a] Contemplationis pluma nos sublevat, atque inde erigimur intentione cordis, dulcedine contemplationis, distinct. 6. de 7. Itineribus. [b] Lib. de victimis: Amans Deum, sublimia petit, sumptis alis et in cœlum recte volat, relictâ terrâ, cupidus aberrandi cum Sole, Lunâ, stellarumque sacra militia, ipso Deo duce. [c] In com. Plat. cap. 7. Ut Solem videas oculis, fieri debes solaris: ut divinam aspicias pulchritudinem, demitte materiam, demitte sensum, et Deum qualis sit videbis. [d] Avare, quid inhias his, &c. pulchrior est qui te ambit ipsum visurus, ipsum habiturus. [e] Prov. 8. [f] Cap. 18. Rom. Amorem hunc divinum totis viribus amplexamini; Deum vobis omni officiorum genere propitium facite. [g] Cap. 7. de pulchritudine. Regna et imperia totius terræ et maris et cœli oportet abjicere, si ad ipsum conversus velis inseri. [h] Habitus a Deo infusus, per quem inclinatur homo ad diligendum Deum super omnia.

cleer our hearts, that we may be capable of his glorious rayes, and performe those duties that he requires of us. Deut. 6. and Jos. 23. *To love God above all, and our neighbour as our self,* to keep his commandements. *In this we know,* saith John, c. 5. 2. *we love the children of God, when we love God and keep his commandements. This is the love of God, that we keep his commandements; he that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is love, cap.* 4. 16. *and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him;* for love presupposeth knowledge, faith, hope, and unites us to God himself, as [a] Leon Hebræus delivereth unto us; and is accompanied with the feare of God, humility, meekness, patience, all those vertues, and charity it self. For if we love God, we shall love our neighbour, and performe the duties which are required at our hands; to which we are exhorted, 1 Cor. 13. 4. 5. Ephes. 4. Coloss. 3. Rom. 12. We shall not be envious or puffed up, or boast, disdaine, think evil, or be provoked to anger, but suffer all things; *Endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.* Forbear one another, forgive one another, cloath the naked, visit the sick, and performe all those works of mercy, which [b] Clemens Alexandrinus cals *amoris et amicitiæ impletionem et extentionem,* the extent and complement of love; and that not for feare or worldly respects, but *ordine ad Deum,* for the love of God himself. This we shall do if we be truly enamored; but we come short in both, we neither love God nor our neighbour as we should. Our love in spiritual things is too [c] *defective, in worldly things too excessive, there is a jarre in both.* We love the world too much; God too little; our neighbour not at all, or for our owne ends.

Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.

The chiefe thing we respect is our commodity: and what we do, is for fear of worldly punishment, for vain-glory, praise of men, fashion, and such by-respects; not for Gods sake. We neither know God aright, nor seek, love or worship him as we should. And for these defects, we involve our selves into a multitude of errours, we swerve from this true love and worship of God: which is a cause unto us of unspeakable miseries; running into both extreams, we become fooles, mad-men, without sense, as now in the next place I will shew you.

The parties affected are innumerable almost, and scattered over the face of the earth, far and neer, and so have been in all

[a] Dial. 1. Omnis convertit amor in ipsius pulchri naturam. [b] Stromatum lib. 2.
[c] Greenham.

precedent ages, from the beginning of the world to these times, of all sorts and conditions. For methods sake, I will reduce them to a twofold division, according to those two extreams of *excess* and *defect*, impiety and superstition, idolatry and atheisme. Not that there is any excess of divine worship or love of God; that cannot be; we cannot love God too much, or do our duty as we ought, as papists hold, or have any perfection in this life, much less supererogate; when we have all done, we are *unprofitable servants*. But because we do *aliud agere*, zealous without knowledge, and too solicitous about that which is not necessary, busying our selves about impertinent, needless, idle, and vaine ceremonies, *populo ut placerent*, as the Jewes did about sacrifices, oblations, offerings, incense, new moones, feasts, &c. but as Isay taxeth them 1. 12. *Who required this at your hands?* We have too great opinion of our owne worth, that we can satisfie the lawe; and do more then is required at our hands, by performing those evangelical counsells, and such works of supererogation, merit for others, which Bellarmine, Gregory de Valentia, all their Jesuites and champions defend, that if God should deal in rigour with them, some of their Franciscans and Dominicans are so pure, that nothing could be objected to them. Some of us again are too dear, as we thinke, more divine and sanctified then others, of a better mettle, greater gifts, and with that proude Pharisee, contemn others in respect of our selves, we are better christians, better learned, choyce spirits, inspired, know more, have special revelation, perceive Gods secrets, and thereupon presume, say and doe many times, what is not befitting to be said or done. Of this number are all superstitious idolaters, ethnicks, Mahometans, Jewes, heretiques, [a] enthusiasts, divinators, prophets, sectaries, and schismatiques. Zanchius reduceth such infidels to four chiefe sectes; but I will insist and follow mine own intended method: all which with many other curious persons, monkes, heremits, &c. may be ranged in this extream, and fight under this susperstitious banner, with those rude idiots, and infinite swarms of people that are seduced by them. In the other extream or in defect, march those impious epicures, libertines, atheists, hypocrites, infidels, worldly, secure, impenitent, unthankful, and carnal-minded men, that attribute all to natural causes, that will acknowledge no supream power; that have cauterized consciences, or live in a reprobate sense: or such desperate persons as are too distrustful of his mercies. Of these there be many subdivisions, divers degrees of madness

[a] De primo præcepto.

† God, according to Moses.

and folly, some more then other, as shall be shewed in the symptomes: and yet all miserably out, perplexed, doting, and besides themselves for religions sake. For as [a] Zanchy well distinguished, and all the world knowes, religion is twofold, true or false; false is that vain superstition of idolaters, such as were of old, Greekes, Romans, present Mahometans, &c. *Timorem Deorum inanem*, [b] Tully could terme it; or as Zanchy defines it, *Ubi falsi Dii, aut falso cultu colitur Deus*, when false gods, or that God is falsely worshipped. And 'tis a miserable plague, a torture of the soule, a meer madness, *Religiosa insania*, [c] Meteran cals it, or *insanus error*, as [d] Seneca, a frantick errour; or as Austin, *insanus animi morbus*, a furious disease of the soule; *insania omnium insanissima*, a quintessence of madness; [e] for he that is superstitious, can never be quiet. 'Tis proper to man alone, *ûni superbia, avaritia, superstitio*, saith Plin. *lib. 7. cap. 1. atque etiam post sævit de futuro*, which wrings his soule for the present, and to come: the greatest miserie belongs to mankinde, a perpetual servitude, a slavery, [f] *Ex timore timor*, an heavie yoak, the seal of damnation, an intolerable burthen. They that are superstitious, are still fearing, suspecting, vexing themselves with auguries, prodigies, false tales, dreams, idle, vain workes, unprofitable labours, as [g] Boterus observes, *curâ mentis ancipite versantur*: enemies to God and to themselves. In a word, as Seneca concludes, *Religio Deum colit, superstitio destruit.* Superstition destroyes, but true religion honours God. True religion, *ubi verus Deus vere colitur*, where the true God is truely worshipped, is the way to heaven, the mother of all vertues, love, feare, devotion, obedience, knowledge &c. It rears the dejected soule of man; and amidst so many cares, miseries, persecutions, which this world affords, it is a sole ease, an unspeakable comforte, a sweet reposal, *Jugum suave, et leve*, a light yoak, an anchor, and an haven. It addes courage, boldness, and begets generous spirits: although tyrants rage, persecute, and that bloudy *lictor* or serjeant be ready to martyr them, *aut lita, aut morere*, (as in those persecutions of the primitive church, it was put in practise, as you may reade in Eusebius and others) though enemies be now ready to invade, and all in an uproare, [h] *Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidos ferient ruinæ*, though heaven should fall on his head, he would not be dismaid. But as a good christian prince once made answer to a menacing Turke, *facile scelerata hominum arma*

[a] De relig. l. 2. Thes. 1. [b] 2 De nat. Deorum. [c] Hist. Belgic. l. 8.
[d] Superstitio error insanus est. epist. 123. [e] Nam qui superstitione imbutus est, quietus esse nunquam potest. [f] Greg. [g] Polit. lib. 1. cap. 13. [h] Hor.

contemnit, qui Dei præsidio tutus est: Or as [a]Phalaris writ to Alexander in a wrong cause, he nor any other enemie could terrifie him, for that he trusted in God. *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* In all calamities, persecutions whatsoever, as David did, 2 Sam. 22. 2. he will sing with him, *The Lord is my rock, my fortresse, my strength, my refuge, the towre and horne of my salvation, &c. In all troubles and adversities, Psal.* 46. 1. *God is my hope and helpe, still ready to be founde, I will not therefore feare, &c.* 'tis a feare expelling feare; he hath peace of conscience, and is full of hope, which is (saith [b]Austin) *vita vitæ mortalis*, the life of this our mortal life, hope of immortality, the sole comfort of our miserie: otherwise as Paul saith, we of all others *were most wretched*; but this makes us happy: counterpoising our hearts in all miserie; superstition torments, and is from the divel, the authour of lyes; but this is from God himself, as Lucian that Antiochian priest made his divine confession in [c]Eusebius, *Author nobis de Deo Deus est*, God is the author of our religion himself; his word is our rule, a lanthorne to us, dictated by the holy Ghost, he playes upon our hearts as so many harp-strings, and we are his temples, he dwelleth in us, and we in him.

The part affected of superstition, is the braine, heart, will, understanding, soule it self, and all the faculties of it, *totum compositum*, all is mad, and dotes. Now for the extent, as I say, the world it self is the subject of it, (to omit that grand sin of atheisme) all times have been misaffected, past, present, *there is not one that doth good, no not one, from the prophet to the priest, &c.* A lamentable thing it is to consider, how many myriades of men this idolatrie and superstition (for that comprehends all) hath infatuated in all ages, besotted by this blind zeale, which is religions ape, religions bastard, religions shadow, false glasse. For where God hath a temple, the divel will have a chappel: where God hath sacrifices, the divel will have his oblations: where God hath ceremonies, the divel will have his traditions: where there is any religion, the divel will plant superstition; and 'tis a pitifull sight to behold and reade, what tortures, miseries it hath procured; what slaughter of soules it hath made; how it raged amongst those old Persians, Syrians, Ægyptians, Greekes, Romans, Tuscans, Gaules, Germanes, Britaines, &c. *Britannia jam hodie celebrat tam attonite*, saith [d]Pliny, *tantis ceremoniis* (speaking of superstition) *ut dedisse Persis videri possit.* The Britaines are so stupendly superstitious in their ceremonies,

[a] Epist. Phalar. [b] In Psal. 3. [c] Lib. 9. cap. 6. [d] Lib. 3. cap.

that they go beyond those Persians. He that shall but reade in Pausanias alone, those gods, temples, altars, idols, statues, so curiously made with such infinite cost and charge, amongst those old Greekes, such multitudes of them, and frequent varieties, as [a] Gerbelius truely observes, may stand amazed, and never enough wonder at it: and thank God withall, that by the light of the Gospel, we are so happily freed from that slavish idolatrie in these our dayes. But heretofore, almost in all countries, in all places superstition hath blinded the hearts of men. In all ages, what a small portion hath the true church ever been!

Divisum imperium cum Jove Dæmon habet.

The Patriarchs and their families, the Israelites a handfull in respect, Christ and his Apostles, and not all of them neither. Into what straights hath it been compinged, a little flocke! how hath superstition on the other side dilated her self, errour, ignorance, barbarisme, folly, madness, deceived, triumphed, and insulted over the most wise, discreet and understanding men, philosophers, dynastes, monarches, all were involved and over-shadowed in this mist, in more then Cymmerian darkness. [b] *Adeo ignara superstitio mentes hominum depravat, et nonnunquam sapientum animos transversos agit.* At this present, *quota pars!* How small a part is truely religious! How little in respect! Divide the world into six parts, and one or not so much is Christians. Idolaters and Mahometans possesse almost Asia, Africke, America, Magellanica. The kings of China, great Cham, Siam and Bornaye, Pegu, Decan, Narsinga, Japan, &c. are gentiles, idolaters, and many other pettie princes in Asia, Monomotopa, Congo, and I knowe not how many Negro princes in Africke, all Terra Australis incognita, most of America, Pagans, differing all in their severall superstitions; and yet all idolaters. The Mahometans extend themselves over the great Turkes dominions in Europe, Africke, Asia, to the Xeriffes in Barbary, and his territories in Fez, Sus, Morocco, &c. The Tartar, the great Mogor, the Sophy of Persia, with most of their dominions and subjects, are at this day Mahometans. See how the divel rageth. Those at oddes, or differing among themselves, some for [c] Alli, some for Enbocar, for Aomar, and Ozimen, those foure doctours, Mahomet's successours, and are subdivided into 72 inferior sectes, as [d] Leo After reports. The Jewes, as a company of

[a] Lib. 6. descrip. Græc. Nulla est via qua non innumeris idolis est referta. Tantum tunc temporis in miserrimos mortales potentiæ et crudelis Tyrannidis Satan exercuit. [b] Alex. ab Alex. lib. 6. cap. 26. [c] Purchas Pilgrim. lib. 1. c. 3. [d] Lib. 3.

vagabonds are scattered over all parts; whose story, present estate, progresse from time to time, is fully set down by [a] Mr. Thomas Jackson, doctor of divinity, in his Comment on the Creed. A fift part of the world, and hardly that, now professeth CHRIST; but so inlarded and interlaced with several superstitions, that there is scarse a sound part to be founde, or any agreement amongst them. Presbyter John in Africke, lord of those Abyssines, or Æthiopians, is by his profession a Christian, but so different from us, with such new absurdities and ceremonies, such liberty, such a mixture of idolatry and paganisme, [b] that they keep little more then a bare title of Christianitie. They suffer polygamy, circumcision, stupend fastings, divorce as they will themselves, &c. and as the Papists call on the Virgin Mary, so do they on Thomas Didymus before Christ. [c] The Greeke or Eastern Church, is rent from this of the West, and as they have foure chief Patriarchs, so have they foure subdivisions, besides those Nestorians, Jacobines, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, &c. scattered over Asia Minor, Syria, Ægypt, &c. Greece, Valachia, Circassia, Bulgary, Bosnia, Albania, Illyricum, Sclavonia, Croatia, Thrace, Servia, Rascia, and a sprinkling amongst the Tartars. The Russians, Muscovites, and most of that great dukes subjects, are part of the Greeke church, and still Christians: but, as [d] one saith, *temporis successu multas illi addiderunt superstitiones*; in processe of time, they have added so many superstitions, they be rather semi-Christians, then otherwise. That which remaines is the Western Church with us in Europe; but so eclipsed with severall schismes, heresies and superstitions, that one knows not where to finde it. The papists have Italy, Spaine, Savoy, part of Germany, France, Poland and a sprinkling in the rest of Europe. In America, they hold all that which Spaniards inhabit, Hispania Nova, Castella Aurea, Peru, &c. In the East Indies, the Philippinæ, some small holds about Goa, Malacha, Zelan, Ormus, &c. which the Portugall got not long since, and those land-leaping Jesuites have essayed in China, Japan, as appears by their yeerly letters; in Africke they have Melinda, Quiloa, Mombaza, &c. and some fewe towns, they drive out one superstition with another. Poland is a receptacle of all religions, where Samosetans, Socinians, Photinians (now protected in Transilvania and Poland) Arrians, Anabaptists are to be found, as well as in some German cities. Scandia is Christian, but

[a] 2 Part. sec. 3. lib. 1. cap. et deinceps. [b] Titelmannus. Maginus. Bredenbachius. Fr. Aluaresius Itin. de Abyssinis. Herbis solum vescuntur votarii, aquis mento tenus dormiunt, &c. [c] Bredenbachius Jod. a Meggen. [d] See Possevinus Herbastein, Magin. D. Fletcher, Jovius, Hacluit, Purchas, &c. of their errours.

as [a]Damianus A-Goes the Portugall knight complains, so mixt with magick, pagan rites and ceremonies, they may be as well counted idolaters. What Tacitus formerly said of a like nation, is verified in them; [b]*A people subject to superstition, contrary to religion.* And some of them, as about Lapland and the Pilapians, the divels possession to this daye, *Misera hæc gens* (saith mine [c]authour) *Satanæ hactenus possessio,—et quod maxime mirandum et dolendum,* and which is to be admired and pittied, if any of them be baptized, which the kings of Sweden much labour, they dye within 7 or 9 dayes after; and for that cause they will hardly be brought to Christianity, but worship still the divel, who daily appears to them. In their idolatrous courses, *Gaudentibus Diis patriis, quos religiose colunt, &c.* Yet are they very superstitious, like our wilde Irish. Though they of the better note, the kings of Denmark and Sweden themselves, that govern them, be Lutherans; the remnant are Calvinists, Lutherans; in Germany equally mixt: And yet the emperour himself, dukes of Loraine, Bavaria, and the princes electors, are most part professed papists. And though some part of France and Ireland, Great Britaine, half the cantos in Suitzerland, and the low countries be Calvinists, more defecate then the rest, yet at oddes amongst themselves, not free from superstition. And which [d]Brochard the monke in his description of the holy land, after he had censured the Greeke church, and shewed their errours, concluded at last, *Faxit Deus ne Latinis multa irrepserint stultitiæ;* I say, God grant there be no fopperies in our church. As a damme of water stopt in one place breaks out into another, so doth superstition. I say nothing of Anabaptists, Socinians, Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, &c. There is superstition in our prayers; often in our hearing of sermons, bitter contentions, invectives, persecutions, strange conceits, besides diversitie of opinions, schismes, factions, &c. But as the Lord (Job 42. 7.) said to Eliphaz the Termanite, and his two friends, *his wrath was kindled against them, for they had not spoken of him things that were right:* we may justly of these schismatiques, and heretiques, how wise soever in their own conceits, *non recte loquuntur de Deo,* they speak not, they think not, they write not well of God, and as they ought. And therefore, *Quid quæso, mi Dorpi,* as Erasmus concludes to Dorpius, *hisce Theologis faciamus, aut quid preceris, nisi forte fidelem medicum, qui cerebro medeatur?* What shall we

[a] Deplorat. Gentis Lapp. [b] Gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.
[c] Boissardus de Magia. Intra septimum aut nonum a baptismo diem moriuntur. Hinc fit, &c. [d] Cap. de Incolis terræ sanctæ.

wish them, but *sanam mentem*, and a good physician? But more of their differences, paradoxes, opinions, mad prankes, in the symptomes: I now hasten to the causes.

SUBSECT. II.

Causes of Religious Melancholy. From the Divel; by miracles, apparitions, oracles. His instruments or factors; politicians, priests, impostors, heretiques, blinde guides. In them, simplicity, fear, blinde zeal, ignorance, solitariness, curiosity, pride, vain-glory, presumption, &c. his engins; fasting, solitariness, hope, fear, &c.

WE are taught in holy Scripture, that the *divel rangeth abroad like a roaring lyon, still seeking whom he may devour:* and as in severall shapes, so by severall engins and devices he goeth about to seduce us. Sometimes he transforms himself into an angel of light; and is so cunning, that he is able, if it were possible, to deceive the very elect. He will be worshipped as [a] God himself; and is so adored by the heathen, and esteemed. And in imitation of that divine power, [b] as Eusebius observes, [c] to abuse or emulate Gods glory, as Dandinus addes, he will have all homage, sacrifices, oblations, and whatsoever else belongs to the worship of God, to be done likewise unto him, *similis erit altissimo*, and by this meanes infatuates the world, deludes, entraps, and destroys many a thousand soules. Sometimes by dreams, visions (as God to Moses by familiar conference) the divel in severall shapes talks with them. In the [d] Indies, it is common; and in China nothing so familiar as apparitions, inspirations, oracles, by terrifying them with false prodigies, counterfeit miracles, sending storms, tempests, diseases, plagues (as of old in Athens there was Apollo, Alexicacus, Apollo λοιμιος *pestifer et malorum depulsor*) raising wars, seditions by spectrums, troubling their consciences, driving them to despair, terrours of minde, intolerable pains; by promises, rewards, benefits, and faire meanes, he raiseth such an opinion of his deity and greatness, that they dare not do otherwise then adore him; do as he will have them; they dare not offend him. And to compel them

[a] Plato in Crit. Dæmones custodes sunt hominum et eorum domini, ut nos animalium; nec hominibus, sed et regionibus imperant, vaticiniis, auguriis, somniis oraculis, nos regunt. Idem fere Max. Tyrius ser. 1. et 26. 27. Medios vult dæmones inter Deos et homines Deorum ministros, præsides hominum, a cœlo ad homines descendentes. [b] De præparat. Evangel. [c] Vel in abusum Dei vel in æmulationem. Dandinus com. in lib. 2. Arist. de An. Text. 29. [d] Dæmones consulunt, et familiares habent dæmones plerique sacerdotes. Riccius lib. 1. cap. 10. expedit. Sinar.

more to stand in awe of him, [a] *he sends and cures diseases, disquiets their spirits,* (as Cyprian saith) *torments and terrifies their soules, to make them adore him: and all his study, all his endeavour is to divert them from true religion to superstition: and because he is damned himself, and in an errour, he would have all the world participate of his errours, and be damned with him.* The *primum mobile* therefore, and first mover of all superstition, is the divel, that great enemy of mankind, the principal agent, who in a thousand several shapes, after divers fashions, with several engins, illusions, and by several names, hath deceived the inhabitants of the earth, in several places and countries, still rejoycing at their fals. *All the world over, before Christ's time, he freely domineered, and held the soules of men, in most slavish subjection,* saith [b] Eusebius, *in divers formes, ceremonies, and sacrifices, till Christ's coming;* as if those divels of the ayr had shared the earth amongst them; which the Platonists held for Gods ([c] *Ludus Deorum sumus*) and were our governours and keepers. In several places, they had several rites, orders, names, of which read *Wierus de præstigiis dæmonum lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. [d] Strozius, Cicogna, and others. Adonided amongst the Syrians; Adramelech amongst the Capernaites; Asiniæ amongst the Emathites; Astartes with the Sydonians; Asteroth with the Palestines; Dagon with the Philistines; Tartari with the Hanæi; Melchonis amongst the Ammonites; Beli the Babylonian; Beelzebub and Baal with the Samaritans and Moabites; Apis, Isis and Osyris amongst the Ægyptians; Apollo Pythius at Delphos, Colophon, Ancyra, Cuma, Erythra; Jupiter in Crete; Venus at Cyprus; Juno at Carthage; Æsculapius at Epidaurus; Diana at Ephesus; Pallas at Athens, &c. And even in these our dayes, both in the East and West Indies, in Tartary, China, Japan, &c. what strange idols, in what prodigious formes, with what absurd ceremonies are they adored? What strange Sacraments, like ours of Baptisme and the Lords Supper; what goodly temples, priests, sacrifices they had in America, when the Spaniards first landed there, let Acosta the Jesuite relate, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. and how the divel imitated the ark, and the children of Israel's coming out of Egypt: with many such. For as Lipsius well discourseth out

[a] Vitam turbant, somnos inquietant, irrepentes etiam in corpora mentes terrent, valetudinem frangunt, morbos lacessunt, ut ad cultum sui cogant, nec aliud his studium, quam ut a vera religione, ad superstitionem vertant; cum sint ipsi pœnales, quærunt sibi ad pœnas comites, ut habeant erroris participes. [b] Lib. 4. præparat. Evangel. Tantamque victoriam amentiâ hominum consequuti sunt, ut si colligere in unum velis, universum orbem istis scelestibus spiritibus subjectum fuisse invenies. Usque ad Salvatoris adventum, hominum cæde pernitiosissimos dæmones placabant, &c. [c] Plato. [d] Strozius, Cicogna omnif. mag. lib. 3. cap. 7. Ezek. 8. 10. Reg. 11. 4. Reg. 3. et 17. 14. Jer. 49. Num. 21. 3. Reg. 13.

of the doctrine of the Stoicks, *maxime cupiunt adorationem hominum*, now and of olde, they still and most especially, desire to be adored by men. See but what Vertomannus, *l.* 5. *c.* 2. Marcus Polus, Lerius, Benzo, P. Martyr in his Ocean Decades, Acosta, and Mat. Riccius *expedit. Christ. in Sinas lib.* 1. relate. [a] Eusebius wonders how that wise city of Athens, and flourishing kingdomes of Greece should be so besotted; and we, in our times, how those witty Chinese, so perspicacious in all other things, should be so gulled, so tortured with superstition, so blinde as to worship stockes and stones. But it is no marvel, when we see all out as great effects amongst Christians themselves: how are those Anabaptists, Arrians, and Papists above the rest, miserably infatuated! Mars, Jupiter, Apollo, and Æsculapius, have resigned their interest, names and offices to Saint George,

> [b] (Maxime bellorum rector, quem nostra juventus
> Pro Mavorte colit.)

St. Christopher, and a company of fictitious saints; Venus to the lady of Lauretta. And as those old Romans had several distinct gods, for divers offices, persons, places, so have they Saints, as [c] Lavater well observes out of Lactantius, *mutato nomine tantum*, 'tis the same spirit or divel that deludes them still. The manner how, as I say, is by rewards, promises, terrours, affrights, punishments. In a word, faire and foule meanes, hope and feare. How often hath Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus, and the rest, sent plagues in [d] Greece and Italy, because their sacrifices were neglected?

> [e] Dii multa neglecti dedêrunt
> Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ,

to terrifie them, to rouze them up, and the like: see but Livy, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Philostratus, [f] Polybius, before the battel of Cannas, *prodigiis, signis, ostentis, templa cuncta, privatæ etiam ædes scatebant.* Oeneus raigned in Ætolia, and because he did not sacrifice to Diana with his other gods (see more in Libanius his Diana) she sent a wilde bore, *insolitæ magnitudinis, qui terras et homines misere depascebatur*, to spoile both men and country, which was afterwards killed by Meleager. So Plutarch in the life of Lucullus relates, how Mithridates, king of Pontus, at the siege of Cizicum, with all his navy was overthrown by Proserpina, for neglecting of her holy daye. She appeared in

[a] Lib. 4. cap. 8. prepar. cap. 1. et lib. 2. cap. 9. [b] Bapt. Mant. 4. Fast. de Sancto Georgio. [c] Part. 1. [d] Polyd. Virg. lib. 1. de prodig. [e] Hor. l. 3. od. 6. [f] Lib. 3. hist.

a vision to Aristagoras in the night, *Cras, inquit, tybicinem Libicum cum tybicine Pontico committam*, and the daye following this ænigma was understood; for with a great south winde which came from Lybia, she quite overwhelmed Mithridates army. What prodigies and miracles, dreams, visions, predictions, apparitions, oracles, have been of olde at Delphos, Dodona, Trophonius denne, at Thebes, and Lebaudia, of Jupiter Ammon in Ægypt, Amphiareus in Attica, &c. what strange cures performed by Apollo and Æsculapius? Juno's image, and that of [a] Fortune spake; [b] Castor and Pollux fought in person for the Romans, against Hannibal's army, as Pallas, Mars, Juno, Venus, for Greekes and Trojans, &c. Amongst our pseudocatholiques, nothing so familiar as such miracles. How many cures done by our lady of Lauretta, at Sichem! of olde, at our S^t^. Thomas Shrine, &c. [c] S^t^. Sabine was seen to fight for Arnulphus duke of Spoleto; [d] S^t^. George fought in person for John the bastard of Portugal, against the Castilians; S^t^. James for the Spaniards in America. In the battel of Bannoxburn, where Edward the seconde, our English king was foyled by the Scots, S^t^. Philanus arm was seen to fight (if [e] Hector Boëthius doth not impose) that was before shut up in a silver capcase: Another time in the same authour, S^t^. Magnus fought for them. Now for visions, revelations, miracles, not onely out of the Legend, out of purgatory, but every daye comes newes from the Indies, and at home, read the Jesuites letters, Ribadineira, Thurselinus, Acosta, Lippomanus, Xaverius, Ignatius lives, &c. and tell me what difference?

His ordinary instruments or factors, which he useth, as God himself did good kings, lawful magistrates, patriarchs, prophets, to the establishing of his church, [f] are polititians, statesmen, priests, heretiques, blinde guides, impostours, pseudoprophets, to propagate his superstition. And first to begin with polititians: it hath ever been a principal axiome with them, to maintain religion, or superstition, which they determine of, alter and vary upon all occasions, as to them seems best. They make religion meer policie, a cloak, a humane invention; *nihil æquè valet ad regendos vulgi animos ac superstitio*, as [g] Tacitus and [h] Tully holde, Austin *l.* 4. *de civitat. Dei* c. 9. censures Scævola saying and acknowledging, *expedire civitates religione falli*, that it was a fit thing cities should be deceived by religion, according to the

[a] Gratâ lege me dicastis mulieres. Dion Halicarn. [b] Tully de nat. Deorum lib. 2. Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit. [c] Jo. Molanus lib. 3. cap. 59. [d] Pet. Oliver. de Johanne primo Portugalliæ Rege strenue pugnans, et adversæ partis ictus clypeo excipiens. [e] L. 14. Loculos sponte aperuisse et pro iis pugnasse. [f] Religion, as they holde, is policie, invented alone to keep men in awe. [g] 1. Annal. [h] Omnes religione moventur. 5. in Verrem.

diverbe, *Si mundus vult decipi, decipiatur*, if the world will be gulled, let it be gulled; 'tis good howsoever to keep it in subjection. 'Tis that [a] Aristotle and [b] Plato inculcate in their politiques; *Religion neglected, brings plagues to the city, opens a gap to all naughtiness.* 'Tis that which all our late polititians ingeminate. Cromerus *l.* 2. *pol. hist.* Boterus, *l.* 3. *de incrementis urbium*, Clapmarius *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *de Arcanis rerump.* Arnisæus *cap.* 4. *lib.* 2. *polit.* Captain Machiavel will have a prince, by all meanes to counterfeit religion, to be superstitious in shew, at least; to seem to be devoute, frequent holy exercises, honour divines, love the church, affect priests, as Numa, Lycurgus, and such law-makers were, and did; *non ut his fidem habeant, sed ut subditos religionis metu facilius in officio contineant*, to keep people in obedience. [c] *Nam naturaliter* (as Cardan writes) *lex Christiana lex est pietatis, justitiæ, fidei, simplicitatis, &c.* But this errour of his, Innocentius Jentilettus a French lawyer, *Theorem.* 9. *comment.* 1. *de Relig.* and Thomas Bozius, in his book *de ruinis gentium et Regnorum*, have copiously confuted. Many polititians, I dare not denye, maintain religion as a true meanes, and sincerely speake of it without hypocrisie; are truely zealous and religious themselves. Justice and religion are the two chief props and supporters of a well governed commonwealth: but most of them are but Machiavellians; counterfeits only for politicall ends; for, *Solus Rex* (which Campanella *cap.* 18. *Atheismi Triumphati* observes) as amongst our modern Turkes, Reipub. Finis, as knowing [d] *magnum ejus in animos imperium;* and that as [e] Sabellicus delivers, *A man without religion, is like an horse without a bridle.* No way better to curb then superstition, to terrifie mens consciences, and to keep them in awe: they make new lawes, statutes, invent new religions, ceremonies, as so many stalking horses, to their owne ends. [f] *Hæc enim (religio) si falsa sit, dummodo vera credatur, animorum ferociam domat, libidines coercet, subditos principi obsequentes efficit.* *Therefore* (saith [g] Polybius of Lycurgus) *did he maintain ceremonies, not that he was superstitious himselfe; but that he perceived mortal men more apt to embrace paradoxes, then ought else, and durst attempt no evil things for feare of the gods.* This was Zamolcus stratagem amongst the Thracians; Numa's plot, when he said he had conference with the nymph Ægeria; and that of Sertorius

[a] Zeleucus, præfat. legis. Qui urbem aut regionem inhabitant, persuasos esse oportet esse Deos. [b] 10. de legibus. Religio neglecta maximam pestem in civitatem infert, omnium scelerum fenestram aperit. [c] Cardanus Com. in Ptolomæum quadripart. [d] Lipsius l. 1. c. 3. [e] Homo sine religione, sicut equus sine fræno. [f] Vaninus dial. 52 de oraculis. [g] Lib. 10. Ideo Lycurgus, &c. non quod ipse superstitiosus, sed quod videret mortales paradoxa facilius amplecti, nec res graves audere sine periculo Deorum.

with an hart. To get more credit to their decrees, by deriving them from the gods; or else they did all by divine instinct, which Nicholas Damascen well observes of Lycurgus, Solon, and Minos, they had their lawes dictated, *monte sacro*, by Jupiter himself. So Mahomet referred his new lawes to the [a] Angel Gabriel, by whose direction, he gave out, they were made. Caligula, in Dion, fained himself to be familiar with Castor and Pollux, and many such, which kept those Romans under, (who, as Machiavel proves, *lib.* 1. *disput. cap.* 11 *et* 12. were *Religione maxime moti*, most superstitious:) and did curb the people more by this meanes, then by force of armes, or severity of humane lawes. *Sola plebecula eam agnoscebat* (saith Vaninus *dial.* 1. *lib.* 4. *de admirandis naturæ arcanis*) speaking of religion, *quæ facile decipitur, magnates vero et philosophi nequaquam*; your grandies and philosophers had no such conceit, *sed ad imperii conformationem et amplificationem, quam sine prætextu religionis tueri non poterant*; and many thousands in all ages have ever held as much, philosophers especially, *animadvertebant hi semper hæc esse fabellas, attamen ob metum publicæ potestatis silere cogebantur*, they were still silent for fear of lawes, &c. To this end, that Syrian Phyresides, Pythagoras his master, broached in the East amongst the heathens, first the immortality of the soule, as Trismegistus did in Ægypt, with a many of fained Gods. Those French and Britain druides in the west, first taught, saith [b] Cæsar, *non interire animas, but after death to go from one to another, that so they might encourage them to vertue.* 'Twas for a politique end; and to this purpose the old poets fained those [c] Elysian fields, their Æacus, Minos, and Rhadamantus, their infernal judges, and those Stygian lakes, fiery Phlegetons, Pluto's kingdome, and variety of torments after death. Those that had done well, went to the Elysian fields; but evil doers to Cocytus, and to that burning lake of [d] hell, with fire and brimstone for ever to be tormented. 'Tis this which [e] Plato labors for in his Phædon, *et* 9. *de rep.* The Turkes in their Alcoran, when they set down rewards, and severall punishments for every particular vertue and vice; [f] when they perswade men, that they that dye in battle, shall go directly to heaven; but wicked livers to eternal torment, and all of all sortes (much like our papistical purgatory) for a set time shall be tortured in their graves, as appears by that tract which John

[a] Cleonardus epist. 1. Novas leges suas ad Angelum Gabrielem referebat, quo monitore, mentiebatur omnia se gerere. [b] Lib. 16. belli Gallici. Ut metu mortis neglecto, ad virtutem incitarent. [c] De his lege Lucianum de luctu Tom. 1. Homer. Odyss. 11. Virg. Æn. 6. [d] Barathro sulfure et flammâ stagnante æternum demergebantur. [e] Et 3. de repub. Omnis institutio adolescentum eo referenda, ut de Deo bene sentiant, ob commune bonum. [f] Botërus.

Baptista Alfaqui that Mauritanian priest, now turned christian, hath written in his confutation of the Alcoran. After a mans death two black angels, Nunquir and Nequir (so they call them) come to him to his grave, and punish him for his precedent sins; if he lived well they torture him the less; if ill, *per indesinentes cruciatus ad diem judicii*, they incessantly punish him to the daye of judgement. *Nemo viventium qui ad horum mentionem non totus horret et contremiscit*, the thought of this crucifies them all their lives long, and makes them spende their dayes in fasting and prayer, *ne mala hæc contingant, &c.* A Tartar prince, saith Marcus Polus, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 28. called Senex de montibus, the better to establish his government amongst his subjects, and to keepe them in awe, found a convenient place in a pleasant valley, environed with hils, in [a] *which he made a delitious park, full of odoriferous flowres and fruits, and a palace full of all worldly contents*, that could possibly be devised, musick, pictures, variety of meats &c. and chose out a certain yong man, whom with a [b] *soporiferous potion* he so benummed, that he perceived nothing: *and so, fast asleep as he was, caused him to be conveyed into this faire garden.* Where after he had lived a while in all such pleasures a sensual man could desire, [c] *He cast him into a sleep againe, and brought him forth, that when he awaked he might tell others he had been in paradise.* The like he did for hell, and by this meanes brought his people to subjection. Because heaven and hell are mentioned in the scriptures, and to be beleeved necessary by christians: so cunningly can the divel and his ministers, in imitation of true religion, counterfeit and forge the like, to circumvent and delude his superstitious followers. Many such trickes and impostures are acted by polititians, in China especially, but with what effect I will discourse in the symptomes.

Next to polititians, if I may distinguish them, are some of our priests, (who make religion policy) if not far beyond them, for they domineer over princes and statesmen themselves. *Carnificinam exercent*, one saith, they tyrannize over mens consciences more then any other tormentors whatsoever, partly for their commodity and gaine; *Religionum enim omnium abusus* (as [d] Postellus holds) *quæstus scilicet sacrificum in causa est:* for soveraignty, credit, to maintain their state

[a] Citra aquam, viridarium plantavit maximum et pulcherrimum, floribus odoriferis et suavibus fructibus plenum, &c. [b] Potum quendam dedit quo inescatus, et gravi sopore oppressus, in viridarium interim ducebatur, &c. [c] Atque iterum memoratum potum bibendum exhibuit, et sic extra Paradisum reduxit, ut cum evigilaret, sopore soluto, &c. [d] Lib. 1. de orb. Concord. cap. 7.

and reputation, out of ambition and avarice, which are their chiefe supporters. What have they not made the common people beleeve? Impossibilities in nature, incredible things; what devices, traditions, ceremonies, have they not invented in all ages, to keep men in obedience, to enrich themselves? *Quibus quæstui sunt capti superstitione animi*, as [a] Livy saith. Those Ægyptian priests of old, got all the soveraignty into their hands, and knowing, [b] as Curtius insinuates, *nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit quam superstitio; melius vatibus quam ducibus parent, vanâ religione capti, etiam impotentes fœminæ*; the common people will sooner obey priests then captains, and nothing so forcible as superstition, or better then blind zeale to rule a multitude; have so terrified and gulled them, that it is incredible to relate. All nations almost, have been besotted in this kinde. Amongst our Brittaines and old Gaules the Druides; Magi in Persia; Philosophers in Greece; Chaldeans amongst the Orientall; Brachmanni in India; Gymnosophists in Æthiopia; the Turditanes in Spaine; Augures in Rome, have insulted; Apollo's priests in Greece, Phœbades and Pythonissæ, by their oracles and phantasmes; Amphiaraus and his companions; now Mahometan and Pagan priests, what can they not effect? How doe they not infatuate the world? *Adeo ubique* (as [c] Scaliger writes of the Mahometan priests) *tum gentium tum locorum, gens ista sacrorum ministra, vulgi secat spes, ad ea quæ ipsi fingunt somnia*, so cunningly can they gull the commons in all places and countries. But above all others, that high priest of Rome, the dam of that monstrous and superstitious brood, the bull-bellowing pope, which now rageth in the west, that three-headed Cerberus hath plaid his part. [d] *Whose religion at this day is meer policie, a state wholly composed of superstition and wit, and needs nothing but wit and superstition to maintain it: that useth colledges and religious houses to as good purpose as forts and castles, and doth more at this day* by a company of scribling parasites, fiery spirited friers, zealous anchorites, hypocritical confessours, and those Pretorian souldiers, his Janisary Jesuites, (that dissociable society, as [e] Langius terms it, *postremus diaboli conatus, et sæculi excrementum*, that now stand in the fore fronte of the battle, will have a monopoly of, and ingrosse all other learning, but domineer in divinity;

[f] Excipiunt soli totius vulnera belli,

and fight alone almost, for the rest are but his dromedaries and

[a] Lib. 4. [b] Lib. 4. consult. de princ. inter provinc. Europ. [c] Exerc. 228. [d] Sir Ed. Sands. [e] In [f] Lucian.

asses) then ever he could have done by garrisons and armies. What power of prince, or pœnal law, be it never so strict, could enforce men to doe that which for conscience sake they will voluntarily undergo? As to fast from all fleshe, abstain from marriage, rise to their prayers at midnight, whip themselves, with stupend fasting and pennance, abandon the world, wilfull poverty, perform canonical and blinde obedience, to prostrate their goods, fortunes, bodies, lives, and offer up themselves at their superiours feet, at his command? What so powerful an engin as superstition? which they right well perceiving, are of no religion at all themselves: *Primum enim* (as Calvin rightly suspects, the tenor and practise of their life proves) *arcanæ illius Theologiæ, quod apud eos regnat, caput est, nullum esse Deum*, they hold there is no God, as Leo 10. did, Hildebrand the magician, Alexander 6. Julius 2. meer atheists, and which the common proverb amongst them approves; [a] *The worst Christians of Italy are the Romans, of the Romans the priests are wildest, the lewdest priests are preferred to be cardinals, and the baddest man amongst the cardinals is chosen to be pope*, that is an epicure, as most part the popes are, infidels and Lucianists, for so they think and beleeve; and what is said of Christ, to be fables and impostures; of heaven and hell, day of judgement, paradise, immortality of the soule, are all

> [b] Rumores vani, verbaque inania,
> Et par sollicito fabula somnio.

Dreams, toyes, and old wives tales. Yet as so many [c] whetstones to make other tools cut, but cut not themselves, though they be of no religion at all, they will make others most devout and superstitious, by promises and threats, compel, enforce from, and lead them by the nose like so many bears in a line; when as their end is not to propagate the church, advance Gods kingdome, seeke his glory or common good; but to enrich themselves, to enlarge their territories, to domineer and compel them to stand in awe, to live in subjection to the see of Rome. For what otherwise care they? *Si mundus vult decipi, decipiatur*; 'tis fit it should be so. And what [d] Austin cites from Varro to maintain his Roman religion, we may better apply to them: *multa vera, quæ vulgus scire non est utile; pleraque falsa, quæ tamen aliter existimare populum expedit*; some things are true, some false, which for their owne ends they will not have the gullish commonalty take notice of. As well may witness their intolerable covetousness, strange

[a] Sir Ed. Sands in his Relation. [b] Seneca. [c] Vice cotis, acutum Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi. [d] De civ. Dei lib. 4. cap. 31.

forgeries, fopperies, fooleries, unrighteous subtleties, impostures, illusions, new doctrines, paradoxes, traditions, false miracles, which they have still forged, to enthral, circumvent and subjugate them, to maintain their own estates. [a] One while by buls, pardons, indulgences, and their doctrine of good works, that they be meritorious; hope of heaven by that meanes, they have so fleeced the commonalty, and spurred on this free superstitious horse, that he runs himself blinde, and is an asse to carry burdens. They have so amplified Peter's patrimony, that from a poor bishop, he is become *rex regum, dominus dominantium*, a demi-god, as his canonists make him (Felinus and the rest) above God himselfe. And for his wealth and [b] temporalties, is not inferiour to many kings; [c] his cardinals, princes companions; and in every kingdome almost, abbots, priors, monkes, friers, &c. and his cleargy have ingrossed a [d] third part, half, in some places all, into their hands. Three prince electors in Germany, bishops; besides Magdeburge, Spire, Saltsburge, Breme, Bamberge, &c. In France, as Bodine, *lib. de repub.* gives us to understand, their revenues are twelve millions, and three hundred thousand livres; and of twelve parts of the revenues in France, the church possesseth seven. The Jesuites, a new sect begun in this age, have, as [e] Middendorpius and [f] Pelargus reckon up, three or foure hundred colledges in Europe, and more revenues then many princes. In France, as Arnoldus proves, in thirty yeares they have got *bis centum librarum millia annua*, 200000l. I say nothing of the rest of their orders. We have had in England, as Armachanus demonstrates, above thirty thousand friers at once, and as [g] Speed collects out of Lelande and others, almost 600 religious houses, and neer two hundred thousand pound, in revenues of the old rent, belonging to them; besides images of gold, silver, plate, furniture, goods and ornaments, as [h] Weever calculates, and esteems them at the dissolution of abbies, worth a million of gold. How many towns in every kingdome hath superstition enriched? What a deal of mony by musty reliques, images, idolatry, have their mass-priests ingrossed, and what sums have they scraped by their other tricks! Lauretum in Italy, Walsingham in England, in those dayes, *Ubi omnia auro nitent*, saith Erasmus, St. Thomas Shrine, &c.

[a] Seeking their own, saith Paul, not Christ's. [b] He hath the dutchy of Spoleto in Italy, the marquisate of Ancona, beside Rome, and the territories adjacent, Bologna, Ferrara, &c. Avignon in France, &c. [c] Estote fratres mei, et principes hujus mundi. [d] The laity suspect their greatness, witness those statutes of mortmain. [e] Lib. 8. de Academ. [f] Præfat. lib. de paradox. Jesuit. Rom. provincia habet Col. 36. Neapol. 23. Veneta 18. Lucit. 15. India orient. 27. Basil. 10, &c. [g] In his Chronic. vit. Hen. 8. [h] 15 cap. of his funeral Monuments.

may witness. [a] Delphos so renowned of old in Greece, for Apollo's oracle, *Delos commune conciliabulum et emporium solâ religione munitum*; Dodona, whose fame and wealth were sustained by religion, were not so rich, so famous. If they can get but a relique of some Saint, the Virgin Maries picture, idols or the like, that city is for ever made, it needs no other maintenance. Now if any of these their impostures, or jugling tricks be controverted, or called in question: If a magnanimous or zealous Luther, an heroical Luther, as [b] Dithmarus cals him, dare touch the monkes bellies, all is in a combustion, all is in an uprore. Demetrius and his associates are ready to pull him in pieces, to keep up their trades, [c] *Great is Diana of the Ephesians:* With a mighty shout of two houres long they will roare and not be pacified.

Now for their authority: what by auricular confession, satisfaction, penance, Peter's keyes, thundrings, excommunications, &c. roaring buls, this high priest of Rome, shaking his Gorgons head, hath so terrified the soule of many a silly man, insulted over majesty it self, and swaggered generally over all Europe for many ages, and still doth to some, holding them as yet in slavish subjection, as never tyrannizing Spaniards did by their poor Negroes, or Turkes by their gally-slaves. [d] *The Bishop of Rome* (saith Stapleton, a parasite of his, *de mag. Eccles. lib. 2. cap.* 1.) *hath done that without armes, which those Roman emperours could never atchieve with forty legions of souldiers*; deposed kings, and crowned them again with his foot; made friends, and corrected at his pleasure, &c. [e] *'Tis a wonder,* saith Machiavel, *Florentinæ hist. lib.* 1. *what slavery king Henry the second endured for the death of Tho. a Becket, what things he was enjoyned by the Pope, and how he submitted himself to doe that which in our times, a private man would not endure,* and all through superstition. [f] Henry the fourth, deposed of his empire, stood bare-footed with his wife at the gates of Canossus. [g] Fredericke the emperour, was trodden on by Alexander the third. Another held Adrian's stirrup; king John kissed the knees of Pandulphos the Popes legat, &c. What made so many thousand Christians travel from France, Britain, &c. into the holy land, spend such huge summs of mony, go a pilgrimage so familiarly to Jerusalem, to creep and couch, but slavish superstition? What makes them so freely venture their lives, to leave their

[a] Pausanias in Laconicis lib. 3. Idem de Achaicis lib. 3. Cujus summæ opes, et valde inclyta fama. [b] Exercit. Eth. Colleg. 3. disp. 3. [c] Act. 19. 28.
[d] Pontifex Romanus prorsus inermis regibus terræ jura dat, ad regna evehit, ad pacem cogit, et peccantes castigat, &c. quod Imperatores Romani 40 legionibus armati non effecerunt. [e] Mirum quanta passus sit. H. 2. quomodo se submisit, ea se facturum pollicitus, quorum hodie ne privatus quidem partem faceret. [f] Sigonius 9. hist. Ital. [g] Curio lib. 4. Fox Martyrol.

native countries, to go seek martyrdome in the Indies, but superstition? to be assassinates, to meet death, murder kings, but a false perswasion of merit, of canonical or blind obedience which they instill into them, and animate them by strange illusions, hope of being martyrs and saints? Such pretty feats can the divel work by priests; and so well for their own advantage can they play their parts. And if it were not yet enough, by priests and polititians to delude mankind, and crucifie the soules of men, he hath more actors in his tragœdy, more irons in the fire, another sceane of heretiques, factious, ambitious wits, insolent spirits, schismaticks, impostors, false prophets, blind guides; that out of pride, singularity, vainglory, blind zeale, cause much more madness yet, set all in an uprore by their new doctrines, paradoxes, figments, crotchets, make new divisions, subdivisions, new sects, oppose one superstition to another; one kingdome to another, commit prince and subjects, brother against brother, father against son, to the ruine and destruction of a commonwealth, to the disturbance of peace, and to make a generall confusion of all estates. How did those Arrians rage of old? How many did they circumvent? Those Pelagians, Manichees, &c. their names alone would make a just volume. How many silly soules have impostors still deluded, drawn away, and quite alienated from Christ! Lucian's Alexander, Simon Magus, whose statue was to be seen and adored in Rome, saith Justine Martyr, *Simoni Deo sancto, &c.* after his decease. [a] Apollonius Tianæus, Cynops, Eumo, who by counterfeiting some new ceremonies and juggling tricks of that *Dea Syria*, by spitting fire, and the like, got an army together of forty thousand men, and did much harm: with *Eudo de stellis*, of whom Nubrigensis speakes, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. that in king Stephen's dayes imitated most of Christ's miracles, fed I know not how many people in the wilderness, and built castles in the ayr, &c. to the seducing of multitudes of poor soules. In Franconia, 1476, a base illiterate fellow took upon him to be a prophet, and preach, John Beheim by name, a neatherd at Nicholhausen; he seduced 30000 persons, and was taken by the commonalty to be a most holy man, come from heaven. [b] *Tradesmen left their shops, women their distaves, servants ran from their masters, children from their parents, schollers left their tutors, all to hear him; some for novelty, some for zeale. He was burnt at last by the Bishop of Wartzburge, and so he and his heresie vanished together.* How many

[a] Hierocles contends Apollonius to have been as great a prophet as Christ, whom Eusebius confutes. [b] Munster Cosmog. l. 3. c. 36. Artifices ex officinis, arator festivâ, fœminæ e colo, &c. quasi numine quodam rapti, nesciis parentibus et dominis recta adeunt, &c. Combustus demum ab Herbipolensi Episcopo; hæresis evanuit.

such impostours, false prophets, have lived in every kings raign? What chronicle will not afford such examples? that as so many *ignes fatui*, have led men out of the way, terrified some, deluded others, that are apt to be carried about with the blast of every winde, a rude inconstant multitude, a silly company of poor soules, that follow all, and are cluttered together like so many pibbles in a tide. What prodigious follies, madness, vexations, persecutions, absurdities, impossibilities, these impostours, heretiques, &c. have thrust upon the world; what strange effects, shall be shewed in the symptomes.

Now the meanes by which, or advantages the divel and his infernall ministers take, so to delude and disquiet the world with such idle ceremonies, false doctrines, superstitious fopperies, are from themselves, innate feare, ignorance, simplicity, hope and feare, those two battering cannons and principal engins, with their objects, reward and punishment, purgatory, *Limbus Patrum*, &c. which now more then ever tyrannize; [a] *for what province is free from atheisme, superstition, idolatry, schisme, heresie, impiety, their factours and followers?* thence they proceed, and from that same decayed image of God, which is yet remaining in us.

> Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
> Jussit, ———

our own conscience doth dictate so much unto us; we know there is a God, and nature doth informe us; [b] *Nulla gens tam barbara* (saith Tully) *cui non insideat hæc persuasio Deum esse; sed nec Scytha, nec Græcus, nec Persa, nec Hyperboreus dissentiet* (as Maximus Tyrius the Platonist ser. 1. farther addes) *nec continentis nec insularum habitator*, let him dwell where he will, in what coast soever, there is no nation so barbarous that is not perswaded there is a God. It is a wonder to reade of that infinite superstition amongst the Indians in this kinde, of their tenents in America, *pro suo quisque libitu varias res venerabantur superstitiose, plantas, animalia, montes, &c. omne quod amabant aut horrebant* (some few places excepted, as he grants, that had no God at all). *So the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament declareth his handie-work, Psalm.* 19. Every creature will evince it;

> Præsentemque refert quælibet herba Deum.

Nolentes sciunt, fatentur inviti, as the said Tyrius proceeds, will or nill, they must acknowledge it. The philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Pythagoras, Trismegistus, Seneca,

[a] Nulla non provincia hæresibus, Atheismis, &c. plena. Nullus orbis angulus ab hisce belluis immunis. [b] Lib. 1. de nat. Deorum.

Epictetus, those Magi, Druides, &c. went as far as they could by the light of Nature; [a] *multa præclara de naturâ Dei scripta reliquerunt, writ many things well of the nature of God, but they had but a confused light, a glimpse;*.

> [b] Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ
> Est iter in sylvis, ———

as he that walkes by moonshine in a wood, they groped in the darke. They had a gross knowledge, as he in Euripides, *O Deus quicquid es, sive cœlum, sive terra, sive aliud quid*; and that of Aristotle, *Ens entium miserere mei.* And so of the immortality of the soule, and future happiness. *Immortalitatem animæ* (saith Hierome) *Pythagoras somniavit, Democritus non credidit, in consolationem damnationis suæ Socrates in carcere disputavit; Indus, Persa, Gothus, &c. Philosophantur.* So some said this, some that, as they conceived themselves; which the divel perceiving, led them farther out (as [c] Lemnius observes) and made them worship him as their God, with stockes and stones; and torture themselves to their owne destruction, as he thought fit himself; inspired his priests and ministers with lies and fictions to prosecute the same; which they for their owne ends were as willing to undergoe, taking advantage of their simplicitie, feare and ignorance. For the common people are as a flocke of sheep, a rude illiterate rout, void many times of common sense, a meer beast, *bellua multorum capitum*, will go whithersoever they are led: as you lead a ram over a gap by the hornes, all the rest will follow; [d] *Non quâ eundum, sed quâ itur*, they will doe as they see others doe, and as their prince will have them; let him be of what religion he will, they are for him. Now for those idolaters, Maxentius and Licinius; then, for Constantine a Christian. [e] *Qui Christum negant male pereant, acclamatum est decies*, for two houres space; *qui Christum non colunt, Augusti inimici sunt, acclamatum est ter decies*; and by and by idolaters again under that Apostate Julianus; all Arrians under Constantius; good Catholiques again under Jovinianus. *And little difference there is betwixt the discretion of men and children in this case; especially of old folkes and women*, as [f] Cardan discourseth, *when as they are tossed with feare and superstition, and with other mens folly and*

[a] Zanchius. [b] Virg. 6. Æn. [c] Superstitio ex ignorantiâ divinitatis emersit, ex vitiosâ æmulatione, et dæmonis illecebris, inconstans, timens, fluctuans, et cui se addicat nesciens, quem imploret, cui se committat, a dæmone facile decepta. Lemnius, lib. 3. c. 8. [d] Seneca. [e] Vide Baronium 3. Annalium ad annum 324. vit. Constantin. [f] De rerum varietate l. 3. c. 38. Parum vero distat sapientia virorum a puerili, multo minus senum et mulierum, cum metu et superstitione et alienâ stultitiâ et improbitate simplices agitantur.

dishonesty. So that I may say their ignorance is a cause of their superstition, a symptome, and madness it self;

Supplicii causa est, suppliciumque sui.

Their own feare, folly, stupidity, to be deplored lethargy, is that which gives occasion to the other, and puls these miseries on their own heads. For in all these religions and superstitions, amongst our idolaters, you shall still finde that the parties first affected, are silly, rude, ignorant people, old folkes, that are naturally prone to superstition, weak women, or some poor rude illiterate persons, that are apt to be wrought upon, and gulled in this kinde, prone without either examination or due consideration (for they take up religion a trust, as at mercers they do their wares) to beleeve any thing. And the best meanes they have to broach first, or to maintain it when they have done, is to keep them still in ignorance: for *Ignorance is the mother of devotion*, as all the world knowes, and these times can amply witness. This hath been the divels practice, and his infernall ministers in all ages; not as our Saviour by a few silly fishermen, to confound the wisdome of the world, to save publicans and sinners, but to make advantage of their ignorance, to confound them and their associates; and that they may better effect what they intend, they begin, as I say, with poor [a] stupid, illiterate persons. So Mahomet did when he published his Alcoran, which is a piece of work (saith [b] Bredenbachius) *full of non-sense, barbarisme, confusion, without rime, reason, or any good composition; first published to a company of rude rustickes, hog-rubbers, that had no discretion, judgement, art, or understanding; and is so still maintained.* For it is a part of their policy to let no man comment; dare to dispute or call in question, to this day, any part of it, be it never so absurd, incredible, ridiculous; fabulous as it is, it must be beleeved *implicite*; upon pain of death no man must dare to contradict it, *God and the Emperour*, &c. What else do our Papists, but by keeping the people in ignorance, vent and broach all their new ceremonies and traditions, when they conceal the Scripture, reade it in Latine, and to some few alone, feeding the slavish people, in the mean time, with tales out of Legends, and such like fabulous narrations? Whom do they begin with but collapsed ladies, some few tradesmen, superstitious old folkes, illiterate persons, weak women, discontent, rude, silly companions, or sooner circumvent? So doe all our

[a] In all superstition, wise men follow fools. Bacon's Essayes. [b] Peregrin. Hieros. cap. 5. Totum scriptum confusum sine ordine vel colore, absque sensu et ratione ad rusticissimos idem dedit, rudissimos, et prorsus agrestes, qui nullius erant discretionis, ut dijudicare possent.

schismaticks and heretiques. Marcus and Valentinian, heretiques in [a] Irenæus, seduced first, I know not how many women, and made them beleeve they were prophets. [b] Frier Cornelius of Dort, seduced a company of silly women. What are all our Anabaptists, Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, but a company of rude, illiterate, capritious base fellowes? What are most of our Papists, but stupid, ignorant and blinde bayards? how should they otherwise be, when as they are brought up and kept still in darkness? [c] *If their pastors* (saith Lavater) *had done their duties, and instructed their flockes as they ought, in the principles of Christian religion, or had not forbidden them the reading of Scriptures, they had not been as they are.* But being so mis-led all their lives in superstition, and carried hood-winked like hawkes, how can they prove otherwise then blinde ideots, and superstitious asses? what shall we expect else at their hands? Neither is it sufficient to keep them blinde, and in Cymmerian darkness, but withall, as a schoolmaster doth by his boyes, to make them follow their books, sometimes by good hope, promises and encouragements; but most of all by feare, strict discipline, severity, threats and punishment, do they collogue and sooth up their silly auditors, and so bring them into a fools paradise. *Rex eris, aiunt, si recte facies*, do well, thou shalt be crowned; but for the most part by threats, terrours and affrights, they tyrannize and terrifie their distressed soules; knowing that feare alone is the sole and onely meanes to keep men in obedience, according to that Hemistichium of Petronius, *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*, the feare of some divine and supreme powers, keeps men in obedience, makes the people do their duties; they play upon their consciences; [d] which was practised of old in Ægypt by their priests. When there was an eclipse, they made the people beleeve God was angry, great miseries were to come; they take all opportunities of naturall causes, to delude the peoples senses, and with fearfull tales out of purgatory, fained apparitions, earth quakes in Japonia or China, tragicall examples of divels, possessions, obsessions, false miracles, counterfeit visions, &c. They doe so insult over, and restrain them, never Hoby so dared a larke, that they will not [e] offend the least tradition, tread, or scarse look awry. *Deus bone* ([f] Lavater exclaimes) *quot hoc commentum de purgatorio misere afflixit!* good God, how many men have been miserably afflicted by this fiction of purgatory!

[a] Lib. 1. cap. 9. Valent. hæres. 9. [b] Meteranus li. 8. hist. Belg. [c] Si Doctores suum fecissent officium, et plebem fidei commissam recte instituissent de doctrinæ Christianæ capitibus nec sacris scripturis interdixissent, de multis proculdubio recte sensissent. [d] Curtius li. 4. [e] See more in Kemnisius Examen Concil. Trident. de Purgatorio. [f] Part. 1. c. 16. part. 3. cap. 18. et 14.

To these advantages of hope and feare, ignorance and simplicity, he hath severall engins, traps, devices, to batter and enthrall; omitting no opportunities, according to mens severall inclinations, abilities, to circumvent and humour them; to maintain his superstition; sometimes to stupifie, besot them; sometimes again by oppositions, factions, to set all at oddes and in an uprore; sometimes he infects one man, and makes him a principall agent; sometimes whole cities, countries. If of meaner sort, by stupidity, canonicall obedience, blind zeale, &c. If of better note, by pride, ambition, popularity, vain glory. If of the cleargy and more eminent, of better parts then the rest, more learned, eloquent, he puffes them up with a vain conceit of their own worth, *scientiâ inflati*, they begin to swell and scorn all the world in respect of themselves, and thereupon turn heretiques, schismatickes, broach new doctrines, frame new crotchets and the like; or else out of too much learning become mad; or out of curiosity, they will search into Gods secrets, and eat of the forbidden fruit; or out of presumption of their holiness and good gifts, inspirations, become prophets, *enthusiasts*, and what not? Or else, if they be displeased, discontent, and have not (as they suppose) preferment to their worth, have some disgrace, repulse, neglected, or not esteemed as they fondly value themselves, or out of emulation they begin presently to rage and rave, *cœlum terræ miscent*, they become so impatient in an instant, that a whole kingdome cannot contain them; they will set all in a combustion, all at variance, to be revenged of their adversaries. [a] Donatus, when he saw Cecilianus preferred before him in the bishoprick of Carthage, turned heretique; and so did Arian, because Alexander was advanced: we have examples at home, and too many experiments of such persons. If they be lay-men of better note, the same engins of pride, ambition, emulation and jealousie take place; they will be gods themselves. [b] Alexander in India after his victories became so insolent, he would be adored for a god: and those Roman emperours came to that height of madness, they must have temples built to them; sacrifices to their deities; Divus Augustus, D. Claudius, D. Adrianus: [c] *Heliogabalus put out that Vestall fire at Rome, expelled the virgins, and banished all other religions all over the world, and would be the sole god himself.* Our Turkes, China kings, great Chams, and Mogors do little less; assuming divine and bombast titles to themselves; the meaner sort are too credulous, and led with blinde zeale, blinde obedience, to prosecute and maintain whatsoever their sottish leaders shall pro-

[a] Austin. [b] Curtius lib. 8. [c] Lampridius vita ejus. Virgines vestales, et sacrum ignem Romæ extinxit, et omnes ubique per orbem terræ religiones, unum hoc studens ut solus Deus coleretur.

pose: what they in pride and singularity, revenge, vain glory, ambition, spleen, for gaine, shall rashly maintain and broach, their disciples make a matter of conscience, of hell and damnation, if they doe it not; and will rather forsake wives, children, house and home, lands, goods, fortunes, life it self, then omit or abjure the least tittle of it; and to advance the common cause, undergo any miseries, turn traytors, assassinates, pseudomartyrs, with full assurance and hope of reward in that other world, that they shall certainly merit by it, win heaven, be canonized for saints.

Now when they are truly possessed with blinde zeale, and nusled with superstition, he hath many other baits to inveagle and infatuate them farther yet; to make them quite mortified and mad; and that under colour of perfection, to merit by penance, going wollward, whipping, almes, fastings, &c. An. 1320. there was a sect of [a] whippers in Germany, that to the astonishment of the beholders, lashed, and cruelly tortured themselves. I could give many other instances of each particular. But these works so done are meritorious, *ex opere operato, ex condigno*, for themselves and others, to make them macerate and consume their bodies, *specie virtutis et umbrâ*, those evangelicall counsells are propounded, as our pseudocatholickes call them; canonicall obedience, wilfull poverty, [b] vowes of chastity, monkery, and a solitary life, which extend almost to all religions and superstitions, to Turkes, Chinese, Gentiles, Abyssines, Greekes, Latines, and all countries. Amongst the rest, fasting, contemplation, solitariness are, as it were, certain rams by which the divel doth batter and work upon the strongest constitutions. *Nonnulli* (saith Peter Forestus) *ob longas inedias, studia et meditationes cœlestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agitant*; by fasting over much, and divine meditations, are overcome. Not that fasting is a thing of it selfe to be discommended; for it is an excellent meanes to keep the body in subjection, a preparative to devotion, the physick of the soule, by which chast thoughts are ingendred, true zeale, a divine spirit, whence wholesome counsells do proceed, concupiscence is restrained, vicious and predominant lusts and humours are expelled. The fathers are very much in commendation of it, and as Calvin notes, *sometimes immoderate.* [c] *The mother of health, key of heaven, a spirituall wing to ereare us, the chariot of the Holy Ghost, banner of faith, &c.* And 'tis true they say of it, if it be moderately and seasonably used, by such

Food

[a] Flagellatorum secta. Munster. lib. 3. Cosmog. cap. 19. [b] Votum cœlibatûs monachatûs. [c] Mater sanitatis, clavis cœlorum, ala animæ quæ leves pennas producat, ut in sublime ferat; currus Spiritûs sancti, vexillum fidei, porta paradisi, vita angelorum, &c.

+ the most biggotted word ever met with –

parties as Moses, Elias, Daniel, CHRIST, and as his [a] apostles made use of it: but when by this meanes they will supererogate, and as [b] Erasmus well taxeth, *Cœlum non sufficere putant suis meritis*, heaven is too small a reward for it; they make choyce of times and meats, buy and sell their merits, attribute more to them then to the ten commandements; and count it a greater sin to eat meat in Lent, then to kill a man; and as one saith, *Plus respiciunt assum piscem, quam Christum crucifixum; plus salmonem quam Salomonem; quibus in ore Christus, Epicurus in corde*, when some counterfeit, and some attribute more to such workes of theirs then to Christ's death and passion; the divel sets in a foot, strangely deludes them, and by that meanes makes them to overthrow the temperature of their bodies, and hazard their soules. Never any strange illusions of divels amongst hermites, anchorites, never any visions, phantasmes, apparitions, enthusiasmes, prophets, any revelations, but immoderate fasting, bad diet, sickness, melancholy, solitariness, or some such things were the precedent causes, the forerunners, or concomitants of them. The best opportunity and sole occasion the divel takes to delude them. Marcilius Cognatus, *lib. 1. cont. cap. 7.* hath many stories to this purpose, of such as after long fasting have been seduced by divels: and [c] *'tis a miraculous thing to relate* (as Cardan writes) *what strange accidents proceed from fasting; dreames, superstition, contempt of torments, desire of death, prophesies, paradoxes, madness; fasting naturally prepares men to these things.* Monkes, anchorites, and the like, after much emptiness become melancholy, vertiginous; they think they hear strange noises, confer with hobgoblins, divels, rivell up their bodies, *et dum hostem insequimur*, saith Gregory, *civem quem diligimus trucidamus*, they become bare skeletons, skin and bones: *Carnibus abstinentes proprias carnes devorant, ut nil præter cutem et ossa sit reliquum.* Hilarion, as [d] Hierome reports in his life, Athanasius of Antonius, was so bare with fasting, *that the skin did scarse stick to the bones*; for want of vapours he could not sleepe, and for want of sleepe, became idle headed, *heard every night infants crye, oxen lowe, wolves howl, lions roare (as he thought) clattering of chaines, strange voyces, and the like illusions of divels.* Such symptomes are common to those that fast long, are solitary, given to contemplation, over much solitariness and

[a] Castigo corpus meum. Paul. [b] Mor. encom. [c] Lib. 8. cap. 10. de rerum varietate. Admiratione digna sunt quæ per jejunium hoc modo contingunt: somnia, superstitio, contemptus tormentorum, mortis desiderium, obstinata opinio, insania: jejunium naturaliter præparat ad hæc omnia. [d] Epist. l. 3. Ita attenuatus fuit jejunio et vigiliis, in tantum exeso corpore ut ossibus vix hærebat, unde nocte infantum vagitus, balatus pecorum, mugitus boum, voces et ludibria dæmonum, &c.

* I must a little aspirate these large letters lest we alby they being in such very bad company have written some a right to pronounce.

meditation. Not that these things (as I said of fasting) are to be discommended of themselves, but very behovefull, in some cases, and good: sobriety and contemplation joyn our soules to God, as that heathen [a]Porphyrie can tell us, [b] *Extasis is a taste of future happiness, by which we are united unto God; a divine melancholy, a spirituall wing,* Bonaventure *termes it,* to lift us up to heaven: But as it is abused, a meer dotage, madness, a cause and symptome of *religious melancholy.* [c] *If you shall at any time see* (saith Guatinerius) *a religious person over superstitious, too solitary or much given to fasting, that man will certainly be melancholy; thou maist boldly say it, he will be so.* P. Forestus hath almost the same words, and [d] Cardan *subtil. lib.* 18. *et cap.* 40. *lib.* 8. *de rerum varietate; solitariness, fasting, and that melancholy humour, are the causes of all hermites illusions.* Lavater, *de spect. part.* 1. *cap.* 10. *and* 19. puts solitariness a main cause of such spectrums and apparitions; none, saith he, so melancholy as monkes and hermites, the divels bath melancholy; [e] *none so subject to visions and dotage in this kinde, as such as live solitary lives; they hear and act strange things in their dotage.* [f] Polydore Virgil *lib.* 2. *de prodigiis,* holds, *that those prophesies and monkes revelations, nunnes dreams, which they suppose come from God, do proceed wholly* ab instinctu dæmonum, *by the divel's meanes: and so those enthusiasts, anabaptists,* pseudo-prophets from the same cause. [g] Fracastorius *lib.* 2. *de intellect.* will have all your Pythonissæ, Sibyls, and pseudo-prophets to be meer melancholy; so doth Wierus prove, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *et. l.* 3. *cap.* 7. and Arculanus *in* 9. *Rhasis,* that melancholy is a sole cause, and the divel together, with fasting and solitariness, of such Sibylline prophesies, if there were ever such; which with [h] Causabon and others I justly except at; for it is not likely that the spirit of God should ever reveal such manifest revelations and predictions of Christ, to those Pythonissæ, witches, Apollo's priests, the divel's ministers, (they were no better) and conceal them from his own prophets. For these Sibyls set down all particular cir-

[a] Lib. de abstinentiâ. Sobrietas et continentia mentem Deo conjungunt. [b] Extasis nihil est aliud quam gustus futuræ beatitudinis. Erasmus epist. ad Dorpium, in quâ toti absorbemur in Deum. [c] Si religiosum nimis jejunia videris observantem, audacter melancholicum pronunciabis. Tract. 5. cap. 5. [d] Solitudo ipsa, mens ægra laboribus anxiis et jejuniis, tum temperatura cibis mutata agrestibus, et humor melancholicus Heremitis illusionum causæ sunt. [e] Solitudo est causa apparitionum; nulli visionibus et huic delirio magis obnoxii sunt quam qui collegiis et eremo soli vivunt monachi; tales plerumque melancholici ob victum, et solitudinem. [f] Monachi sese putant prophetare ex Deo, et qui solitariam agunt vitam, quum sit instinctu dæmonum; et sic falluntur fatidicæ; a malo genio habent, quæ putant a Deo, et sic enthusiastæ. [g] Sybillæ, Pythii, et Prophetæ qui divinare solent, omnes phanatici sunt melancholici. [h] Exercit. c. 1.

cumstances of Christ's coming, and many other future accidents, far more perspicuous and plain then ever any prophet did. But howsoever there be no Phœbades or Sibyls, I am assured, there be other enthusiasts, prophets, *Dii Fatidici*, *Magi*, (of which read Jo. Boissardus, who hath laboriously collected them into a great [a] volume of late, with elegant pictures, and epitomized their lives) &c. ever have been in all ages, and still proceeding from those causes, [b] *qui visiones suas enarrant, somniant futura, prophetisant, et ejusmodi deliriis agitati, Spiritum Sanctum sibi communicari putant.* That which is written of Saint Francis five wounds, and other such monasticall effects, of him and others, may justly be referred to this our melancholy. And that which Matthew Paris relates of the [c] monke of Evesham, who saw heaven and hell in a vision: Of [d] Sir Owen, that went down into Saint Partricke's purgatory in king Stephen's dayes, and saw as much: Walsingham of him that was shewed as much by Saint Julian. Beda *lib. 5. cap.* 13. 14. 15 *et* 20. reports of king Sebba, *lib. 4. cap.* 11. *eccles. hist.* that saw strange [e] visions: and Stumphius Helvet. Cornic. a cobler of Basil, 1520, that beheld rare apparitions at Ausborough [f] in Germany. Alexander ab Alexandro, *gen. dier. lib. 6. cap.* 21. of an enthusiasticall prisoner, (all out as probable as that of Eris Armenius, in Plato's tenth dialogue *de Repub.* that revived again ten dayes after he was killed in a battell, and told strange wonders, like those tales Ulysses related to Alcinoüs, in Homer; or Lucian's *vera historia* it self) was still after much solitariness, fasting, or long sickness, when their brains were addle, and their bellies as empty of meat as their heads of wit. Florilegus hath many such examples, *fol.* 191. one of Saint Gultlake of Crowalde that fought with divels, but still after long fasting, overmuch solitariness, [g] the divel perswaded him therefore to fast, as Moses and Elias did, the better to delude him. [h] In the same authour is recorded Carolus Magnus vision *an.* 885. or extasis, wherein he saw heaven and hell after much fasting and meditation. So did the divel of old with Apollo's priests. Amphiaraus and his fellowes, those Ægyptians, still enjoyn long fasting before he would give any oracles, *triduum a cibo et vino abstinerent,*

[a] De divinatione et magicis præstigiis. [b] Idem. [c] Post 15 dierum preces et jejunia, mirabiles videbat visiones. [d] Fol. 84. vita Stephani et fol. 177. Post trium mensium inediam et languorem per 9 dies nihil comedens aut bibens. [e] After contemplation in an extasis; so Hierome was whipped for reading Tully; see millions of examples in our Annals. [f] Bede, Gregory, Jacobus de Voragine, Lippomanus, Hieronymus, John Major de vitis Patrum, &c. [g] Fol. 199. Post abstinentiæ curas miras illusiones dæmonum audivit. [h] Fol. 255. Post seriam meditationem in vigiliis diei dominicæ visionem habuit de purgatorio.

[a] before they gave any answers; as Volateran *lib.* 13. *cap.* 4. records, and Strabo Geog. *lib.* 14. describes Charon's den, in the way betwixt Tralles and Nissum, whither the priests led sicke and fanaticke men: but nothing performed without long fasting, no good to be done. That scoffing [b] Lucian conducts his Menippus to hell, by the directions of that Chaldean Mitrobarzanes, but after long fasting, and such like idle preparation. Which the Jesuits right well perceiving of what force this fasting and solitary meditation is, to alter mens mindes, when they would make a man mad, ravish him, improve him beyond himself, to undertake some great business of moment to kill a king, or the like, [c] they bring him into a melancholy dark chamber, where he shall see no light for many dayes together, no company, little meat, ghastly pictures of divels all about him, and leave him to lye as he will himself, on the bare floor in this chamber of meditation, as they call it, on his back, side, belly, till by his strange usage they make him quite mad and beside himself. And then after some ten dayes, as they find him animated and resolved, they make use of him. The divel hath many such factours, many such engins, which, what effect they produce, you shall hear in these following symptomes.

SUBSECT. III.

Symptomes generall. Love to their own sect; hate of all other religions; obstinacie; peevishness; ready to undergo any danger or crosse for it. Martyrs: blinde zeal, blinde obedience, fastings, vowes, belief of incredibilities, impossibilities; Particular of Gentiles, Mahometans, Jewes, Christians; and in them, Heretiques old and new, Schismaticks, Schoolmen, Prophets, Enthusiasts, &c.

Fleat Heraclitus, an rideat Democritus? in attempting to speak of these symptomes, shall I laugh with Democritus, or weep with Heraclitus? they are so ridiculous and absurd on the one side, so lamentable and tragicall on the other; a mixt scene offers it self, so full of errours, and a promiscuous variety of objects, that I know not in what straine to represent it. When I think of that Turkish paradise, those Jewish fables, and pontificiall rites; those pagan superstitions, their

[a] Ubi multos dies manent jejuni, consilio sacerdotum, auxilio invocantes. Necromant. Et cibus quidem glandes erant, potus aqua, lectus sub dio, &c. Everardus Britanno-Romanus lib. edit. 1611. describes all the manner of it.

[b] In

[c] John

sacrifices, and ceremonies, as to make images of all matter, and adore them when they have done; to see them kiss the pyx, creep to the crosse &c. I cannot choose but laugh with Democritus. But, when I see them whip and torture themselves, grind their soules for toyes and trifles, desperate, and now ready to dye, I cannot choose but weep with Heraclitus. When I see a priest say masse, with all those apish gestures, murmurings, &c. read the customes of the Jewes synagogue, or Mahometan Meskites, I must needs [a] laugh at their folly, *risum teneatis, amici?* but when I see them make matters of conscience of such toyes and trifles, to adore the divel, to endanger their soules, to offer their children to their idols, &c. I must needs condole their misery. When I see two superstitious orders contend *pro aris et focis*, with such have and hold, *de lanâ caprinâ*, some write such great volumes to no purpose, take so much pains to so small effect, their satyres, invectives, apologies, dul and grosse fictions; when I see grave learned men rail and scold like butter-women, methinks 'tis pretty sport, and fit [b] for Calphurnius and Democritus to laugh at. But when I see so much blood spilt, so many murders and massacres, so many cruel battels fought, &c. 'tis a fitter subject for Heraclitus to lament. [c] As Merlin when he sate by the lake side with Vortiger, and had seen the white and red dragon fight, before he began to interpret or to speak, *in fletum prorupit*, fell a weeping, and then proceeded to declare to the king what it meant. I should first pitty and bewaile this misery of humane kinde with some passionate preface, wishing mine eys a fountain of tears, as Jeremy did, and then to my task. For it is that great torture, that infernal plague of mortal men, *omnium pestium pestilentissima superstitio*, and able of it self alone to stand in opposition to all other plagues, miseries and calamities whatsoever; far more cruell, more pestiferous, more grievous, more generall, more violent, of a greater extent. Other feares and sorrows, grievances of body and minde are troublesome for the time; but this is for ever, eternal damnation, hell it self, a plague, a fire. An inundation hurts one province alone, and the loss may be recovered; but this superstition involves all the world almost, and can never be remedied. Sickness and sorrows come and go, but a superstitious soule hath no rest: [d] *superstitione imbutus animus nunquam quïetus esse potest*, no peace, no quietness. True religion and superstition are quite opposite, *longe diversa carnificina et pietas*, as Lactantius describes, the one ereares, the other dejects; *illorum pietas, mera impietas*; the one

[a] Varius mappa componere risum vix poterit. Hor. [b] Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore. [c] Alanus de Insulis. [d] Cicero 1. de finibus.

is an easie yoak, the other an intolerable burden, an absolute tyranny; the one a sure anchor, an haven; the other a tempestuous ocean; the one makes, the other marrs; the one is wisdome, the other is folly, madness, indiscretion; the one unfained, the other a counterfeit; the one a diligent observer, the other an ape; one leades to heaven, the other to hell. But these differences will more evidently appear by these particular symptomes. What religion is, and of what parts it doth consist, every catechism will tell you, what symptomes it hath, and what effects it produceth. But for their superstitions, no tongue can tell them, no pen express, they are so many, so diverse, so uncertaine, so unconstant, and so different from themselves. *Tot mundo superstitiones, quot cælo stellæ*, one saith, there be as many superstitions in the world, as there be stars in heaven, or divels themselves that are the first founders of them: with such ridiculous, absurd symptomes and signes, so many severall rites, ceremonies, torments and vexations accompanying, as may well expresse and beseem the divel to be the authour and maintainer of them. I will only point at some of them, *ex ungue leonem* guesse at the rest, and those of the chief kindes of superstition, which besides us christians now domineer and crucifie the world, Gentiles, Mahometans, Jewes, &c.

Of these symptomes some be generall, some particular to each private sect. Generall to all, are, an extraordinary love and affection they bear and shew to such as are of their own secte, and more then Vatinian hate to such as are opposite in religion, as they call it; or disagree from them in their superstitious rites, blind zeale, (which is as much a symptome as a cause,) vain feares, blind obedience, needless works, incredibilities, impossibilities, monstrous rites and ceremonies, wilfulness, blindness, obstinacy, &c. For the first, which is love and hate, as [a]Montanus saith, *nulla firmior amicitia quam quæ contrahitur hinc; nulla discordia major, quam quæ a religione fit;* no greater concord, no greater discord then that which proceeds from religion. It is incredible to relate, did not our dayly experience evince it, what factions, *quam teterrimæ factiones*, (as [b]Rich. Dinoth writes) have been of late, for matters of religion in France, and what hurly burlies all over Europe, for these many years. *Nihil est quod tam impotenter rapiat homines, quam suscepta de salute opinio; siquidem pro ea omnes gentes corpora et animas devovere solent, et arctissimo necessitudinis vinculo se invicem colligare.* We are all brethren in Christ, servants of one Lord, members of one body, and therefore are or should be at least dearly beloved, inseparably

[a] In Micah comment. [b] Gall. hist. lib. 1.

allied in the greatest bond of love and familiarity, united partakers not only of the same crosse, but coadjutors, comforters, helpers, at all times, upon all occasions: as they did in the primitive church, *Acts* the 5. they sold their patrimonies, and laid them at the apostles feet, and many such memorable examples of mutual love we have had under the ten general persecutions, many since. Examples on the other side of discord none like, as our Saviour saith, he came therefore into the world to set father against son, &c. In imitation of whom the divel, belike (*nam* [a] *superstitio irrepsit veræ religionis imitatrix*, superstition is still religions ape, as in all other things, so in this) doth so combine and glew together his superstitious followers in love and affection, that they will live and dye together: and what an innate hatred hath he still inspired to any other superstition opposite? How those old Romans were affected, those ten persecutions may be a witness, and that cruel executioner in Eusebius, *aut lita aut morere*, sacrifice or dye. No greater hate, more continuate, bitter faction, wars, persecution in all ages, then for matters of religion; no such ferall opposition, father against son, mother against daughter, husband against wife, city against city, kingdome against kingdome: as of old at Tentira and Combos:

> [b] Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus,
> Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
> Odit uterque locus, quum solos credit habendos
> Esse Deos quos ipse colat.—
>
> Immortal hate it breeds, a wound past cure,
> And fury to the commons still to endure:
> Because one city t'others gods as vain
> Deride, and his alone as good, maintain.

The Turkes at this day, count no better of us then of dogs; so they commonly call us *gaures*, infidels, miscreants, make that their main quarrel and cause of Christian persecution. If he will turn Turke, he shall be entertained as a brother, and had in good esteem, a Muselman or a beleever, which is a greater tye to them then any affinity or consanguinity. The Jewes stick together like so many burrs, but as for the rest whom they call Gentiles, they do hate and abhor, they cannot endure their Messias should be a common Saviour to us all, and rather, as [c] Luther writes, *then they that now scoffe at them, curse them, persecute and revile them, shall be coheires and brethren with*

[a] Lactantius. [b] Juv. Sat. 15. [c] Comment. in Micah. Ferre non possunt ut illorum Messias communis servator sit, nostrum gaudium, &c. Messias vel decem decies crucifixuri essent, ipsumque Deum, si id fieri posset, una cum angelis et creaturis omnibus, nec absterrerentur ab hoc facto, etsi mille inferna subeunda forent.

them, or have any part of fellowship with their Messias, they would crucifie their Messias ten times over, and God himself, his angels, and all his creatures, if it were possible, though they endure a thousand hels for it. Such is their malice towards us. Now for Papists, what in a common cause for the advancement of their religion they will endure, our traytors and pseudocatholicks will declare unto us; and how bitter on the other side to their adversaries, how violently bent, let those Marian times record, as those miserable slaughters at Merindol and Cabriers, the Spanish inquisition, the duke of Alva's tyranny in the Low-countries, the French massacres and civil wars.

[a] Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum.

Not there only, but all over Europe, we read of bloudy battels, racks and wheels, seditions, factions, oppositions,

—— [b] obvia signis
Signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis,

Invectives and contentions. They had rather shake hands with a Jewe, Turke, or as the Spaniards do, suffer Moores to live amongst them, and Jewes then Protestants; *My name,* (saith [c] Luther) *is more odious to them then any thief or murderer.* So it is with all heretiques and schismaticks whatsoever: And none so passionate, violent in their tenents, opinions, obstinate, wilful, refractory, peevish, factious, singular and stiffe in defence of them; they do not only persecute and hate, but pitty all other religions, account them damned, blinde; as if they alone were the true church, they are the true heires, have the feesimple of heaven by a peculiar donation, 'tis entailed on them and their posterities, their doctrine sound, *per funem aureum de cœlo delapsa doctrina;* they alone are to be saved. The Jewes at this day are so *incomprehensibly proud and churlish,* saith [d] Luther, that *soli salvari, soli domini terrarum salutari volunt.* And, as [e] Buxtorfius adds, *so ignorant and self-willed withall, that amongst their most understanding rabbines you shall find nought but gross dotage, horrible hardness of heart, and stupend obstinacy, in all their actions, opinions, conversations: and yet so zealous withall, that no man living can be more, and vindicate themselves for the elect people of GOD.* 'Tis so with all other superstitious sects, Mahometans, Gentiles in China, and Tartary; our ignorant Papists,

[a] Lucret. [b] Lucan. [c] Ad Galat. comment. Nomen odiosius meum quam ullus homicida aut fur. [d] In comment. Micah. Adeo incomprehensibilis et aspera eorum superbia, &c. [e] Synagog. Judæorum ca. 1. Inter eorum intelligentissimos Rabbinos nil præter ignorantiam et insipientiam grandem invenies, horrendam indurationem, et obstinationem, &c.

Anabaptists, Separatists, and peculiar Churches of Amsterdam, they alone, and none but they, can be saved. [a] Zealous (as Paul saith, Rom. 10. 2.) *without knowledge*, they will endure any misery, any trouble, suffer and doe that which the sun beams will not endure to see, *Religionis acti Furiis*, all extremities, losses and dangers, take any pains, fast, pray, vow chastity, wilful poverty, forsake all and follow their idols, dye a thousand deaths, as some Jewes did to Pilat's souldiers, in like case, *exertos præbentes jugulos, et manifeste præ se ferentes*, (as Josephus hath it) *chariorem esse vitâ sibi legis patriæ observationem;* rather then abjure, or deny the least particle of that religion which their fathers profess, and they themselves have been brought up in, be it never so absurd, ridiculous, they will embrace it, and without farther enquiry or examination of the truth, though it be prodigiously false, they will beleeve it: they will take much more pains to goe to hell, then we shall doe to heaven. Single out the most ignorant of them, convince his understanding, shew him his errours, grossness, and absurdities of his secte, *Non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris*, he will not be persuaded. As those pagans told the Jesuites in Japona, [b] they would doe as their fore-fathers have done; and with Ratholde the Frisian prince, goe to hell for company, if most of their friends went thither; they will not be moved, no perswasion, no torture can stir them. So that Papists cannot brag of their vowes, poverty, obedience, orders, merits, martyrdomes, fastings, almes, good works, pilgrimages: much and more then all this, I shall shew you, is, and hath been done by these superstitious Gentiles, Pagans, Idolaters and Jewes: their blind zeale and idolatrous superstition in all kindes is much at one; little or no difference, and it is hard to say, which is the greatest, which is the grossest. For if a man shall duly consider those superstitious rites amongst the Ethnicks in Japan, the Bannians in Gusart, the Chinese idolaters, [c] Americans of old, (in Mexico especially) Mahometan priests, he shall find the same government almost, the same orders and ceremonies, or so like, that they may seem all apparently to be derived from some heathen spirit, and the Roman hierarchy no better then the rest. In a word, this is common to all superstition, there is nothing so mad and absurd, so ridiculous, impossible, incredible, which they will not beleeve, observe, and diligently perform as much as in them lies; nothing so monstrous to conceive, or intolerable to put in practice, so cruel to suffer, which they will not willingly undertake. So powerful a

[a] Great is Diana of the Ephesians, Acts 19.
[b] Malunt cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire.
[c] Acosta. l. 5.

thing is superstition. [a] *O Ægypt* (as Trismegistus exclaims) *thy religion is fables, and such as posterity will not beleeve.* I know that in true religion it self, many mysteries are so apprehended alone by faith, as that of the Trinity, which Turkes especially deride; Christs incarnation, resurrection of the body at the last day, *quod ideo credendum* (saith Tertullian) *quod incredibile, &c.* many miracles not to be controverted or disputed of. *Mirari non rimari sapientia vera est*, saith [b] Gerhardus; *et in divinis* (as a good father informs us) *quædam credenda, quædam admiranda, &c.* some things are to be beleeved, embraced, followed with all submission and obedience, some again admired. Though Julian the apostate, scoffe at Christians in this point, *quod captivemus intellectum in obsequium fidei*, saying, that the Christian Creed is like the *Pythagorean Ipse dixit*, we make our will and understanding too slavishly subject to our faith, without farther examination of the truth; yet as Saint Gregory truly answers, our creed is *altioris præstantiæ*, and much more divine: and as Thomas will, *pie consideranti semper suppetunt rationes, ostendentes credibilitatem in mysteriis supernaturalibus*, we do absolutely beleeve it, and upon good reasons; for, as Gregory well informeth us; *Fides non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio quærit experimentum*; that faith hath no merit, is not worth the name of faith, that will not apprehend without a certain demonstration: we must and will beleeve Gods word; and if we be mistaken or erre in our general beliefe, as [c] *Richardus de sancto Victore*, vowes he will say to Christ himself at the day of judgement; *Lord, if we be deceived, thou alone hast deceived us*: thus we plead. But for the rest, I will not justifie that pontificiall consubstantiation, that which [d] Mahometans and Jewes justly except at, as Campanella confesseth: *Atheismi triumphat. cap.* 12. *fol.* 125. *Difficillimum dogma esse, nec aliud subjectum magis hæreticorum blasphemiis, et stultis irrisionibus politicorum reperiri.* They hold it impossible, *Deum in pane manducari*; and besides they scoffe at it, *vide gentem comedentem Deum suum, inquit quidam Maurus.* [e] *Hunc Deum muscæ et vermes irrident, quum ipsum polluunt et devorant; subditus est igni, aquæ, et latrones furantur; pixidem auream humi prosternunt, et se tamen non defendit hic Deus. Quî fieri potest, ut sit integer in singulis hostiæ particulis, idem corpus numero, tam multis locis, cœlo, terrâ? &c.* But he that shall read the [f] Turkes Alcoran, the Jewes Talmud, and Papists Golden

[a] O Ægypte, religionis tuæ solæ supersunt fabulæ eæque incredibiles posteris tuis.
[b] Meditat. 19. de cœnâ dómin. [c] Lib. 1. de trin. cap. 2. si decepti sumus, &c.
[d] Vide Samsatis Isphocanis objectiones in monachum Milesium. [e] Lege Hoffman. Mus exenteratus.
[f] As true as Homer's Iliads, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Æsop's Fables.

Legend, in the mean time will swear that such gross fictions, fables, vain traditions, prodigious paradoxes and ceremonies, could never proceed from any other spirit, then that of the divel himselfe, who is the authour of confusion and lies; and wonder withall, how such wise men as have been of the Jewes, such learned understanding men as Averröes, Avicenna, or those heathen philosophers, could ever be perswaded to beleeve, or to subscribe to the least part of them: *aut fraudem non detegere:* but that as [a] Vanninus answers, *ob publicæ potestatis formidinem allatrare philosophi non audebant,* they durst not speak for feare of the lawe. But I will descend to particulars: read their severall symptomes and then guess.

Of such symptomes as properly belong to superstition, or that irreligious religion, I may say as of the rest, some are ridiculous, some again ferall to relate. Of those ridiculous, there can be no better testimony then the multitude of their gods, those absurd names, actions, offices they put upon them, their feasts, holy dayes, sacrifices, adorations, and the like. The Ægyptians that pretended so great antiquity, 300 kings before Amasis: and as Mela writes, 13000 yeers from the beginning of their chronicles, that brag'd so much of their knowledge of old, for they invented arithmetick, astronomy, geometry: of their wealth and power, that vaunted of 20000 cities: yet at the same time their idolatry and superstition was most gross. They worshipped, as Diodorus Siculus records, sun and moone under the name of Isis and Osyris; and after, such men as were beneficial to them, or any creature that did them good. In the city of Bubasti they adored a cat, saith Herodotus; Ibis and storks, an oxe (saith Pliny); [b] leekes and onions, Macrobius;

> [c] Porrum et cæpe Deos imponere nubibus ausi,
> Hos tu Nile Deos colis.——

Scoffing [d] Lucian in his *vera Historia:* which as he confesseth himself, was not perswasively written as a truth, but in comical fashion to glaunce at the monstrous fictions, and gross absurdities of writers and nations, to deride, without doubt, this prodigious Ægyptian idolatry, fains this story of himself; that when he had seen the Elisian fields, and was now comming away, Radamanthus gave him a mallow-root, and bade him pray to that when he was in any peril or extremity; which he did accordingly; for when he came to Hydamordia in the island of treacherous women, he made his prayers to his root, and was instantly delivered. The Syrians, Chaldeans, had as

[a] Dial. 52. de oraculis. [b] O sanctas gentes quibus hæc nascuntur in horto Numinâ! Juven. Sat. 15. [c] Prudentius. [d] Præfat. ver. hist.

many proper gods of their owne invention; see the said Lucian *de dea Syriâ.* Morny *cap.* 22. *de veritat. relig.* Guliel. Stuckius [a] *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentil. descript.* Peter Faber Semester. *l.* 3. *c.* 1, 2, 3. Selden *de Diis Syris*; Purchas Pilgrimage; [b] Rosinus of the Romans, and Lilius Giraldus of the Greekes. The Romans borrowed from all, besides their own gods, which were *majorum* and *minorum gentium*, as Varro holds, certain and uncertain; some cœlestiall, select and great ones; others *Indigites* and *Semi-Dei*, *Lares*, *Lemures*, *Dioscuri*, *Soteres*, and *Parastatæ*, *Dii tutelares* amongst the Greekes: gods of all sorts, for all functions; some for the land, some for sea; some for heaven, some for hell; some for passions, diseases, some for birth, some for weddings, husbandry, woods, waters, gardens, orchards, &c. All actions and offices, Pax, Quies, Salus, Libertas, Fœlicitas, Strenua, Stimula, Horta, Pan, Sylvanus, Priapus, Flora, Cloacina, Stercutius, Febris, Pallor, Invidia, Protervia, Risus, Angerona, Volupia, Vacuna, Viriplaca, Veneranda, Pales, Neptunia, Doris. Kings, emperours, valiant men that had done any good offices for them, they did likewise canonize and adore for gods; and it was usually done, *usitatum apud antiquos*, as [c] Jo. Boissardus well observes, *deificare homines qui beneficiis mortales juvarent*, and the divel was still ready to second their intents, *statim se ingessit illorum sepulchris, statuis, templis, aris, &c.* he crept into their temples, statues, tombes, altars, and was ready to give oracles, cure diseases, doe miracles, &c. as by Jupiter, Æsculapius, Tiresias, Apollo, Mopsus, Amphiaraus, &c. *Dii et Semi-Dei.* For so they were *Semi-Dei*, demi-gods, some *medii inter Deos et homines*, as Max. [d] Tyrius, the Platonist, *ser.* 26 *et* 27. maintains and justifies in many words. *When a good man dyes, his body is buried, but his soule* ex homine dæmon evadit, *becomes forthwith a demi-god, nothing disparaged with malignity of ayr, or variety of formes: rejoyceth, exults and sees that perfect beautye with his eys. Now being deified, in commiseration he helpes his poor friends here on earth, his kindred and allies, informs, succours, &c. punisheth those that are bad, and do amiss, as a good genius to protect and govern mortal men appointed by the gods; so they will have it; ordaining some for provinces, some for private men, some for one office, some for another.* Hector and Achilles *assist souldiers to this*

[a] Tiguri fol. 1494. [b] Rosin. antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 1, et deinceps. [c] Lib. de divinatione et magicis præstigiis in Mopso. [d] Cosmo Paccio Interpret. nihil ab aeris caligine aut figurarum varietate impeditus meram pulchritudinem meruit, exultans et misericordiâ motus, cognatos amicos qui adhuc morantur in terra tuetur, errantibus succurrit, &c. Deus hoc jussit ut essent genii, Dii tutelares hominibus, bonos juvantes, malos punientes, &c.

day; Æsculapius all sick men, the Dioscuri seafaring men, &c. and sometimes upon occasion, they shew themselves. The Dioscuri, Hercules and Æsculapius, he saw himself (or the divel in his likenesse) *non somnians sed vigilans ipse vidi*: So far Tyrius. And not good men only do they thus adore, but tyrants, monsters, divels (as [a] Stuckius inveighs) Neros, Domitians, Heliogables, beastly women, and arrant whores amongst the rest. For all intents, places, creatures, they assign gods;

> Et domibus, tectis, thermis, et equis soleatis
> Assignare solent genios ———

saith Prudentius. Cuna for cradles; Diverra for sweeping houses; Nodina knots; Prema, Premunda, Hymen, Hymeneus, for weddings; Comus the god of good fellows; gods of silence, of comfort; Hebe goddess of youth; *Mena menstruarum*, &c. male and female gods of all ages, sexes, and dimensions, with beards, without beards, married, unmarried, begot, not born at all, but as Minerva start out of Jupiter's head. Hesiodus reckons up at least 30000 gods; Varro 300 Jupiters. As Jeremy told them, their gods were to the multitude of cities.

> Quicquid humus, pelagus, cœlum miserabile gignit,
> Id dixêre Deos, colles, freta, flumina, flammas.
>
> What ever heavens, sea and land begat,
> Hils, seas and rivers, God was this and that.

And which was most absurd, they made gods upon such ridiculous occasions; *As children make babies* (so saith [b] Morneus) *their poets make gods; et quos adorant in templis ludunt in theatris*, as Lactantius scoffes. Saturn a man, gelded himself, did eat his own children, a cruell tyrant driven out of his kingdome by his son Jupiter, as good a god as himself, a wicked, lascivious, paltry king of Crete, of whose rapes, lusts, murders, villanies, a whole volume is too little to relate. Venus, a notorious strumpet, as common as a barbers chair; Mars, Adonis, Anchises whore, is a great she-goddess as well as the rest; as much renowned by their poets; with many such. And these gods, so fabulously and foolishly made, *ceremoniis, Hymnis, et Canticis celebrant*; their errours, *luctus et gaudia, amores, iras, nuptias et liberorum procreationes*, ([c] as Eusebius well taxeth) weddings, mirth and mournings, loves, angers, and quarrelling they did celebrate in hymns, and sing

[a] Sacrorum gent. descript. Non bene meritos solum, sed et tyrannos pro Diis colunt, qui genus humanum horrendum in modum portentosa immanitate divexarunt, &c. fœdas meretrices, &c. [b] Cap. 22. de ver. rel. Deos finxerunt eorum Poetæ, tu infantium puppas. [c] Proem. lib. Contra. philos.

of in their ordinary songs, as it were publishing their villanies. But see more of their originals. When Romulus was made away by the sedition of the senators, to pacifie the people, [a] Julius Proculus gave out that Romulus was taken up by Jupiter into Heaven; and therefore, to be ever after adored for a God amongst the Romans. Syrophanes of Ægypt, had one onely son, whom he dearly loved; he erected his statue in his house, which his servants did adorn with crownes and garlandes, to pacifie their masters wrath when he was angry, so by little and little he was adored for a god. This did Semiramis for her husband Belus; and Adrian the Emperour by his minion Antinoüs. Flora was a rich harlot in Rome, and for that she made the common-wealth her heir, her birth day was solemnized long after; and to make it a more plausible holyday, they made her goddess of flowres, and sacrificed to her amongst the rest. The matrons of Rome, as Dionysius Halicarnassæus relates, because at their entreaty, Coriolanus desisted from his wars, consecrated a church *Fortunæ muliebri:* and [b] Venus Barbata had a temple erected, for that somewhat was amiss about hair; and so the rest. The citizens [c] of Alabanda, a small town in Asia minor, to curry favor with the Romans, (who then warred in Greece with Perseus of Macedon, and were formidable to these parts) consecrated a temple to the city of Rome, and made her a goddess, with annual games and sacrifices. So a town of houses was deified, with shameful flattery of the one side to give, and intolerable arrogance on the other to accept, upon so vile and absurd an occasion. Tully writes to Atticus, that his daughter Tulliola might be made a goddess, and adored as Juno and Minerva, and as well she deserved it. Their holydayes and adorations were all out as ridiculous. Those Lupercals of Pan, Florales of Flora, Bona Dea, Anna Perenna, Saturnals, &c. as how they were celebrated, with what lascivious and wanton gestures, bald ceremonies, [d] by what bawdy priests, how they hang their noses over the smoke of sacrifices, saith [e] Lucian, and lick bloud that was spilled about the altars, like flies. Their carved idols, gilt images of wood, iron, ivory, silver, brass, stone, *olim truncus eram*, &c. were most absurd, as being their own workmanship; for as Seneca notes, *adorant ligneos Deos, et fabros interim qui fecerunt, contemnunt*, they adore work, contemn the workman; and as Tertullian follows it, *Si homines*

[a] Livius lib. 1. Deus vobis in posterum propitius, Quirites. [b] Anth. Verdure Imag. Deorum. [c] Mulieres candido splendentes amicimine varioque lætantes gestimine, verno florentes conanime, solum sternentes, &c. Apuleius lib. 11. de Asino aureo. [d] Magna religione quæritur quæ possit adulteria plura numerare Minut. [e] Lib. de sacrificiis; Fumo inhiantes, et muscarum in morem sanguinem exugentes circum aras effusum.

non essent Diis propitii, non essent Dii, had it not been for men, they had never been gods, but blocks still, and stupid statues, in which mice, swallowes, birds made their nests, spiders their webbes, and in their very mouths laid their excrements. Those images, I say, were all out as gross, as the shapes in which they did represent them: Jupiter with a rams head; Mercury a dogges, Pan like a goat, Hecate with three heads, one with a beard, another without; see more in Carterius and [a] Verdurius of their monstrous formes and ugly pictures: and which was absurder yet, they told them these images came from heaven; as that of Minerva in her temple at Athens, *quod e cœlo cecidisse credebant accolæ,* saith Pausanias. They formed some like storkes, apes, buls, and yet seriously beleeved; and that which was impious, and abominable, they made their gods notorious whoremasters, incestuous sodomites, (as commonly they were all, as well as Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Neptune, &c.) theeves, slaves, drudges, (for Apollo and Neptune made tiles in Phrygia,) kept sheep, Hercules empty'd stables, Vulcan a black-smith, unfit to dwell upon the earth for their villanies, much less in heaven, as [b] Mornay well saith, and yet they gave them out to be such; so weak and brutish, some to whine, lament, and roare, as Isis for her son and Cenocephalus, as also all her weeping priests? Mars in Homer to be wounded, vexed; Venus run away crying, and the like; then which, what can be more ridiculous? *Nonne ridiculum lugere quod colas, vel colere quod lugeas?* (which [c] Minutius objects) *Si Dii, cur plangitis? si mortui, cur adoratis?* that it is no marvel if [d] Lucian, that adamantine persecutor of superstition, and Pliny could so scoffe at them and their horrible idolatry as they did. Diagoras took Hercules image, and put it under his pot to seeth his pottage, which was, as he said, his 13th labour. But see more of their fopperies in Cypr. 4. *tract. de Idol. varietat.* Chrysostome *advers. Gentil.* Arnobius *adv. Gentes.* Austin. *de civ. Dei.* Theodoret. *de curat. Græc. affect.* Clemens Alexandrinus, Minutius Fœlix, Eusebius, Lactantius, Stuckius, &c. Lamentable, tragicall, and fearful those symptomes are, that they should be so far forth affrighted with their fictitious gods, as to spend the goods, lives, fortunes, pretious time, best dayes in their honour, to [e] sacrifice unto them, to their inestimable loss, such hecatombes, so many

[a] Imagines Deorum lib. sic. inscript. [b] De ver. relig. cap. 22. Indigni qui terram calcent, &c. [c] Octaviano. [d] Jupiter Tragœdus, de sacrificiis, et passim alias. [e] 666 severall kindes of sacrifices in Ægypt Major reckons up, Tom. 2. coll. of which reade more in cap. 1. of Laurentius Pignorius his Ægypt characters, a cause of which, Sanubius gives subcis. lib. 2. cap. 1.

thousand sheep, oxen with gilded horns, goats, as [a] Crœsus king of Lydia, [b] Marcus Julianus, surnamed *ob crebras hostias, Victimarius et Tauricremus;* and the rest of the Roman emperours usually did with such labour and cost: and not Emperours onely, and great ones, *pro communi bono*, were at this charge, but private men for their ordinary occasions. Pythagoras offered an hundred oxen for the invention of a Geometrical Probleme, and it was an ordinary thing to sacrifice in [c] Lucian's time, *a heifer for their good health, four oxen for wealth, an hundred for a kingdome, nine buls for their safe return from Troja to Pylus, &c.* Every god almost had a peculiar sacrifice: the sun horses, Vulcan fire, Diana a white hart, Venus a turtle, Ceres an hog, Proserpina a black lamb, Neptune a bull, (read more in [d] Stuckius at large) besides sheep, cockes, corals, frankincense, to their undoings, as if their gods were affected with bloud or smoke. *And surely* ([e] saith he) *if one should but repeat the fopperies of mortall men, in their sacrifices, feasts, worshipping their gods, their rites and ceremonies, what they think of them, of their diet, houses, orders, &c. what prayers and vowes they make; if one should but observe their absurdities and madnesse, he would burst out a laughing, and pitty their folly.* For what can be more absurd then their ordinary prayers, petitions, [f] requests, sacrifices, oracles, devotions? of which we have a taste in Maximus Tyrius *serm.* 1. Plato's *Alcibiades Secundus*, Persius *Sat.* 2. Juvenal. *Sat.* 10. there likewise exploded, *Mactant opimas et pingues hostias Deo quasi esurienti, profundunt vina tanquam sitienti, lumina accendunt velut in tenebris agenti* (Lactantius *lib.* 2. *cap.* 6.) as if their gods were an hungrie, a thirst, in the darke, they light candles, offer meat and drink. And what so base as to reveal their counsels and give oracles *e viscerum sterquiliniis*, out of the bowels and excrementall parts of beasts? *sordidos Deos* Varro truely cals them therefore, and well he might. I say nothing of their magnificent and sumptuous temples, those majestical structures. To the roof of Apollo Didymeus temple, *ad Branchidas*, as [g] Strabo writes, a thousand okes did not suffice. Who can relate the glorious splendor, and stupend magnificence, the

[a] Herod. Clio. Immolavit lecta pecora ter mille Delphis, una cum lectis phialis tribus. [b] Superstitiosus Julianus innumeras sine parsimoniâ pecudes mactavit. Ammianus. 25 Boves albi. M. Cæsari salutem, si tu viceris perimus; lib. 3. Romani observantissimi sunt ceremoniarum, bello præsertim. [c] De sacrificiis: Buculam pro bona valetudine, boves quatuor pro divitiis, centum tauros pro sospite a Troja reditu, &c. [d] De sacris Gentil. et sacrific Tyg. 1596. [e] Enimvero si quis recenseret quæ stulti mortales in festis, sacrificiis, Diis adorandis, &c. quæ vota faciant, quid de iis statuant, &c. haud scio an risurus, &c. [f] Max. Tyrius ser. 1. Crœsus regum omnium stultissimus de debete consulit, alius de numero arenarum, dimensione maris, &c. [g] Lib. 4.

sumptuous building of Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter Ammon's temple in Africke, the Pantheon at Rome, the Capitoll, the Serapium at Alexandria, Apollo's temple at Daphne in the suburbs of Antioch. The great temple at Mexico so richly adorned, and so capacious (for 10000 men might stand in it at once) that faire pantheon of Cusco, described by Acosta in his Indian History, which ecclipses both Jewes and Christians. There were in old Jerusalem as some write, 408 synagogues; but new Cairo reckons up (if [a] Radzinilus may be beleeved) 6800 meskites. Fessa 400, whereof 50 are most magnificent, like Saint Pauls in London. Helena built 300 faire churches in the holy land, but one Bassa hath built 400 meskites. The Mahometans have 1000 monkes in a monastery; the like saith Acosta of Americans; Riccius of the Chineses, for men and women, fairly built, and more richly endowed some of them, then Arras in Artois, Fulda in Germany or Saint Edmunds-Bury in England with us. Who can describe those curious and costlie statues, idols, images, so frequently mentioned in Pausanias? I conceal their donaries, pendants, other offerings, presents, to these their fictitious gods daily consecrated. [b] Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, sent two statues of pure gold to Apollo at Delphos. [c] Crœsus, king of Lydia, dedicated an hundred golden tiles in the same place, with a golden altar. No man came empty-handed to their shrines. But these are base offerings in respect; they offered men themselves alive. The Leucadians, as Strabo writes, sacrificed every yeer a man, *averruncandæ Deorum iræ causa*, to pacifie their gods; *de montis præcipitio dejecerunt, &c.* and they did voluntarily undergoe it. The Decii did so sacrifice *Diis manibus*; Curtius did leap into the gulfe. Were they not all strangely deluded to go so far to their oracles, to be so gulled by them, both in war and peace, as Polybius relates, (which their augures, priests, vestall virgins can witness) to be so superstitious, that they would rather lose goods and lives, then omit any ceremonies or offend their heathen gods? Nicias, that generous and valiant captain of the Greekes, overthrew the Athenian navy, by reason of his too much superstition, [d] because the Augures told him it was ominous to set sail from the haven of Syracuse whilest the moone was ecclipsed, he tarried so long till his enemies besieged him, he and all his army was overthrown. The [e] Parthians of old were so sottish in this kinde, they would rather lose a victorie, nay lose their own lives, then fight in the night; 'twas against their religion. The Jewes would make no resistance on the sabbath, when Pompeius

[a] Peregr. Hierosol. polit. lib. 2. cap. 16. [b] Solinus. [c] Herodotus. [d] Boterus [e] Plutarch. vit Crassi.

besieged Jerusalem; and some Jewish Christians in Africke, set upon by the Gothes, suffered themselves, upon the same occasion, to be utterly vanquished. The superstition of the Dibrenses, a bordering town in Epirus, besieged by the Turkes, is miraculous almost to report. Because a dead dog was flung into the only fountain which the citie had, they would dye of thirst all, rather then drink of that [a] unclean water, and yeeld up the citie upon any conditions. Though the Prætor and chief citizens began to drink first, using all good perswasions, their superstition was such, no saying would serve, they must all forthwith dye or yeeld up the citie. *Vix ausim ipse credere* (saith [b] Barletius) *tantam superstitionem, vel affirmare levissimam hanc causam tantæ rei vel magis ridiculam, quum non dubitem risum potius quam admirationem posteris excituturam.* The story was too ridiculous, he was ashamed to report it, because he thought nobody would beleeve it. It is stupend to relate what strange effects this idolatry and superstition hath brought forth of the latter yeers in the Indies and those bordering parts: [c] in what ferall shapes the [d] divel is adored, *ne quid mali intentet*, as they say; for in the mountains betwixt Scanderone and Aleppo, at this day, there are dwelling a certaine kinde of people called Coordes, coming of the race of the ancient Parthians, who worship the divel, and alledge this reason in so doing; God is a good man and will do no harm, but the divel is bad and must be pleased, lest he hurt them. It is wonderful to tell how the divel deludes them, how he terrifies them, how they offer men and women sacrifices unto him, an hundred at once, as they did infants in Crete to Saturne of old, the finest children, like Agamemnon's Iphigenia, &c. At [e] Mexico, when the Spaniards first overcame them, they daily sacrificed *viva hominum corda e viventium corporibus extracta*, the hearts of men yet living, 20000 in a yeer (Acosta *lib.* 5. *cap.* 20.) to their idols made of flowre and mens bloud; and every yeer six thousand infants of both sexes: And, as prodigious to relate [f] how they burie their wives with husbands deceased, 'tis fearfull to report, and harder to beleeve.

> [g] Nam certamen habent læthi quæ viva sequatur
> Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori,

and burn them alive, best goods, servants, horses, when a grandie dies; [h] 12000 at once amongst the Tartars, when a

[a] They were of the Greek Church. [b] Lib. 5. de gestis Scanderbegis. [c] In templis immania idolorum monstra conspiciuntur, marmorea, lignea, lutea, &c. Riccius. [d] Deum enim placare non est opus, quia non nocet; sed dæmonem sacrificiis placant, &c. [e] Fer. Cortesius. [f] M. Polus. Lod. Vertomannus navig. lib. 6. cap. P. Martyr. Ocean. dec. [g] Propertius lib. 3. eleg. 12. [h] Matthias a Michou.

great Cham departs, or an emperour in America: how they plague themselves, who abstaine from all that hath life, like those old Pythagoreans; with immoderate fastings, [a] as the Bannians about Surat; they of China, that for superstitions sake never eat flesh nor fish all their lives, never marry, but live in deserts and by-places, and some pray to their idols 24 hours together, without any intermission, biting of their tongues when they have done, for devotions sake. Some again are brought to that madness by their superstitious priests, (that tell them such vain stories of immortality, and the joyes of heaven in that other life) [b] that many thousands voluntarily break their own neckes, as Cleombrotus Amborciatus' auditors, of old, precipitate themselves, that they may participate of that unspeakable happiness in the other world. One poysons, another strangleth himself; and the king of China had done as much, deluded with this vaine hope, had he not been detained by his servant. But who can sufficiently tell of their severall superstitions, vexations, follies, torments? I may conclude with [c] Possevinus, *Religio facit asperos mites, homines e feris; superstitio ex hominibus feras,* Religion makes wilde beasts civil, superstition makes wise men beasts and fools; and the discreetest that are, if they give way to it, are no better than dizards; nay more, if that of Plotinus be true, *is unus religionis scopus, ut ei quem colimus similes fiamus,* that's the drift of religion to make us like him whom we worship; what shall be the end of idolaters, but to degenerate into stockes and stones? of such as worship these heathen Gods, (for *Dii gentium dæmonia*) [d] but to become divels themselves? 'Tis therefore *exitiosus error, et maxime periculosus,* a most perilous and dangerous errour of all others, as [e] Plutarch holds, *turbulenta passio hominem consternans,* a pestilent, a troublesome passion, that utterly undoeth men. Unhappy superstition, [f] Pliny cals it, *morte non finitur,* death takes away life, but not superstition. Impious and ignorant men are far more happy then they which are superstitious, no torture like to it, none so continuate, so generall, so destructive, so violent.

In this superstitious row, Jewes for antiquitie may go next to Gentiles; what of old they have done, what idolatries they

[a] Epist. Jesuit. ann. 1549 a Xaverio et sociis. Idemque Riccius expedit. ad Sinas l. 1. Per totum Jejunatores apud eos toto die carnibus abstinent et piscibus ob religionem, nocte et die Idola colentes; nusquam egredientes. [b] Ad immortalitatem morte aspirant summi magistratus, &c. Et multi mortales hac insania, et præpostero immortalitatis studio laborant, et misere pereunt; rex ipse clam venenum hausisset, nisi a servo fuisset detentus. [c] Cantione in lib. 10. Bodini de repub. fol. 111. [d] Quin ipsius diaboli ut nequitiam referant. [e] Lib. de superstit. [f] Hominibus vitæ finis mors, non autem superstitionis, profert hæc suos terminos ultra vitæ finem.

have committed in their groves and high places, what their Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Essei, and such sectaries have maintained, I will not so much as mention: for the present, I presume no nation under heaven can be more sottish, ignorant, blinde, superstitious, wilfull, obstinate, and peevish, tyring themselves with vaine ceremonies to no purpose; he that shall but reade their Rabbins ridiculous Comments, their strange interpretation of Scriptures, their absurd ceremonies, fables, childish tales, which they stedfastly beleeve, will think they be scarse rational creatures; their foolish [a] customes, when they rise in the morning; and how they prepare themselves to prayer, to meat, with what superstitious washings; how to their sabbath, to their other feasts, weddings, burials, &c. Last of all, the expectation of their Messias, and those figments, miracles, vaine pompe that shall attend him; as how he shall terrifie the gentiles, and overcome them by new diseases; how Michael the Archangel shall sound his trumpet, how he shall gather all the scattered Jewes into the holy land, and there make them a great banquet, [b] *Wherein shall be all the birds, beasts, fishes, that ever God made; a cup of wine that grew in Paradise, and that hath been kept in Adam's cellar ever since.* At the first course shall be served in that great oxe in Psal. 50. 10. *that every day feeds on a thousand hils;* Job 41. that great Leviathan; and a great bird that laid an egge so big, [c] *that by chance tumbling out of the nest, it knockt down* 300 *tall cedars, and breaking as it fell, drowned* 160 *villages.* This bird stood up to the knees in the sea, and the sea was so deep, that a hatchet would not fall to the bottom in seven yeers. Of their Messias [d] wives and children; Adam and Eve, &c. and that one stupend fiction amongst the rest: When a Roman prince asked of Rabbi Jehosua ben Hanania, why the Jewes God was compared to a lion; he made answer, he compared himself to no ordinary lion, but to one in the wood Ela, which when he desired to see, the Rabbin pray'd to God he might, and forthwith the lion set forward; [e] *But when he was* 400 *miles from Rome, he so roared that all the great-bellied women in Rome made aborts; the citie walls fell down; and when he came an hundred miles nearer, and roared the second time, their teeth fell out of their heads, the em-*

[a] Buxtorfius Synagog. Jud. c. 4. Inter precandum nemo pediculos attingat, vel pulicem, aut per guttur inferius ventum emittas, &c. Id. c. 5. et seq. cap. 36. [b] Illic omnia animalia, pisces, aves, quos Deus unquam creavit mactabuntur, et vinum generosum, &c. [c] Cujus lapsu cedri altissimi 300 dejecti sunt, quumque lapsu ovum fuerat confractum, pagi 160 inde submersi, et alluvione inundati. [d] Every king in the world shall send him one of his daughters to be his wife, because it is written Psal. 45. 10 kings daughters shall attend on him, &c. [e] Quum quadringentis adhuc milliaribus ab imperatore leo hic abesset, tam fortiter rugiebat, ut mulieres Romanæ abortierint omnes, murique, &c.

perour himself fell down dead, and so the lion went back. With an infinite number of such lyes and forgeries, which they verily beleeve, feed themselves with vain hope, and in the mean time will by no perswasions be diverted, but still crucifie their soules with a company of idle ceremonies, live like slaves and vagabonds, will not be relieved or reconciled.

Mahometans are a compound of Gentiles, Jewes, and Christians; and so absurd in their ceremonies, as if they had taken that which is most sottish out of every one of them; full of idle fables in their superstitious law; their Alcoran it self a gallimaufrie of lyes, tales, ceremonies, traditions, precepts, stole from other sectes, and confusedly heaped up, to delude a company of rude and barbarous clownes. As how birds, beasts, stones, saluted Mahomet when he came from Mecha, the moone came downe from heaven to visit him; [a] how God sent for him, spake to him, &c. with a company of stupend figments of the angels, sun, moone, and stars, &c. Of the day of judgement, and three sounds to prepare to it, which must last 50000 yeers; of Paradise, which wholly consists in *coeundi et comedendi voluptate*, and *pecorinis hominibus scriptum, bestialis beatitudo*, is so ridiculous, that Virgil, Dantes, Lucian, nor any poet can be more fabulous. Their rites and ceremonies are most vaine and superstitious; wine and swines flesh are utter forbidden by their law; [b] they must pray five times a day; and still towards the south; wash before and after, all their bodies over, with many such. For fasting, vowes, religious orders, peregrinations, they go far beyond any papists. [c] They fast a month together many times, and must not eat a bit till sun be set. Their Kalenders, Dervises, and Torlachers, &c. are more [d] abstemious, some of them, then Carthusians, Franciscans, Anchorites; forsake all, live solitary, fare hard, goe naked, &c. [e] Their pilgrimages are as far as to the river [f] Ganges (which the Gentiles of those tracts likewise do) to wash themselves; for that river, as they hold, hath a soveraign vertue to purge them of all sins, and no man can be saved that hath not been washed in it. For which reason they come far and near from the Indies; *Maximus gentium omnium confluxus est*, and infinite numbers

[a] Strozius Cicogna omnif. mag. lib. 1, c. 1. Putida multa recenset ex Alcorano, de cœlo, stellis, Angelis, Lonicerus c. 21, 22. l. 1. [b] Quinquies in die orare Turcæ tenentur ad meridiem. Bredenbachius cap. 5. [c] In quolibet anno mensem integrum jejunant interdiu, nec comedentes nec bibentes, &c. [d] Nullis unquam multi per totam ætatem carnibus vescuntur. Leo Afer. [e] Lonicerus tom. 1. cap. 17. 18. [f] Gotardus Arthus ca. 33. hist. orient. Indiæ: Opinio est expiatorium esse Gangem; et nec mundum ab omni peccato nec salvum fieri posse, qui non hoc flumine se abluat: quam ob causam ex tota India, &c.

yeerly resort to it. Others go as far as Mecha to Mahomet's tombe, which journey is both miraculous and meritorious. The ceremonies of flinging stones to stone the divel; of eating a camell at Cairo by the way; their fastings, their running till they sweat, their long prayers, Mahomet's temple, tombe, and building of it, would aske a whole volume to dilate: and for their paines taken in this holy pilgrimage, all their sins are forgiven, and they reputed for so many Saints. And divers of them with hot bricks, when they return, will put out their eys, [a] *that they never after see any prophane thing, bite out their tongues, &c.* They look for their prophet Mahomet as Jewes doe for their Messias. Read more of their customes, rites, ceremonies, in Lonicerus Turcic. *hist. tom.* 1. from the 10th to the 24th chapter. Bredenbachius *cap.* 4. 5. 6. Leo Afer *lib.* 1. Busbequius, Sabellicus, Purchas *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3 *et* 4. 5. Theodorus Bibliander, &c. Many foolish ceremonies you shall finde in them; and which is most to be lamented, the people are generally so curious in observing of them, that if the least circumstance be omitted, they think they shall be damned; 'tis an irremissible offence, and can hardly be forgiven. I kept in my house, amongst my followers (saith [b] Busbequius, sometimes the Turke's orator in Constantinople) a Turkey boye that by chance did eat shell-fish, a meat forbidden by their law; but the next day when he knew what he had done, he was not only sick to cast and vomit, but very much troubled in minde, would weep and [c] grieve many dayes after, torment himself for his foule offence. Another Turke being to drink a cup of wine in his cellar, first made a huge noise and filthy faces, [d] *to warn his soule (as he said) that it should not be guilty of that foule fact which he was to commit.* With such toyes as these, are men kept in awe, and so cowed, that they dare not resist, or offend the least circumstance of their law, for conscience sake misled by superstition, which no humane edict otherwise, no force of arms could have enforced.

In the last place are Pseudo-Christians: in describing of whose superstitious symptomes, as a mixture of the rest, I may say that which S[t]. Benedict once saw in a vision; one divel in the market place, but ten in a monastery, because there was more work; in populous cities, they would swear and forswear, lye, falsifie, deceive fast enough of themselves, one divel could circumvent a thousand; but in their religious houses a thousand divels could scarse tempt one silly monke.

[a] Quia nil volunt deinceps videre.
[b] The German Ambassador in Turkey.
[c] Nullum se conflictandi finem facit.
[d] Ut in aliquem angulum se reciperet, ne reus fieret ejus delicti quod ipse erat admissurus.

All the principal divels I think busie themselves in subverting Christians; Jewes, Gentiles, and Mahometans are *extra caulem*, out of the fold, and need no such attendance; they make no resistance; [a] *eos enim pulsare negligit, quos quieto jure possidere se sentit*, they are his own already; but Christians have that shield of faith, sword of the spirit to resist, and must have a great deal of battery before they can be overcome. That the divel is most busie amongst us that are of the true church, appears by those several oppositions, heresies, schismes, which in all ages he hath raised to subvert it, and in that of Rome especially, wherein Antichrist himself now sits and playes his prize. This mystery of iniquity began to work even in the Apostles time; many Antichrists and heretiques were abroad, many sprung up since, many now present, and will be to the worlds end, to dementate mens mindes, to seduce and captivate their soules. Their symptomes I know not how better to express, then in that twofold division, of such as lead, and are led. Such as lead are heretiques, schismatickes, false prophets, impostors, and their ministers: they have some common symptomes, some peculiar. Common; as madness, folly, pride, insolency, arrogancy, singularity, peevishness, obstinacy, impudence, scorn and contempt of all other sects:

Nullius addicti jurare in verba magistri;

They will approve of nought but what they first invent themselves, no interpretation good but what their infallible spirit dictates; none shall be *in secundis*, no not *in tertiis*, they are onely wise, onely learned in the truth; all damned but they and their followers; *cædem scripturarum faciunt ad materiam suam*, saith Tertullian; they make a slaughter of Scriptures, and turn it as a nose of wax to their own ends. So irrefragable, in the mean time, that what they have once said, they must and will maintain, in whole tomes, duplications, triplications, never yeeld to death, so self-conceited, say what you can. As [b] Bernard (erroneously some say) speaks of P. Aliardus, *omnes patres sic, atque ego sic.* Though all the fathers, councels, the whole world contradict it, they care not, they are all one: and as [c] Gregory well notes *of such as are vertiginous, they think all turns round and moves, all err; when as the errour is wholly in their own braines.* Magallianus the Jesuite in his Comment on the first of Timothy *cap. 6. vers. 20.* and Alphonsus *de Castro lib. 1. adversus hæreses*, gives two more eminent notes, or probable conjectures to know such men by, (they might have taken themselves by the noses when

[a] Gregor. Hom. [b] Epist. 190. [c] Orat. 8. Ut vertigine correptis videntur omnia moveri, omnia iis falsa sunt, quum error in ipsorum cerebro sit.

they said it) [a] *First they affect novelties and toyes, and prefer falsehood before truth.* [b] *Secondly, they care not what they say; that which rashness and folly hath brought out, pride afterward, peevishness and contumacy shall maintain to the last gasp.* Peculiar symptomes are prodigious paradoxes, new doctrines, vain phantasmes, which are many and divers as they themselves. [c] Nicholaites of old would have wives in common. Montanists would not marry at all, nor Tatians; forbidding all flesh. Severians, wine. Adamians go naked, [d] because Adam did so in Paradise; and some [e] barefoot all their lives, because God, Exod. 3. and Joshua 5. bid Moses so to doe; and Isay 20. was bid put off his shooes. Manichees hold that Pythagorian transmigration of soules from men to beasts. [f] The Circumcellions in Africke, *with a mad cruelty made away themselves, some by fire, water, breaking their neckes, and seduced others to doe the like, threatning some if they did not*; with a thousand such: as you may read in [g] Austin, (for there were fourscore and eleven heresies in his times, besides schismes and smaller factions) Epiphanius, Alphonsus de Castro, Danæus, Gab. Prateolus, &c. Of prophets, enthusiasts and impostors, our ecclesiastical stories afford many examples; of Elias and Christs, as our [h] Eudo *de stellis*, a Brittain in King Stephen's time, that went invisible, translated himself from one to another in a moment, fed thousands with good chear in the wilderness, and many such; nothing so common as miracles, visions, revelations, prophesies. Now what these brain-sick heretiques once broach, and impostors set on foot, be it never so absurd, false, and prodigious, the common people will follow and beleeve. It will run along like murrain in cattel, scab in sheep. *Nulla scabies*, [i] as he said, *superstitione scabiosior*: as he that is bitten with a mad dogg bites others, and all in the end become mad. Either out of affection of novelty, simplicity, blinde zeal, hope and feare, the giddy-headed multitude will embrace it, and without farther examination approve it.

Sed vetera querimur, these are old, *hæc prius fuere*. In our dayes we have a new scene of superstitious impostors and heretiques, a new company of actors, of Antichrists, that great Antichrist himself: A rope of Popes, that by their greatness and authority bear down all before them; who from that time they

[a] Res novas affectant et inutiles, falsa veris præferunt. 2. Quod temeritas effutierit, id superbia post modum tuebitur et contumacia, &c. [b] See more in Vincent. Lyrin. [c] Aust. de hæres. usus mulierum indifferens. [d] Quod ante peccavit Adam, nudus erat. [e] Alii nudis pedibus semper ambulant. [f] Insana feritate sibi non parcunt, nam per mortes varias præcipitiorum aquarum et ignium, seipsos necant, et in istum furorem alios cogunt, mortem minantes ni faciant, [g] Eleuch. hæret. ab orbe condito. [h] Nubrigensis. lib. 1. cap. 19. [i] Jovian. Pont. Ant. Dial.

proclaimed themselves universal bishops, to establish their own kingdome, soveraignty, greatness, and to enrich themselves, brought in such a company of humane traditions, purgatory, *Limbus Patrum, Infantum*, and all that subterranean geography, masse, adoration of saints, almes, fastings, buls, indulgences, orders, friers, images, shrines, musty reliques, excommunications, confessions, satisfactions, blinde obediences, vowes, pilgrimages, peregrinations, with many such curious toyes, intricate subtleties, gross errours, obscure questions, to vindicate the better and set a gloss upon them, that the light of the Gospel was quite eclipsed, darkness over all, the Scriptures concealed, legends brought in, religion banished, hypocritical superstition exalted, and the church it self [a] obscured and persecuted. Christ and his members crucified more, saith Benzo, by a few necromanticall, atheistical popes, then ever it was by [b] Julian the apostate, Porphyrius the platonist, Celsus the physician, Libanius the sophister; by those heathen emperours, Hunnes, Gothes, and Vandals. What each of them did, by what meanes, at what times, *quibus auxiliis*, superstition climbed to this height, traditions encreased, and Antichrist himself came to his estate, let Magdeburgenses, Kemnisius, Osiander, Bale, Mornay, Fox, Usher, and many others relate. In the mean time, he that shall but see their prophane rites and foolish customes, how superstitiously kept, how strictly observed, their multitude of saints, images, that rabble of Romish deities, for trades, professions, diseases, persons, offices, countries, places; St. George for England; St. Denis for France; Patrick, Ireland; Andrew, Scotland; Iago, Spain; &c. Gregory for students; Luke for painters; Cosmus and Damian for philosophers; Crispine, shooemakers; Katherine, spinners; &c. Anthony for pigs; Gallus, geese; Wenceslaus, sheep; Pelagius, oxen; Sebastian, the plague; Valentine, falling sickness; Apollonia, tooth-ach; Petronella for agues; and the Virgin Mary for sea and land, for all parties, offices. He that shall observe these things, their shrines, images, oblations, pendants, adorations, pilgrimages they make to them; what creeping to crosses, our lady of Lauretta's rich [c] gownes, her donaries, the cost bestowed on images, and number of suiters; S[t]. Nicholas Burge in France; our S[t]. Thomas shrine of old at Canterbury; those reliques at Rome, Jerusalem, Genoa, Lions, Pratum, S[t]. Denis; and how many thousands come yeerly to offer to them, with what cost, trouble, anxiety, superstition,

[a] Cum per Paganos nomen ejus persequi non poterat, sub specie religionis fraudulenter subvertere disponebat. [b] That writ de professo against Christians, et Palestinum Deum (ut Socrates lib. 3. cap. 19.) scripturam nugis plenam, &c. vide Cyrillum in Julianum, Originem in Celsum, &c. [c] One image had one gown worth 400,000 crownes and more.

(for forty several masses are daily said in some of their [a] churches, and they rise at all houres of the night to masse, come bare-foot, &c.) how they spend themselves, times, goods, lives, fortunes, in such ridiculous observations; their tales and figments, false miracles, buying and selling of pardons, indulgences for 40000 yeers to come; their processions on set dayes, their strict fastings, monkes, anchorites, frier mendicants, Franciscans, Carthusians, &c. Their vigils and fasts, their ceremonies at Christmas, Shrovetide, Candlemas, Palme-sunday, Blase, St. Martin, St. Nicholas-day; their adorations, exorcismes, &c. will think all those Grecian, Pagan, Mahometan superstitions, gods, idols, and ceremonies, the name, time and place, habit onely altered, to have degenerated into Christians. Whilst they prefer traditions before scriptures; those evangelical councels, poverty, obedience, vowes, almes, fasting, supererogations, before Gods commandements; their own ordinances in stead of his precepts, and keep them in ignorance, blindnesse. They have brought the common people into such a case, by their cunning conveiances, strict discipline and servile education, that upon pain of damnation they dare not break the least ceremony, tradition, edict: hold it a greater sin to eat a bit of meat in Lent, then kill a man: their consciences are so terrified, that they are ready to despair if a small ceremony be omitted; and will accuse their own father, mother, brother, sister, neerest and dearest friends of heresie, if they doe not as they doe; will be their chief executioners, and helpe first to bring a fagot to burn them. What mulct, what penance soever is enjoyned, they dare not but doe it; tumble with St. Francis in the mire amongst hogs, if they be appointed; go wollward, whip themselves, build hospitals, abbies, &c. go to the East or West Indies, kill a king, or run upon a sword point: they performe all, without any muttering or hesitation, beleeve all.

> [b] Ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia ahena
> Vivere, et esse homines, et sic isti omnia ficta
> Vera putant, credunt signis cor inesse ahenis.
>
> As children thinke their babies live to be,
> Doe they these brazen images they see.

And whilst the ruder sort are so carried headlong with blinde zeal, are so gulled and tortured by their superstitions, their own too credulous simplicity and ignorance, their Epicurean popes, and hypocritical cardinals laugh in their sleeves, and are merry in their chambers with their punkes; they do *indulgere genio*,

[a] As at our Ladie's church at Bergamo in Italy.

[b] Lucilius lib. 1. cap. 22. de falsa relig.

+ I wonder he skipp'd Isaia on the subject.

and make much of themselves. The middle sort, some for private gain, hope of ecclesiasticall preferment, (*quis expedivit psittaco suum χαίρε*) popularity, base flattery, must and will beleeve all their paradoxes and absurd tenents without exception; and as obstinately maintain, and put in practice, all their traditions and idolatrous ceremonies (for their religion is halfe a trade) to the death; they will defend all, the golden legend it self, with all the lyes and tales in it: as that of S^t^. George, S^t^. Christopher, S^t^. Winifred, S^t^. Denis, &c. It is a wonder to see how Nic. Harpsfield that pharisaical impostor amongst the rest, *Ecclesiast. hist. cap. 22. sæc. prim. sex.* puzzles himself to vindicate that ridiculous fable of St Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins; as, when they lived, how they came to Cullen, by whom martyred, &c. though he can say nothing for it, yet he must and will approve it: *nobilitavit* (inquit) *hoc* [a] *sæculum Ursula cum comitibus, cujus historia utinam tam mihi esset expedita et certa, quam in animo meo certum ac expeditum est, eam esse cum sodalibus beatam in cælis virginem.* They must and will (I say) either out of blinde zeal beleeve, vary their compass with the rest, as the latitude of religion varies; apply themselves to the times and seasons, and for feare and flattery are content to subscribe and doe all that in them lies to maintain and defend their present government, and slavish religious schoolmen, canonists, jesuites, friers, priests, orators, sophisters, who either for that they had nothing else to doe, luxuriant wits knew not otherwise how to busie themselves in those idle times, (for the church then had few or no open adversaries) or better to defend their lyes, fictions, miracles, transubstantions, traditions, popes, pardons, purgatories, masses, impossibilities, &c. with glorious shews, faire pretences, big words, and plausible wits have coyned a thousand idle questions, nice distinctions, subtleties, obs and sols, such tropological, allegorical expositions, to salve all appearances, objections, such quirks and quiddities, *Quodlibetaries*, as Bale saith of Ferribrigge and Strode, instances, ampliations, decrees, glosses, canons; that in stead of sound commentaries, good preachers, are come in a company of mad sophisters, *primo secundo secundarii*, sectaries, canonists, *Sorbonists, Minorites*, with a rabble of idle controversies and questions, [b] *an Papa sit Deus, an quasi Deus? An participet utramque Christi naturam?* Whether it be as possible for God to be a humble bee, or a gourd as a man? Whether he can produce respect without

[a] An. 441. [b] Hospinian. Osiander. An hæc propositio Deus sit cucurbita vel scarabeus, sit æque possibilis ac Deus et homo? An possit respectum producere sine fundamento et termino? An levius sit hominem jugulare quam die dominico calceum consuere?

a foundation or terme, make a whore a virgin? Fetch Trajan's soule from hell, and how? with a rabble of questions about hell fire: whether it be a greater sin to kill a man, or to clout shooes upon a Sunday? Whether God can make another God like unto himself? Such, saith Kemnisius, are most of your schoolmen, (meer alchymists) 200 commentators on Peter Lambard; (*Pitsius catal. scriptorum Anglic.* reckons up 180 English commentators alone, on the matter of the sentences) Scotists, Thomists, Reals, Nominals, &c. and so perhaps that of Saint [a] Austin may be verefied. *Indocti rapiunt cœlum, docti interim descendunt ad infernum.* Thus they continued in such errour, blindness, decrees, sophismes, superstitions; idle ceremonies and traditions were the sum of their new coyned holiness and religion, and by these knaveries and stratagems they were able to involve multitudes, to deceive the most sanctified soules, and if it were possible, the very elect. In the mean time the true church, as wine and water mixt, lay hid and obscure to speak of, till Luther's time, who began upon a sudden to defecate, and as another sun, to drive away those foggy mists of superstition, to restore it to that purity of the primitive church. And after him, many good and godly men, divine spirits, have done their endeavors, and still doe.

> [b] And what their ignorance esteem'd so holy,
> Our wiser ages do accompt as folly.

But see the divel, that will never suffer the church to be quiet or at rest: no garden so well tilled but some noxious weedes grow up in it; no wheat but it hath some tares; we have a mad giddy company of precisians, schismaticks, and some heretiques even in our own bosomes in another extream.

> Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt;

That out of too much zeale in opposition to Antichrist, humane traditions, those Romish rites and superstitions will quite demolish all, they will admit of no ceremonies at all, no fasting dayes, no cross in baptism, kneeling at communion, no church musick, &c. no bishops courts, no church government, raile at all our church discipline, will not hold their tongues, and all for the peace of thee, O Sion. No, not so much as degrees, some of them will tolerate, or universities: all humane learning, ('tis *cloaca diaboli*) hoods, habits, cap and surpless, such as are things indifferent in themselves, and wholly for ornament, decency, or distinction sake, they abhor, hate, and snuff at, as a stone horse when he meets a bear: they make matters of conscience of them, and will rather for-

[a] De doct. Christian. [b] Daniel.

sake their livings then subscribe to them: They will admit of no holydayes, or honest recreations, as of hawking, hunting, &c. no churches, no bels, some of them, because papists use them: no discipline, no ceremonies but what they invent themselves: no interpretations of scriptures, no comments of fathers, no councels, but such as their own phantastical spirits dictate, or *Recta ratio*, as Socinians, by which spirit misled, many times they broach as prodigious paradoxes as papists themselves. Some of them turn prophets, have secret revelations, will be of privy councel with God himself, and know all his secrets; [a] *Per capillos Spiritum sanctum tenent, et omnia sciunt cum sint asini omnium obstinatissimi.* A company of giddy heads will take upon them to define how many shall be saved, and who damned in a parish; where they shall sit in heaven, interpret apocalypses, (*Commentatores præcipites et vertiginosos*, one cals them, as well he might) and those hidden mysteries to private persons, times, places, as their own spirit informs them, private revelations shall suggest; and precisely set down when the world shall come to an end, what yeer, what moneth, what day. Some of them again have such strong faith, so presumptuous, they will goe into infected houses, expel divels, and fast forty dayes, as Christ himself did. Some call God and his attributes into question, as Vorstius and Socinus; some princes, civil magistrates, and their authorities, as Anabaptists; will doe all their own private spirit dictates, and nothing else. Brownists, Barrowists, Familists, and those Amsterdamian sectes and sectaries, are led all by so many private spirits. It is a wonder to reveal what passages Sleidan relates in his Commentaries, of Cretinke, Knipperdoling, and their associates, those mad men of Munster in Germany; what strange enthusiasmes, sottish revelations they had, how absurdly they carried themselves, deluded others; and as prophane Machiavel in his political disputations holds of christian religion, in general it doth enervate, debilitate, take away mens spirits and courage from them, *simpliciores reddit homines*, breeds nothing so couragious souldiers as that Roman; we may say of these peculiar sects, their religion takes away not spirits onely, but wit and judgement, and deprives them of their understanding. For some of them are so far gone with their private enthusiasmes and revelations, that they are quite mad, out of their wits. What greater madness can there be, then for a man to take upon him to be God, as some doe? to be the Holy Ghost, Elias, and what not? In [b] Po-

[a] Agrip. ep. 26.

[b] Alex. Gaguin. 22. Discipulis ascitis mirum in modum populum decepit.

land 1518. in the reign of king Sigismund, one said he was Christ, and got him 12 apostles, come to judge the world, and strangely deluded the commons. [a] One David George, an illiterate painter, not many yeers since, did as much in Holland, took upon him to be the Messias, and had many followers. Benedictus Victorinus Faventinus *consil.* 15. writes as much of one Honorius, that thought he was not onely inspired as a prophet, but that he was a god himself, and had [b] familiar conference with God and his angels. Lavat. *de spect. c.* 2. *part.* 1. hath a story of one John Sartorius, that thought he was the prophet Elias, and *cap.* 7. of divers others that had conference with angels, were saints, prophets; Wierus *lib.* 3. de Lamiis *c.* 7. makes mention of a prophet of Groning that said he was God the Father; of an Italian and Spanish prophet that held as much. We need not rove so far abroad; we have familiar examples at home. Hacket that said he was Christ; Coppinger and Arthington his disciples: [c] Burchet and Hovatus burned at Norwich. We are never likely seven yeers together, without some such new prophets that have several inspirations, some to convert the Jewes; some fast forty dayes; go with Daniel to the lions den; some foretel strange things, some for one thing, some for another. Great precisians of mean conditions and very illiterate, most part by a preposterous zeale, fasting, meditation, melancholy, are brought into those gross errours and inconveniences. Of those men I may conclude generally, that howsoever they may seem to be discreet, and men of understanding in other matters, discourse well, *læsam habent imaginationem*, they are like comets, round in all places, but only where they blaze, *cætera sani*, they have impregnable wits many of them, and discreet otherwise, but in this their madness and folly breaks out beyond measure, *in infinitum erumpit stultitia.* They are certainly far gone with melancholy, if not quite mad; and have more need of physick then many a man that keeps his bed; more need of hellebor then those that are in bedlam.

[a] Guicciard. descrip. Belg. com. Plures habuit asseclas ab iisdem honoratus.
[b] Hen. Nicholas at Leiden 1580, such a one. [c] See Camden's Annals f. 242, & 285.

SUBSECT. IV.

Prognosticks of Religious Melancholy.

YOU may guess at the prognosticks, by the symptomes. What can these signes foretel otherwise then folly, dotage, madness, gross ignorance, despair, obstinacy, a reprobate sense, [a] a bad end? What else can superstition, heresie produce, but wars, tumults, uproares, torture of soules, and despaire, a desolate land, as Jeremy teacheth *cap.* 7. 34. when they commit idolatry, and walk after their own wayes? how should it be otherwise with them? What can they expect but *blasting, famine, dearth,* and all the plagues of Ægypt, as Amos denounceth, *cap.* 4. *vers.* 9. 10. to be led into captivity? If our hopes be frustrate, *we sowe much and bring in little, eat and have not enough, drink and are not filled, clothe and be not warme, &c. Haggai* 1. 6. *we look for much and it comes to little, whence is it? His house was waste, they came to their own houses, vers.* 10. *therefore the heaven staid his dew, the earth his fruit.* Because we are superstitious, irreligious, we do not serve God as we ought, all these plagues and miseries come upon us; what can we look for else but mutual wars, slaughters, fearfull ends in this life, and in the life to come eternal damnation? What is it that hath caused so many feral battles to be fought, so much christian blood shed, but superstition? That Spanish inquisition, racks, wheels, tortures, torments, whence do they proceed? from superstition. Bodine the Frenchman in his [b] *method. hist.* accounts Englishmen Barbarians, for their civil wars: but let him but reade those Pharsalian fields [c] fought of late in France for religion, their massacres, wherein, by their own relations in 24 yeers, I know not how many millions have been consumed, whole families and cities, and he shall find ours to have been but velitations to theirs. But it hath ever been the custome of heretiques and idolaters, when they are plagued for their sins, and Gods just judgements come upon them, not to acknowledge any fault in themselves, but still impute it unto others. In Cyprian's time, it was much controverted betwixt him and Demetrius, an idolater, who should be the cause of those present calamities. Demetrius laid all the fault on christians, (and so they did ever in the

[a] Arius his bowels burst, Montanus hanged himself, &c. Eudo de stellis, his disciples, ardere potius quam ad vitam corrigi maluerunt; tanta vis infixi semel erroris, they died blaspheming. Nubrigensis c. 9. lib. 1. Jer. 7. 23. Amos. 5. 5. [b] 5. Cap.
[c] Poplinerius Lerius præf. hist. Rich. Dinoth.

primitive church, as appears by the first book of [a] Arnobius) [b] *that there were not such ordinary showres in winter, the ripening heat in summer, so seasonable springs, fruitfull autumnes, no marble mines in the mountaines, less gold and silver then of old; that husbandmen, seamen, souldiers, all were scanted; justice, friendship, skill in arts, all was decayed,* and that through christians default, and all their other miseries from them, *quod Dii nostri a vobis non colantur,* because they did not worship their gods. But Cyprian retorts all upon him again, as appears by his tract against him. 'Tis true the world is miserably tormented and shaken with wars, dearth, famine, fire, inundations, plagues, and many feral diseases rage amongst us, *sed non ut tu quereris ista accidunt quod Dii vestri a nobis non colantur, sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus, a quibus nec quæritur, nec timetur.* Not as thou complainest, that we do not worship your Gods, but because you are idolaters, and do not serve the true God, neither seeke him, nor feare him as you ought. Our papists object as much to us, and account us heretiques, we them; the Turkes esteem of both as infidels, and we them as a company of Pagans, Jewes against all; When indeed there is a generall fault in us all, and something in the very best, which may justly deserve Gods wrath, and pull these miseries upon our heads. I will say nothing here of those vaine cares, torments, needless works, pennance, pilgrimages, pseudomartyrdome, &c. We heap upon our selves unnecessary troubles, observations; we punish our bodies, as in Turkie (saith [c] Busbequius *leg. Turcic. ep.* 3.) *one did, that was much affected with musicke, and to heare boyes sing, but very superstitious; an old sybil coming to his house or an holy woman* (as that place yeelds many) *took him downe for it, and told him, that in that other world he should suffer for it; thereupon he flung his riche and costly instruments which he had bedeckt with jewels, all at once into the fire. He was served in silver plate, and had goodly houshold-stuffe: a little after, another religious man reprehended him in like sort, and from thenceforth he was served in earthen vessels. Last of all, a decree came forth because Turkes might not drink wine themselves, that neither Jewe nor*

[a] Advers. gentes lib. 1. Postquam in mundo Christiana gens cœpit, terrarum orbem periisse, et multis malis affectum esse genus humanum videmus. [b] Quod nec hyeme, nec æstate tanta imbrium copia, nec frugibus torrendis solita flagrantia, nec vernali temperie sata tam læta sint, nec arboreis fœtibus autumni fœcundi, minus de montibus marmor eruatur, minus aurum, &c. [c] Solitus erat oblectare se fidibus, et voce musicâ canentium; sed hoc omne sublatum Sybillæ cujusdam interventu, &c. Inde quicquid erat instrumentorum symphoniacorum, aura gemmisque egregio opere distinctorum comminuit, et in ignem injecit, &c.

christian then living in Constantinople, might drinke any wine at all. In like sort, amongst papists, fasting at first was generally proposed as a good thing; after, from such meats at set times, and then last of all so rigorously proposed, to binde the consciences upon pain of damnation. *First, Fryday,* saith Erasmus, *then Saturday, et nunc periclitatur dies Mercurii,* and Wednesday now is in danger of a fast. [a] *And for such like toyes, some so miserably afflict themselves, to despaire, and death it self, rather then offend; and think themselves good christians in it, when as indeed they are superstitious Jewes.* So saith Leonardus Fuchsius, a great physician in his time. [b] *We are so tortured in Germany with these popish edicts, our bodies so taken downe, our goods so diminished, that if God had not sent Luther, a worthy man, in time to redresse these mischiefes, we should have eaten hay with our horses before this.* [c] As in fasting, so in all other superstitious edicts, we crucifie one another without a cause, barring our selves of many good and lawful things, honest disports, pleasures and recreations: For wherefore did God create them but for our use? Feasts, mirth, musicke, hawking, hunting, singing, dancing, &c. *non tam necessitatibus nostris Deus inservit, sed in delitias amamur,* as Seneca notes, God would have it so. And as Plato 2. *de legibus* gives out, *Deos laboriosam hominum vitam miseratos,* the gods in commiseration of humane estate sent Apollo, Bacchus, and the Muses, *qui cum voluptate tripudia et saltationes nobis ducant,* to be merry with mortals, to sing and dance with us. So that he that will not rejoyce and enjoye himself, making good use of such things as are lawfully permitted, *non est temperatus,* as he will, *sed superstitiosus. There is nothing better for a man, then that he should eat and drinke, and that he should make his soule enjoye good in his labour, Eccles. 2. 24.* And as [d] one said of hawking and hunting, *tot solatia in hæc ægri orbis calamitate mortalibus tædiis Deus objecit,* I say of all honest recreations; God hath therefore indulged them to refresh, ease, solace and comfort us. But we are some of us too stern, too rigid, too precise, too grossely superstitious; and whilst we make a conscience of every toye, with touch not, taste not, &c. as those Pythagorians of old, and some Indians now (the Bannians about Guzerat) that will eat no flesh, or suffer any living crea-

[a] Ob id genus observatiunculas videmus homines misere affligi, et denique mori, et sibi ipsis Christianos videri quum revera sint Judæi. [b] Ita in corpora nostra fortunasque decretis suis sæviit, ut parum abfuerit, niai Deus Lutherum virum perpetuâ memoriâ dignissimum excitasset, quin nobis fæno mox communi cum jumentis cibo utendum fuisset. [c] The Gentiles in India will eat no sensible creatures, or ought that hath bloud in it. [d] Vandormillius de Aucupio. cap. 27.

ture to be killed; we tyrannize over our brothers soule, lose the right use of many good gifts; honest [a] sports, games and pleasant recreations, [b] punish ourselves without a cause, lose our liberties, and sometimes our lives. Anno 1270, at [c] Magdeburge in Germany, a Jewe fell into a privy upon a Saturday, and without helpe could not possibly get out; he called to his fellowes for succour, but they denied it, because it was their sabbath, *non licebat opus manuum exercere;* the bishop hearing of it, the next day forbade him to be pulled out, because it was our Sunday: In the mean time the wretch died before Munday. We have myriades of examples in this kinde amongst those rigid sabbatarians; and therefore, not without good cause, [d] *Intolerabilem perturbationem* Seneca calls it, as well he might, an intolerable perturbation, that causeth such dire events, folly, madness, sickness, despaire, death of body and soule, and hell it self.

SUBSECT. V.

Cure of Religious Melancholy.

To purge the world of idolatry and superstition, will require some monster-taming Hercules, a divine Æsculapius, or CHRIST himselfe to come in his owne person, to raign a thousand yeers on earth before the end, as the millenaries will have him. They are generally so refractory, self-conceited, obstinate, so firmely addicted to that religion in which they have been bred and brought up, that no perswasion, no terrrour, no persecution can divert them. The consideration of which, hath induced many commonwealths to suffer them to enjoye their consciences as they will themselves; a toleration of Jewes is in most provinces of Europe: In Asia they have their synagogues: Spaniards permit Moors to live amongst them: the Mogullians, Gentiles: the Turkes all religions. In Europe, Poland and Amsterdam are the common sanctuaries. Some are of opinion, that no man ought to

[a] Some explode all humane authors, arts, and sciences, poets, histories, &c. so precise, their zeale overruns their wits; and so stupid, they oppose all humane learning, because they are ignorant themselves and illiterate; nothing must be read but scriptures. But these men deserve to be pittied, rather than confuted. Others are so strict, they will admit of no honest game and pleasure; no dancing, singing, other playes, recreations and games, hawking, hunting, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, &c. because to see one beast kill another is the fruit of our rebellion against God, &c. [b] Nuda ac tremebunda cruentis Erepet genibus si candida jusserit Io. Juvenalis. Sat. 6. [c] Munster Cosmog. lib. 3. cap. 444. Incidit in cloacam, unde se non possit eximere, implorat opem sociorum, sed illi negant, &c. [d] De benefic. 7. 2.

be compelled for conscience sake, but let him be of what religion he will, he may be saved, as Cornelius was formerly accepted, Jewe, Turke, Anabaptists, &c. If he be an honest man, live soberly and civilly in his profession, (Volkelius, Crellius, and the rest of the Socinians, that now nestle themselves about Crakowe and Rakowe in Poland, have renewed this opinion) and serve his own god, with that fear and reverence as he ought. *Sua cuique civitati* (*Læli*) *religio sit, nostra nobis;* Tully thought fit every city should be free in this behalfe, adore their own *Custodes et Topicos Deos*, tutelar and local gods, as Symmachus cals them. Isocrates adviseth Demonicus, *when he came to a strange citie, to* [a] *worship, by all meanes, the gods of the place, et unumquemque Topicum Deum sic coli oportere, quomodo ipse præceperit:* which Cecilius in [b] Minutius labours, and would have every nation, *sacrorum ritus gentiles habere, et Deos colere municipes*, keep their owne ceremonies, worship their peculiar gods; which Pomponius Mela reports of the Africans, *Deos suos patrio more venerantur;* they worship their owne gods according to their owne ordination. For why should any one nation, as he there pleads, challenge that universalitie of God, *Deum suum quem nec ostendunt, nec vident, discurrentem scilicet et ubique præsentem, in omnium mores, actus, et occultas cogitationes inquirentem*, &c. as Christians do? Let every province enjoye their libertie in this behalfe, worship one god, or all as they will, and are informed. The Romans built altars *Diis Asiæ, Europæ, Lybiæ, Diis gnotis et peregrinis:* others otherwise, &c. Plinius Secundus, as appears by his epistle to Trajan, would not have the Christians so persecuted, and in some time of the raign of Maximinus, as we find it registred in Eusebius *lib.* 9. *cap.* 9. there was a decree made to this purpose, *Nullus cogatur invitus ad hunc vel illum Deorum cultum;* and by Constantine in the 19 year of his raign, as [c] Baronius informeth us; *Nemo alteri exhibeat molestiam, quod cujusque animus vult, hoc quisque transigat*, new gods, new lawgivers, new priests will have new ceremonies, customes and religions, to which every wise man, as a good formalist, should accommodate himself.

> [d] Saturnus periit, perierunt et sua jura;
> Sub Jove nunc mundus, jussa sequare Jovis.

The said Constantine the emperour, as Eusebius writes, flung down and demolished all the heathen gods silver and gold statues, altars, images and temples, and turned them all to Christian churches, *infestus gentilium monumentis ludibrio exposuit;*

[a] Numen venerare præsertim quod civitas colit. [b] Octavio dial. [c] Annal. tom. 3. ad annum 324. 1. [d] Ovid.

The Turke now converts them again to Mahometan Meskites. The like edict came forth in the raign of Arcadius and Honorius. [a] Symmachus the orator in his dayes, to procure a generall toleration used this argument, [b] *Because God is immense and infinite, and his nature cannot perfectly be knowne, it is convenient he should be as diversly worshipped, as every man shall conceive or understand.* It was impossible, he thought, for one religion to be universall: you see that one small province can hardly be ruled by one law civil or spirituall; and *how shall so many distinct and vast empires of the world be united into one? It never was, never will be.* Besides, if there be infinite planetary and firmamentall worlds, as [c] some will, there be infinite genii or commanding spirits belonging to each of them: and so *per consequens*, (for they will be all adored) infinite religions. And therefore, let every territory keep their proper rites and ceremonies, as their *Dii tutelares* will, so Tyrius cals them, *and according to the quarter they hold*, their own institutions, revelations, orders, oracles, which they dictate to from time to time, or teach their priests or ministers. This tenent was stiffely maintained in Turkie not long since, as you may reade in the third Epistle of Busbequius, [d] *that all those should participate of eternall happiness, that lived an holy and innocent life, what religion soever they professed:* Rustan Bassa was a great patron of it; though Mahomet himself was sent *virtute gladii*, to enforce all, as he writes in his Alcoran, to follow him. Some again will approve of this for Jewes, Gentiles, Infidels, that are out of the fold, they can be content to give them all respect and favour, but by no meanes to such as are within the precincts of our own church, and called Christians; to no heretiques, schismatickes, or the like; let the Spanish inquisition, that fourth Furie, speak for some of them, the civill wars and massacres in France, our Marian times. [e] Magallianus the Jesuite, will not admit of conference with an heretique, but severity and rigour to be used, *non illis verba reddere, sed furcas figere oportet*; and Theodosius is commended in Nicephorus *lib.* 12. *cap.* 15. [f] *That he put all heretiques to silence.* Bernard. *Epist.* 190. will have club law, fire and sword for heretiques, [g] *compell them, stop their mouthes not with disputations, or refute them with reasons, but with fists;* and this is their ordi-

[a] In epist. Sym. [b] Quia Deus immensum quiddam est, et infinitum, cujus natura perfecte cognosci non potest, æquum ergo est, ut diversâ ratione colatur prout quisque aliquid de Deo percipit aut intelligit. [c] Campanella, Calcagninus, and others. [d] Æternæ beatitudinis consortes foret qui sancte innocenterque hanc vitam traduxerint, quamcunque illi religionem sequuti sunt. [e] Comment. in C. Tim. 6. ver. 20 et 21. Severitate cum hæreticis agendum, et non aliter. [f] Quod silentium hæreticis indixerit. [g] Igne et fuste potius agendum cum hæreticis quam cum disputationibusque os alia loquens, &c.

nary practise. Another companie are as milde on the other side: to avoid all heart-burning, and contentious wars and uprores, they would have a generall toleration in every kingdome; no mulct at all, no man for religion or conscience be put to death; which [a]Thuanus the French historian much favours: our late Socinians defend; Vaticanus against Calvin in a large treatise in behalfe of Servetus, vindicates; Castalio, &c. Martin Bellius and his companions maintained this opinion not long since in France, whose errour is confuted by Beza in a just volume. The *medium* is best, and that which Paul prescribes, Gal. 6. 1. *If any man shall fall by occasion, to restore such a one with the spirit of meekness, by all faire meanes, gentle admonitions:* but if that will not take place, *Post unam et alteram admonitionem hæreticum devita,* he must be excommunicate, as Paul did by Hymenæus; delivered over to Satan. *Immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum est.* As Hippocrates said in physicke, I may well say in divinitie. *Quæ ferro non curantur, ignis curat.* For the vulgar, restrain them by lawes, mulcts, burn their bookes, forbid their conventicles: for when the cause is taken away, the effect will soon cease. Now for prophets, dreamers, and such rude silly fellowes, that through fasting, too much meditation; preciseness, or by melancholy are distempered: the best meanes to reduce them *ad sanam mentem,* is to alter their course of life, and with conference, threats, promises, perswasions, to intermixe physicke. Hercules de Saxonia had such a prophet committed to his charge in Venice, that thought he was Elias, and would fast as he did: he dressed a fellow in angels attire, that said he came from heaven to bring him divine food, and by that meanes staid his fast, administred his physicke; so by the mediation of this forged angel he was cured. [b]Rhasis an Arabian, *cont. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. speakes of a fellow that in like case complained to him, and desired his helpe: *I asked him* (saith he) *what the matter was; he replyed, I am continually meditating of heaven and hell, and me thinkes I see and talk with fierie spirits, smell brimstone, &c. and am so carried away with these conceits, that I can neither eat, nor sleep, nor go about my business: I cured him* (saith Rhasis) *partly by perswasion, partly by physicke, and so I have done by many others.* We have frequently such prophets and dreamers amongst us, whom we persecute with fire and faggot: I thinke the most compendious cure for some of them at least, had been in Bedlam. *Sed de his satis.*

[a] Præfat. hist. [b] Quidam conquestus est mihi de hoc morbo, et deprecatus est ut ego illum curarem; ego quævisi ab eo quid sentiret; respondit, semper imaginor et cogito de Deo et angelis, &c. et ita demersus sum hâc imaginatione, ut nec edam nec dormiam, nec negotiis, &c. Ego curavi medicina et persuasione; et sic plures alios.

MEMB. II. SUBSECT. I.

Religious Melancholy in defect; Parties affected, are Epicures, Atheists, Hypocrites, worldly secure, Carnalists, all impious Persons, impenitent Sinners, &c.

IN that other extream, or defect of this love of God, knowledge, faith, feare, hope, &c. are such as erre both in doctrine and manners, Sadduces, Herodians, Libertines, polititians; all manner of atheists, epicures, infidels, that are secure, in a reprobate sense, fear not God at all, and such are too distrustfull and timorous, as desperate persons be. That grand sin of atheisme or impietie, [a] Melancthon cals it *monstrosam melancholiam*, monstrous melancholy; or *venenatam melancholiam*, poysoned melancholy. A company of Cyclopes or giants, that war with the gods, as the poets fained; Antipodes to Christians, that scoffe at all religion, at God himself, deny him and all his attributes, his wisdome, power, providence, his mercy and judgement.

> [b] Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,
> Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
> Atque unâ transire vadum tot milliâ cymbâ,
> Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.

That there is either heaven or hell, resurrection of the dead, pain, happiness, or world to come, *credat Judæus Appella*: for their parts, they esteem them as so many poets tales, bugbears. Lucian's Alexander, Moses, Mahomet and Christ are all as one in their creed. When those bloudy wars in France for matters of religion, (saith [c] Richard Dinoth) were so violently pursued betwixt Hugenotes and Papists, there was a company of good fellowes laughed them all to scorne, for being such superstitious fools, to loose their lives and fortunes, accounting faith, religion, immortality of the soule, meer fopperies and illusions. Such loose [d] atheisticall spirits are too predominant in all kingdomes. Let them contend, pray, tremble, trouble themselves that will, for their parts, they fear neither God nor divel; but with that Cyclops in Euripides,

[a] De animâ, c. de humoribus. [b] Juvenal. [c] Li. 5. Gal. hist. Quamplurimi reperti sunt qui tot pericula subeuntes irridebant; et quæ de fide, religione &c. dicebant, ludibrio habebant, nihil eorum admittentes de futurâ vitâ. [d] 50,000 Atheists at this day in Paris, Marcennus thinkes.

Haud ulla numina expavescunt cælitum,
Sed victimas uni Deorum maximo,
Ventri offerunt, Deos ignorant cæteros.

They fear no god but one,
They sacrifice to none,
But belly, and him adore,
For gods they know no more.

Their god is their belly, as Paul saith, *Sancta mater saturitas*;

——— quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.

The idol which they worship and adore, is their mistress, with him in Plautus; *mallem hæc mulier me amet quam Dii*, they had rather have her favour then the gods. Satan is their guide, the flesh is their instructor, hypocrisie their counsellour, vanity their fellow-souldier, their will their law, ambition their captain, custome their rule, temerity, boldness, impudence their art, toyes their trading, damnation their end. All their endeavours are to satisfie their lust and appetite, how to please their genius, and to be merry for the present;

Ede, lude, bibe, post mortem nulla voluptas.

The same condition is of men and of beasts; as the one dieth, so dieth the other, Eccles. 3. 19. the world goes round;

——— [a] truditur dies die,
Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ:

[b] they did eat and drinke of old; marry, bury, bought, sold, planted, built, and will doe still. [c] *Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no recovery, neither was any man knowne that hath returned from the grave: for we are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been; for the breath is as smoke in our nostrils, &c. and the spirit vanisheth as the soft ayr.* [d] *Come let us enjoye the pleasures that are present, let us chearfully use the creatures as in youth, let us fill our selves with costly wine and ointments, let not the flowre of our life passe by us, let us crown our selves with rose buds before they are withered, &c.* [e] *Vivamus mea Lesbia et amemus, &c.* [f] *Come let us take our fill of love, and pleasure in dalliance, for this is our portion, this is our lot.*

[a] Hor. l. 2. od. 18. [b] Luke 17. [c] Wisd. 2. 2. [d] Vers. 6, 7, 8.
[e] Catullus. [f] Prov. 7. 18.

Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis.

For the rest of heaven and hell, let children and superstitious fooles beleeve it: for their parts, they are so far from trembling at the dreadful day of judgement, that they wish with Nero, *Me vivo fiat*, let it come in their times: so secure, so desperate, so immoderate in lust and pleasure, so prone to revenge, that as Paterculus said of some caitiffes in his time, in Rome, *Quod nequiter ausi, fortiter executi:* it shall not be so wickedly attempted, but as desperately performed, what ere they take in hand. Were it not for Gods restraining grace, feare and shame, temporall punishment, and their own infamy, they would Lycaon-like exenterate, as so many canibals eat up, or Cadmus souldiers, consume one another. These are most impious, and commonly professed atheists, that never use the name of God but to swear by it: that expresse naught else but epicurisme in their carriage, or hypocrisie; with Pentheus, they neglect and contemn these rites and religious ceremonies of the gods; they will be gods themselves, or at least *socii Deorum.*

Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.

Aproyis an Ægyptian tyrant, grew, saith [a] Herodotus, to that height of pride, insolencie and impietie, to that contempt of God and men, that he helde his kingdome so sure, *ut a nemine Deorum aut hominum sibi eripi posset*, neither God nor men could take it from him. [b] A certain blasphemous king of Spaine (as [c] Lansius reports) made an edict, that no subject of his for ten yeers space, should beleeve in, call on, or worship any god. And as [d] Jovius relates of Mahomet the second, *that sacked Constantinople, he so behaved himselfe, that he beleeved neither Christ nor Mahomet; and thence it came to passe, that he kept his word and promise no farther then for his advantage; neither did he care to commit any offence to satisfie his lust.* I could say the like of many princes, many private men (our stories are full of them) in times past, this present age, that love, feare, obey, and perform all civil duties, as they shall finde them expedient or behoveful to their owne ends. *Securi adversus Deos, securi adversus homines, votis non est opus*, which [e] Tacitus reports of some Germans; they need not pray, feare, hope, for they are secure to their thinking, both from God and men. Bulco Opiliensis, sometimes duke of

[a] Lib. 1. [b] M. Montan. lib. 1. cap. 4. [c] Orat. Cont. Hispan. Ne proximo decennio Deum adorarent, &c. [d] Talem se exhibuit, ut nec in Christum, nec Mahometem crederet, unde effectum ut promissa nisi quatenus in suum commodum cederent minime servaret, nec ullo scelere peccatum statueret, ut suis desideriis, satisfaceret. [e] Lib. de mor. Germ.

[a] Silesia, was such a one to an haire, he lived (saith [b] Æneas Silvius) at [c] Uratislavia, *and was so mad to satisfie his lust, that he beleeved neither heaven nor hell, or that the soule was immortall; but he married wives, and turned them up as he thought fit; did murder and mischiefe, and what he list himself.* This duke hath too many followers in our dayes: say what you can, dehort, exhort, perswade to the contrary, they are no more moved,

——— quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes,

then so many stockes, and stones; tell them of heaven and hell, 'tis to no purpose; *laterem lavas*, they answer as Ataliba, that Indian prince did frier Vincent, [d] *when he brought him a book, and told him all the mysteries of salvation, heaven and hell were contained in it: he looked upon it, and said, he sawe no such matter; asking withall how he knew it:* they will but scoffe at it, or wholly reject it. Petronius, in Tacitus, when he was now by Nero's command bleeding to death, *audiebat amicos nihil referentes de immortalitate animæ, aut sapientum placitis, sed levia carmina et faciles versus*, in stead of good counsell and divine meditations, he made his friends sing him bawdy verses and scurrile songs. Let them take heaven, paradise, and that future happiness that will, *bonum est esse hic*, it is good being here. There is no talking to such; no hope of their conversion; they are in a reprobate sense, meer carnalists, fleshly minded men, which howsoever they may be applauded in this life, by some few parasites, and held for worldly wise men, [e] *They seem to me* (saith Melancthon) *to be as mad as Hercules was, when he raved and killed his wife and children.* A milder sort of these atheisticall spirits there are, that profess religion, but *timide et hæsitanter*, tempted thereunto out of that horrible consideration of diversitie of religions, which are and have been in the world, (which argument Campanella, *Atheismi Triumphati cap.* 9. both urgeth and answers;) besides the covetousness, imposture and knavery of priests, *quæ faciunt* ([f] as Postellus observes) *ut rebus sacris minus faciant fidem*; and those religions, some of them, so phantasticall, exorbitant, so violently maintained with equal constancie and assurance; whence they infer, that if there be

[a] Or Breslaw. [b] Usque adeo insanus, ut nec inferos, nec superos esse dicat, animasque cum corporibus interire credat, &c. [c] Europæ deser. cap. 24. [d] Fratres a Bry. Amer. par. 6. Librum a Vincentio monacho datum abjecit, nihil se videre ibi hujusmodi dicens, roganstque unde hæc sciret, quum de cœlo et Tartaro contineri ibi diceret. [e] Non minus hi furent quam Hercules, qui conjugem et liberos interfecit; habet hæc ætas plura hujusmodi portentosa monstra. [f] De orbis con. lib. 1. cap. 7.

so many religious sectes, and denyed by the rest, why may they not be all false? or why should this or that be preferred before the rest? The scepticks urge this, and amongst others, it is the conclusion of Sextus Empericus *lib.* 8. *advers. Mathematicos:* after many philosophical arguments and reasons *pro* and *con* that there are gods, and again that there are no gods, he so concludes, *cum tot inter se pugnent, &c. Una tantum potest esse vera,* as Tully likewise disputes: Christians say, they alone worship the true God; pitty all other sectes, lament their case; and yet those old Greekes and Romans that worshipped the divel, as the Chinese do now, *aut Deos Topicos,* their own gods; as Julian the apostate, [a] Cecilius in Minutius, Celsus and Porphyrius the philosopher, object: and as Machiavel contends, were much more noble, generous, victorious, had a more flourishing common-wealth, better cities, better souldiers, better schollers, better wits. Their gods often overcame our gods; did as many miracles, &c. Saint Cyril, Arnobius, Minutius, with many other ancients; of late Lessius, Morneus, Grotius *de verit. Relig. Christianæ;* Savanarola *de verit. fidei Christianæ,* well defend; but Zanchius, [b] Campanella, Marinus Marcennus, Bozius, and Gentillettus answer all these atheisticall arguments at large. But this again troubles many as of old; wicked men generally thrive, professed atheists thrive,

> [c] Nullos esse Deos, inane cœlum,
> Affirmat Selius: probatque, quod se
> Factum, dum negat hæc, videt beatum.
>
> There are no gods, heavens are toyes,
> Selius in publique justifies;
> Because that whil'st he thus denyes
> Their deities, he better thrives.

This is a prime argument: and most part your most sincere, upright, honest, and [d] good men are depressed; *The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong:* (Eccles. 9. 11.) *nor yet bread to the wise, favour nor riches to men of understanding; but time and chance comes to all.* There was a great plague in Athens (as Thucydides *lib.* 2. relates) in which at last, every man with great licentiousness, did what he list,

[a] Nonne Romani sine Deo vestro regnant et fruuntur orbe toto, et vos et Deos vestros captivos tenent, &c. Minutius Octaviano. [b] Comment. in Genesin copiosus in hoc subjecto. [c] Ecce pars vestrum et major et melior alget, fame laborat, et Deus patitur, dissimulat, non vult, non potest opitulari suis, et vel invalidus vel iniquus est. Cecilius in Minut. Dum rapiunt mala fata bonos, ignoscite fasso; sollicitor nullos esse putare Deos. Ovid; Vidi ego Diis fretos, multos decipi. Plautus Casina act. 2. scen. 5. [d] Martial. l. 4. Epig. 21.

not caring at all for Gods or mens lawes. *Neither the feare of God nor lawes of men,* (saith he) *awed any man; because the plague swept all away alike, good and bad; they thence concluded it was alike to worship or not worship the Gods, since they perished all alike.* Some cavil and make doubts of Scripture it self; it cannot stand with Gods mercy, that so many should be damned; so many bad, so few good; such have and hold about religions; all stiffe on their side, factious alike, thrive alike, and yet bitterly persecuting and damning each other. *It cannot stand with Gods goodness, protection and providence* (as [a] Saint Chrysostome, in the dialect of such discontented persons) *to see and suffer one man to be lame, another mad, a third poor and miserable all the dayes of his life, a fourth grievously tormented with sickness and aches, to his last hour. Are these signes and workes of Gods providence, to let one man be deafe, another dumb? A poor honest fellow lives in disgrace, wo and want, wretched he is; when as a wicked caitiffe abounds in superfluitie of wealth, keeps whores, parasites, and what he will himself. Audis Jupiter hæc? Talia multa connectentes, longum reprehensionis sermonem erga Dei providentiam contexunt.* Thus they mutter and objecte, (see the reste of their arguments in Marcennus *in Genesin*, and in Campanella, amply confuted) with many such vaine cavils, well known, not worthy the recapitulation or answering, whatsoever they pretend, they are *interim* of little or no religion.

Cosin-germanes to these men, are many of our great philosophers and deists; who though they be more temperate in this life, give many good moral precepts, honest, upright, and sober in their conversation, yet in effect they are the same, (accompting no man a good scholler that is not an atheist) *nimis altum sapiunt*, too much learning makes them mad. Whiles they attribute all to naturall causes, [b] contingence of all things, as Melancthon cals them, *Pertinax hominum genus*, a peevish generation of men, that mis-led by philosophy, and the divels suggestion, their own innate blindness, denye God as much as the reste; hold all religion a fiction, opposite to reason and philosophy, though for feare of magistrates, saith [c] Vaninus, they durst not publikely profess it. Ask one of them of what religion he is, he scoffingly replies, a philosopher, a Galenist, an [d] Averroist, and with Rabelais a physician, a Peripatetick, an Epicure. In spiritual things, God must

[a] Ser. 30. in 5. cap. ad Ephes. Hic fractis est pedibus; alter furit; alius ad extremam senectam progressus, omnem vitam paupertate peragit; ille morbis gravissimis: sunt hæc providentiæ opera? hic surdus, ille mutus, &c. [b] Omnia contingenter fieri volunt. Melancthon in præceptum primum. [c] Dial. 1. lib. 4. de admir. nat. Arcanis. [d] Anima mea sit cum animis Philosophorum.

demonstrate all to sense, leave a pawne with them, or else seek some other creditor. They will acknowledge nature and fortune, yet not God: though in effect they grant both: for as Scaliger defines, Nature signifies Gods ordinary power; or as Calvin writes, Nature is Gods order, and so things extraordinary may be called unnaturall. Fortune his unrevealed will; and so we call things changeable that are beside reason and expectation. To this purpose [a] Minutius in Octavio, and [b] Seneca well discourseth with them, *lib. 4. de beneficiis cap. 5. 6. 7. They doe not understand what they say; what is nature but God? call him what thou wilt, Nature, Jupiter, he hath as many names as offices: it comes all to one pass; God is the fountain of all, the first giver and preserver, from whom all things depend,* [c] *a quo, et per quem omnia.*

Nam quodcunque vides Deus est, quocunque moveris;

God is all in all, God is everywhere, in every place. And yet this Seneca that could confute and blame them, is all out as much to be blamed and confuted himselfe, as mad himselfe; for he holds *fatum Stoicum*, that inevitable necessity in the other extream, as those Chaldean astrologers of old did, against whom the Prophet Jeremy so often thunders; and those heathen mathematicians, Nigidius Figulus, magicians, and Priscilianists, whom S[t]. Austin so eagerly confutes; those Arabian questionaries, *Novem Judices*, Albumazer, Dorotheus, &c. and our countryman Estuidus [d]; that take upon them to define out of those great conjunctions of stars, (with Ptolomæus) the periods of kingdomes, or religions, of all future accidents, wars, plagues, schismes, heresies, and what not? all from stars, and such things, saith Maginus, *Quæ sibi et intelligentiis suis reservavit Deus*, which God hath reserved to himself and his angels, they will take upon them to foretell; as if stars were immediate, inevitable causes of all future accidents. Cæsar Vaninus, in his book *de admirandis naturæ Arcanis, dial. 52. de oraculis*, is more free, copious and open in the explication of this astrologicall tenent of Ptolomy, then any of our modern writers, Cardan excepted; a true disciple of his master Pomponatius: according to the doctrine of Peripateticks, he refers all apparitions, prodigies, miracles, oracles, accidents, alterations of religions, kingdomes, &c. (for which he is soundly lashed by Marinus Marcennus, as well he deserves) to natural causes; (for spirits he will not acknowledge); to that light, motion, influences of heavens

[a] Deum unum multis designant nominibus, &c. [b] Non intelligis te quum hæc dicis, mutare te ipsum nomen Dei: quid enim est aliud natura quam Deus? &c. tot habet appellationes quot munera. [c] Austin. [d] Principio Ephemer.

and stars, and to the intelligences that move the orbes. *Intelligentia quæ movet orbem, mediante Cælo, &c.* Intelligences do all: and after a long discourse of miracles done of old, *si hæc dæmones possint, cur non et intelligentiæ cælorum motrices?* And as these great conjunctions, aspectes of planets begin or end, vary, are vertical and predominant, so have religions, rites, ceremonies, and kingdomes their beginning, progress, periods; *in Urbibus, Regibus, Religionibus, ac in particularibus hominibus hæc vera ac manifesta sunt, ut Aristoteles innuere videtur, et quotidiana docet experientia, ut historias perlegens videbit; quid olim in Gentili lege Jove sanctius et illustrius? Quid nunc vile magis et execrandum? Ita cælestia corpora pro mortalium beneficio religiones ædificant, et cum cessat influxus, cessat lex, &c.* And because, according to their tenents, the world is eternal, intelligences eternal, influences of stars eternal, kingdomes, religions, alterations shall be likewise eternal, and run round after many ages. *Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles; renascentur Religiones, et Ceremoniæ, res humanæ in idem recident, nihil nunc quod non olim fuit, et post sæculorum revolutiones alias est, erit, &c. idem specie,* saith Vaninus, *non individuo quod Plato significavit.* These (saith mine [a] author) these are the decrees of Peripateticks, which though I recite, *in obsequium Christianæ fidei, detestor,* as I am a Christian, I detest and hate. Thus Peripateticks and astrologians held in former times; and to this effect of old in Rome, saith Dionysius Halicarnassæus, *lib.* 7. when those meteors and prodigies appeared in the ayr, after the banishment of Coriolanus, [b] *Men were diversly affected; some said, they were Gods just judgements for the execution of that good man; some referred all to naturall causes; some to stars; some thought they came by chance; some by necessity* decreed *ab initio,* and could not be altered. The two last opinions of chance and necessity, were, it seems, of greater note then the rest.

> [c] Sunt qui in Fortunæ jam casibus omnia ponunt;
> Et mundum credunt nullo rectore moveri;
> Naturâ volvente vices, &c.

For the first of chance, as [d] Sallust likewise informeth us, those old Romans generally received. *They supposed fortune alone*

[a] Vaninus dial. 52. de oraculis. [b] Varie homines affecti; alii Dei judicium ad tam pii exilium; alii ad naturam referebant; nec ab indignatione Dei, sed humanis causis, &c. 12. Natural. quæst. 33. 39. [c] Juv. Sat. 13. [d] Epist. ad C. Cæsar. Romani olim putabant fortunam regna et imperia dare: Credebant antea mortales fortunam solam opes et honores largiri, idque duabus de causis; primum, quod indignus quisque dives honoratus, potens; alterum, vix quisquam perpetuo bonis iis frui visus. Postea prudentiores didicere fortunam suam quemque fingere.

gave kingdomes and empires, wealth, honours, offices, and that for two causes; first, because every wicked, base, unworthy wretch was preferred, riche, potent, &c. Secondly, because of their uncertainty, though never so good, scarse any one enjoyed them long: but after, they began upon better advice, to think otherwise; that every man made his own fortune. The last of necessity was Seneca's tenent, that God was *alligatus causis secundis;* so tyed to second causes, to that inexorable necessity, that he could alter nothing of that which was once decreed, *sic erat in fatis,* it cannot be altered; *semel jussit, semper paret Deus, nulla vis rumpit, nullæ preces, nec ipsum fulmen;* God hath once said it, and it must for ever stand good; no prayers, no threats, nor power, nor thunder it selfe can alter it. Zeno, Chrysippus, and those other Stoicks, as you may reade in Tully 2. *de divinatione,* Gellius, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 2. *&c.* maintained as much. In all ages, there have been such, that either denye God in all, or in part; some deride him; they could have made a better world, and rule it more orderly themselves; blaspheme him, derogate at their pleasure from him. 'Twas so in [a] Plato's time; *Some say there be no gods; others that they care not for men; a middle sort grant both. Si non sit Deus, unde bona? si sit Deus, unde mala?* So Cotta argues in Tully, why made he not all good; or at least tenders not the welfare of such as are good? As the woman told Alexander, if he be not at leasure to hear causes, and redress them, why doth he raign? [b] Sextus Empericus hath many such arguments. Thus perverse men cavil. So it will ever be, some of all sorts, good, bad, indifferent, true, false, zealous, ambodexters, neutralists, lukewarm, libertines, atheists, &c. They will see these religious sectaries agree amongst themselves, be reconciled all, before they will participate with, or beleeve any. They thinke in the mean time, (which [c] Celsus objects, and whom Origen confutes) *we Christians adore a person put to* [d] *death with no more reason then the barbarous Getes worshipped Zamolxis, the Cilicians Mopsus, the Thebans Amphiaraus, and the Lebadians Trophonius; one religion is as true as another; new fangled devices, all for humane respects;* great witted Aristotle's works are as much authentical to them as scriptures; subtle Seneca's epistles as canonical as Saint Paul's; Pindarus Odes as good as the prophet David's Psalms; Epictetus Enchiridion equivalent to wise Solomon's Proverbs. They doe openly and boldly

[a] 10 de legib. Alii negant esse Deos; alii Deos non curare res humanas; alii utraque concedunt. [b] Lib. 8. ad mathem. [c] Origines contra Celsum l. 3. Hos immerito nobiscum conferri fuse declarat. [d] Crucifixum Deum ignominiose Lucianus, (vita peregrini) Christum vocat.

speake this and more, some of them, in all places and companies. [a] *Claudius the emperour was angry with heaven, because it thundred, and challenged Jupiter into the field: with what madnesse,* saith Seneca? *he thought Jupiter could not hurt him, but he could hurt Jupiter.* Diagoras, Demonax, Epicurus, Pliny, Lucian, Lucretius,

———Contemptorque Deûm Mezentius,

professed atheists all in their times: though not simple atheists neither, as Cicogna proves, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. they scoffed onely at those Pagan gods, their plurality, base and fictitious offices. Gilbertus Cognatus labours much, and so doth Erasmus, to vindicate Lucian from scandall; and there be those that apologize for Epicurus; but all in vain: Lucian scoffes at all; Epicurus he denys all; and Lucretius his scholler defends him in it.

[b] Humana ante oculos fæde cum vita jaceret,
In terris oppressa gravi cum relligione,
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans, &c.

When humane kinde was drencht in superstition,
With ghastly lookes aloft, which frighted mortall men, &c.

He alone as another Hercules, did vindicate the world from that monster. Unkle [c] Pliny, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. *nat. hist. et lib.* 7. *cap.* 5. in expresse words, denies the immortality of the soule. [d] Seneca doth little less, *lib.* 7. *epist.* 55. *ad Lucilium; et lib. de consol. ad Martiam,* or rather more. Some Greek Commentators would put as much upon Job, that he should denye resurrection, &c. whom Pineda copiously confutes in *cap.* 7. Job. *vers.* 9. Aristotle is hardly censured of some, both divines and philosophers. S[t]. Justine *in Perænetica ad gentes,* Greg. Nazianzen, *in disput. adversus* Eun. Theodoret. *cap.* 5. *de curat. græc. affec.* Origen. *lib. de principiis.* Pomponatius justifies him in his Tract (so stiled at least) *De immortalitate Animæ,* Scaliger, (who would forswear himself at any time, saith Patritius, in defence of his great master Aristotle) and Dandinus, *lib.* 3. *de animâ,* acknowledge as much. Averröes oppugnes all spirits and supreame powers; of late Brunus (*infœlix Brunus,* [e] Kepler cals him) Machiavel, Cæsar Vaninus lately burned at Tolouse in France, and Pet. Aretine, have publikely maintained such atheistical paradoxes, [f] with that Italian Bocace, with his fable of three rings, &c.

[a] De ira 16. 34. Iratus cœlo quod obstreperet, ad pugnam vocans Jovem; quantâ dementiâ? putavit sibi nocere non posse, et se nocere tamen Jovi posse. [b] Lib. 1. 1. [c] Idem status post mortem, ac fuit antequam nasceremur, et Seneca. Idem erit post me quod ante me fuit. [d] Lucernæ eadem conditio quum extinguitur, ac fuit antequam accenderetur; ita et hominis. [e] Dissert. cum nunc syder. [f] Campanella cap. 18. Atheism. triumphat.

ex quo infert haud posse internosci, quæ sit verior religio, Judaica, Mahometana, an Christiana, quoniam eadem signa, &c. [a]Marinus Marcennus suspectes Cardan for his subtleties; Campanella, and Charron's book of Wisdome, with some other tracts to savour of [b]atheisme: but amongst the rest, that pestilent book *de tribus mundi impostoribus, quem sine horrore (inquit) non legas; et mundi Cymbalum dialogis quatuor contentum, Anno* 1538, *auctore Peresio, Parisiis excusum*[c], *&c.* And as there have been in all ages such blasphemous spirits, so there have not been wanting their patrons, protectors, disciples and adherents. Never so many atheists in Italy and Germany, saith [d]Colerus, as in this age: the like complaint Marcennus makes in France, 50000 in that one citie of Paris. Frederick the emperour, as [e]Matthew Paris records, *licet non sit recitabile* (I use his owne words) is reported to have said, *Tres præstigiatores, Moses, Christus, et Mahomet, uti mundo dominarentur totum populum sibi contemporaneum seduxisse.* (Henry the Lansgrave of Hessen heard him speake it;) *Si principes imperii institutioni meæ adhærerent, ego multo meliorem modum credendi et vivendi ordinarem.*

To these professed atheists we may well add that impious and carnal crew of worldly-minded men, impenitent sinners, that go to hell in a lethargy, or in a dream; who though they be professed Christians, yet they will *Nulla palescere culpa*, make a conscience of nothing they doe; they have cauterized consciences, and are indeed in a reprobate sense, *past all feeling, have given themselves over to wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness even with greediness*, Ephes. 4. 19. They doe know there is a God, a day of judgement to come, and yet for all that, as Hugo saith, *ita comedunt ac dormiunt, ac si diem judicii evasissent; ita ludunt ac rident, ac si in cœlis cum Deo regnarent*; they are as merry for all the sorrow, as if they had escaped all dangers, and were in heaven already:

> ——— [f]Metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

Those rude idiots and ignorant persons, that neglect and contemne the meanes of their salvation, may march on with these; but, above all others, those Herodian temporizing statesmen, politick Machiavelians and hypocrites, that make a shew of

[a] Comment. in Genes. cap. 7. [b] So that a man may meet an atheist as soon in his study as in the street. [c] Simonis religio incerto auctore Craconiæ edit. 1588. conclusio libri est, Ede itaque, bibe, lude, &c. Jam Deus figmentum est. [d] Lib. de immortal. animæ. [e] Pag 645. an. 1288. ad finem Henrici tertii. Idem Pisterius pag. 743. in compilat. sua. [f] Virg.

religion, but in their hearts laugh at it. *Simulata sanctitas duplex iniquitas*; they are in a double fault, *that fashion themselves to this world*, which [a] Paul forbids, and like Mercury the planet, are good with good, bad with bad. When they are at Rome, they doe there as they see done; Puritans with Puritans, Papists with Papists; *omnium horarum homines*, Formalists, Ambodexters, lukewarm Laodiceans. [b] All their study is to please, and their god is their commodity, their labour to satisfie their lusts, and their endeavours to their owne ends. Whatsoever they pretend, or in publike seem to doe, [c] *With the foole, in their hearts they say there is no God.*

Heus tu———de Jove quid sentis?

Their words are as soft as oyl, but bitterness is in their hearts, like [d] Alexander the sixth so cunning dissemblers, that what they think they never speake. Many of them are so close you can hardly discern it, or take any just exceptions at them; they are not factious, oppressours as most are, no bribers, no simoniacal contracters, no such ambitious, lascivious persons as some others are; no drunkards, *sobrii Solem vident orientem, sobrii vident occidentem*; they rise sober and go sober to bed; plain dealing, upright honest men; they doe wrong to no man, and are so reputed (in the worlds esteem at least) very zealous in religion, very charitable meek, humble, peace-makers, keep all duties, very devout, honest, well spoken of, beloved of all men; but he that knowes better how to judge, he that examines the heart, saith they are hypocrites; *Cor dolo plenum; sonant vitium percussa maligne*, they are not sound within. As it is with writers [e] oftentimes, *Plus sanctimoniæ in libello, quam libelli authore*, more holiness is in the book then in the authour of it: So 'tis with them; many come to church with great bibles, whom Cardan said he could not choose but laugh at; and will now and then *dare operam Augustino*, reade Austin, frequent sermons, and yet professed usurers, meer gripes, *tota vitæ ratio Epicurea est*; all their life is epicurisme and atheisme, come to church all day, and lye with a curtisan at night.

Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt,

They have Esau's hands, and Jacob's voyce. Yea, and many of those holy fryers, sanctified men; *Cappam*, saith Hierome, *et cilicium induunt, sed intus latronem tegunt*. They are wolves in sheeps clothing,

Introrsum turpes, speciosi pelle decorâ,

[a] Rom. 12. 2. [b] Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.
[c] Psal. 14. 1. [d] Guicciardine. [e] Erasmus.

Faire without, and most foule within. [a] *Latet plerumque sub tristi amictu lascivia, et deformis horror vili veste tegitur*; oft-times under a mourning weed lyes lust it self, and horrible vices under a poor coat. But who can examine all those kindes of hypocrites, or dive into their hearts? if we may guess at the tree by the fruit, never so many as in these dayes; shew me a plain dealing true honest man: *Et pudor, et probitas, et timor omnis abest.* He that shall but look into their lives, and see such enormous vices, men so immoderate in lust, unspeakable in malice, furious in their rage, flattering and dissembling (all for their owne ends) will surely think they are not truly religious, but of an obdurate heart, most part in a reprobate sense, as in this age. But let them carry it as they will for the present, dissemble as they can, a time will come when they shall be called to an account, their melancholy is at hand, they pull a plague and curse upon their heads, *thesaurisant iram Dei.* Besides, all such as are *in Deos contumeliosi*, blaspheme, contemne, neglect God, or scoffe at him, as the poets fain of Salmoneus, that would in derision imitate Jupiter's thunder, he was precipitated for his pains, Jupiter *intonuit contra, &c.* so shall they certainly rue it in the end, ([b] *in se spuit, qui in cœlum spuit*) their doome's at hand, and hell is ready to receive them.

Some are of opinion, that it is in vaine to dispute with such atheistical spirits in the mean time; 'tis not the best way to reclaime them. Atheisme, idolatry, heresie, hypocrisie, though they have one common root, that is indulgence to corrupt affection, yet their growth is different; they have divers symptomes, occasions, and must have several cures and remedies. 'Tis true, some denye there is any God; some confess, yet beleeve it not; a third sort confess and beleeve, but will not live after his lawes, worship and obey him. Others allow God, and Gods subordinate, but not one God, no such general God, *non talem Deum*, but several topick gods for several places; and those, not to persecute one another for any differences, as Socinus will, but rather love and cherish.

To describe them in particular, to produce their arguments and reasons, would require a just volume; I refer them therefore, that expect a more ample satisfaction, to those subtile and elaborate treatises, devout and famous tracts of our learned divines (schoolmen amongst the rest, and casuists) that have abundance of reasons to prove there is a God, the immortality of the soule, &c. out of the strength of wit and philosophy bring irrefragable arguments to such as are ingenious and well disposed; at the least, answer all cavils and objections to confute

[a] Hierom. [b] Senec. consol. ad Polyb. ca. 21.

their folly and madnesse, and to reduce them, *si fieri posset, ad sanam mentem*, to a better minde, though to small purpose many times. Amongst others, consult with Julius Cæsar Lagalla, professour of philosophy in Rome, who hath written a large volume of late, to confute atheists: of the immortality of the soule, Hierome: Montanus *de immortalitate Animæ*: Lelius Vincentius of the same subject: Thomas Giaminus, and Franciscus Collius *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, a famous doctour of the Ambrosian colledge in Millain. Bishop Fotherby, in his Atheomastix, Doctor Dove, Doctor Jackson, Abernethy, Corderoy, have written well of this subject in our mother tongue: In Latine, Colerus, Zanchius, Paleareus, Illyricus, [a] Philippus, Faber Faventinus, &c. But *instar omnium*, the most copious confuter of atheists, is Marinus Marcennus in his Commentaries on Genesis, [b] with Campanella's *Atheismus Triumphatus*. He sets down at large the causes of this brutish passion (seventeen in number I take it) answers all their arguments and sophismes, which he reduceth to twenty six heads, proving withall his own assertion: *There is a God, such a God, the true and sole God*, by 35 reasons. His Colophon is how to resist and repress Atheisme, and to that purpose he adds foure especial meanes or wayes, which who so will may profitably peruse.

SUBSECT. II.

DESPAIR.

Despaires, Æquivocations, Definitions, parties and parts affected.

THERE be many kindes of desperation, whereof some be holy, some unholy, as [c] one distinguisheth; that unholy he defines out of Tully, to be *Ægritudinem animi sine ullâ rerum expectatione meliore*, a sickness of the soule without any hope or expectation of amendment: which commonly succeeds fear; for whilst evil is expected, we fear; but when it is certain, we despair. According to *Thomas* 2. 2æ. *distinct.* 40. *art.* 4. it is *Recessus a re desiderata, propter impossibilitatem existimatam*, a restraint from the thing desired, for some impossibility supposed. Because they cannot obtain what they would, they become desperate, and many times either yeeld to the passion

[a] Disput. 4. Philosophiæ adver. Atheos. Venetiis 1627. quarto. [b] Edit. Romæ fol. 1631. [c] Abernethy c. 24. of his physick of the Soule.

by death it selfe; or else attempt impossibilities, not to be performed by men. In some cases, this desperate humor is not much to be discommended, as in wars it is a cause, many times, of extraordinary valour; as Joseph. *lib.* 1. *de bello Jud. cap.* 14. *L. Danæus in Aphoris. polit. pag.* 226. and many politicians hold. It makes them improve their worth beyond it selfe, and of a forlorne impotent company become conquerors in a moment.

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

In such courses, when they see no remedy, but that they must either kill or be killed, they take courage, and often times, *præter spem*, beyond all hope, vindicate themselves. Fifteen thousand Locrenses, fought against a hundred thousand Crotonienses, and seeing now no way but one, they must all dye, [a] thought they would not depart unrevenged, and thereupon desperately giving an assault, conquered their enemies. *Nec alia causa victoriæ* (saith Justine mine authour) *quam quod desperaverant.* William the Conquerour, when he first landed in England, sent back his ships, that his souldiers might have no hope of retyring back. [b] Bodine excuseth his countrymens overthrow at that famous battel at Agencourt, in Henry the Fifth his time, (*cui simile* saith Frossard, *tota historia producere non possit*, which no history can parallel almost, wherein one handful of Englishmen overthrew a royal army of Frenchmen) with this refuge of despair, *pauci desperati*, a few desperate fellowes being compassed in by their enemies, past all hope of life, fought like so many divels; and gives a caution, that no souldiers hereafter set upon desperate persons, which [c] after Frontinus and Vigetius, Guicciardine likewise admonisheth *Hypomnes. part.* 2. *pag.* 25. not to stop an enemy that is going his way. Many such kindes there are of desperation, when men are past hope of obtaining any suit, or in despair of better fortune; *Desperatio facit Monachum*, as the saying is, and desperation causeth death it selfe. How many thousands, in such distress, have made away themselves, and many others? For he that cares not for his owne, is master of another mans life. A Tuscan soothsayer, as [d] Paterculus tels the story, perceiving himself and Fulvius Flaccus his deare friend, now both carryed to prison by Opimius, and in despair of pardon, seeing the yong man weep, *quin tu potius hoc, inquit, facis*, doe as I doe; and with that knockt out his braines

[a] Omissâ spe victoriæ in destinatam mortem conspirant, tantusque ardor singulos cepit, ut victores se putarent, si non inulti morerentur. Justin. l. 20. [b] Method. hist. cap. 5. [c] Hosti abire volenti iter minime interscindas, &c. [d] Pater. volum.

against the door cheek, as he was entring into prison; *protinusque illiso capite in carceris januam effuso cerebro expiravit*, and so desperately died. But these are equivocall, unproper. *When I speake of despair*, saith [a] Zanchie, *I speake not of every kinde, but of that alone which concerns God. It is opposite to hope, and a most pernicious sin, wherewith the divel seeks to entrap men.* Musculus makes foure kindes of desperation; of God, our selves, our neighbour, or any thing to be done; but this division of his may be reduced easily to the former; all kindes are opposite to hope, that sweet moderator of passions, as Simonides cals it; I do not mean that vain hope which phantastical fellows fain to themselves, which according to Aristotle is *insomnium vigilantium*, a waking dream; but this divine hope which proceeds from confidence, and is an anchor to a floating soule; *spes alit agricolas*, even in our temporal affairs, hope revives us, but in spiritual it farther animateth; and were it not for hope, *we of all others were the most miserable*, as Paul saith, in this life; were it not for hope, the heart would breake; *for though they be punished, in the sight of men*, (Wisdom 3. 4.) yet is *their hope full of immortality*: yet doth it not so reare, as despair doth deject; this violent and sour passion of despair, is of all perturbations most grievous, as [b] Patritius holds. Some divide it into finall and temporall; [c] finall is incurable, which befalleth reprobates; temporall is a rejection of hope and comfort for a time, which may befal the best of Gods children; and it commonly proceeds [d] *from weakness of faith*, as in David, when he was oppressed he cryed out, *O Lord, thou hast forsaken me*, but this for a time. This ebbes and flowes with hope and feare; it is a grievous sin howsoever: although some kinde of despair be not amiss, when, saith Zanchius, we despair of our own meanes, and rely wholly upon God: but that species is not here meant. This pernicious kinde of desperation is the subject of our discourse, *homicida animæ*, the murderer of the soule, as Austin terms it; a fearful passion, wherein the party oppressed thinks he can get no ease but by death, and is fully resolved to offer violence unto himself; so sensible of his burthen, and impatient of his cross, that he hopes by death alone to be freed of his calamity (though it prove otherwise) and chuseth with Job. 6. 8. 9. & 7. 15. *Rather to be strangled and die, than to be in his bonds.* [e] The part affected is the whole soule, and all the faculties of it; there is a privation of joye, hope, trust, confi-

[a] Super præceptum primum de Relig. et partibus ejus. Non loquor de omni desperatione, sed tantum de eâ quâ desperare solent homines de Deo; opponitur spei, et est peccatum gravissimum, &c. [b] Lib. 5. tit. 21, de regis institut. Omnium perturbationum deterrima. [c] Reprobi usque ad finem pertinaciter persistunt. Zanchius. [d] Vitium ab infidelitate proficiscens. [e] Abernethy.

dence, of present and future good, and in their place succeed feare, sorrow, &c. as in the symptomes shall be shewed. The heart is grieved, the conscience wounded, the minde eclypsed with black fumes arising from those perpetual terrours.

SUBSECT. III.

Causes of Despair. The Divel, melancholy, meditation, distrust, weakness of faith, rigid ministers, misunderstanding Scriptures, guilty consciences, &c.

THE principall agent and procurer of this mischief, is the divel; those whom God forsakes, the divel by his permission layes hold on. Sometimes he persecutes them with that worme of conscience, as he did Judas, [a] Saul, and others. The poets call it Nemesis; but it is indeed Gods just judgement *sero sed serio*, he strikes home at last, and setteth upon them *as a thief in the night*, 1 Thes. 5. 2. [b] This temporary passion made David crye out, *Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thine heavy displeasure; for thine arrowes have light upon mee, &c. There is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger.* Again, *I roare for the very grief of my heart; and Psalme 22. My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee, and art so far from my health, and the words of my crying? 14. I am like to water poured out, my bones are out of joynt, mine heart is like waxe, that is molten in the midst of my bowels.* So Psal. 88. 15 and 16. vers. and Psal. 102. *I am in misery at the point of death, from my youth I suffer thy terrours, doubting for my life; thine indignations have gone over mee, and thy feare hath cut mee off.* Job doth often complain in this kinde; and those God doth not assist, the divel is ready to try and torment, *still seeking whom he may devoure.* If he finde them merry, saith Gregory, *he tempts forthwith to some dissolute act; if pensive and sad, to a desperate end. Aut suadendo blanditur, aut minando terret,* sometimes by faire meanes, sometimes again by foule, as he perceives men severally inclined. His ordinary engin by which he produceth this effect, is the melancholy humour it self, which is *balneum Diaboli*, the divels bath; and as in Saul, those evil spirits get in [c] as it were, and take possession of us. Black choler is a shooing-horn, a bait to allure them, in so much that many writers make melancholy an ordinary cause, and a symtome of despair, for that such men are most apt (by reason of their ill-disposed temper) to distrust, feare, griefe; mistake,

[a] 1 Sam. 2. 16. [b] Psal. 38. [c] Immiscent se mali genii, Lem. Lib. 1. cap. 16.

and amplifie whatsoever they preposterously conceive, or falsely apprehend. *Conscientia scrupulosa nascitur ex vitio naturali, complexione melancholicâ* (saith Navarrus *cap.* 27. *num.* 282. *Tom.* 2. *cas. conscien.*) The body works upon the minde, by obfuscating the spirits and corrupted instruments, which [a] Perkins illustrates by simile of an artificer, that hath a bad toole, his skill is good, ability correspondent; by reason of ill tooles his work must needs be lame and imperfect. But melancholy and despair though often, doe not alwaies concur; there is much difference; melancholy fears without a cause, this upon great occasion; melancholy is caused by feare and griefe, but this torment procures them all extremity of bitterness; much melancholy is without affliction of conscience, as [b] Bright and Perkins illustrate by foure reasons; and yet melancholy alone again may be sometimes a sufficient cause of this terrour of conscience. [c] Felix Plater so found it in his observations, *e melancholicis alii damnatos se putant, Deo curæ non sunt, nec prædestinati, &c. They think they are not predestinate, God hath forsaken them;* and yet otherwise very zealous and religious; and 'tis common to be seen, *Melancholy for feare of Gods judgement and hell fire, drives men to desperation; feare and sorrow, if they be immoderate, end often with it;* Intolerable pain and anguish, long sickness, captivity, misery, loss of goods, loss of friends, and those lesser griefs do sometimes effect it, or such dismal accidents. *Si non statim relevantur,* saith [d] Marcennus, *dubitant an sit Deus,* if they be not eased forthwith, they doubt whether there be any God; they rave, curse, *and are desperately mad, because good men are oppressed, wicked men flourish; they have not as they think to their desert,* and through impatience of calamities are so misaffected. Democritus put out his eys, *ne malorum civium prosperos videret successus,* because he could not abide to see wicked men prosper, and was therefore ready to make away himself, as [e] Agellius writes of him. Felix Plater hath a memorable example in this kinde, of a painters wife in Basil, that was melancholy for her sons death, and for melancholy became desperate, she thought God would not pardon her sins, [f] *and for foure months, still raved, that she was in hell-fire, already damned.* When the humour is stirred up, every small object aggravates and incenseth it, as the parties are ad-

[a] Cases of conscience, 1. 1. 16. [b] Tract. Melan. cap. 33 et 34. [c] C. 3. de mentis alien. Deo minus se curæ esse, nec ad salutem prædestinatos esse. Ad desperationem sæpe ducit hæc melancholia, et est frequentissima ob supplicii metum æternumque judicium; mœror et metus in desperationem plerumque desinunt. [d] Comment. in 1. cap. gen. artic. 3. Quia impii florent, boni opprimuntur, &c. alius ex consideratione hujus seria desperabundus. [e] Lib. 20. c. 27. [f] Damnatam se putavit, et per quatuor menses gehennæ pœnam sentire.

dicted. [a] The same authour hath an example of a merchant man, that for the loss of a little wheat, which he had over long kept, was troubled in conscience, for that he had not sold it sooner, or given it to the poor; yet a good scholler and a great divine: no perswasion would serve to the contrary, but that for this fact he was damned; in other matters very judicious and discreet. Solitariness, much fasting, divine meditations, and contemplations of Gods judgements, most part accompany this melancholy, and are main causes, as [b] Navarrus holds; to converse with such kindes of persons so troubled, is sufficient occasion of trouble to some men. *Nonnulli ob longas inedias, studia et meditationes cœlestes, de rebus sacris et religione semper agitant, &c.* Many (saith P. Forestus) through long fasting, serious meditations of heavenly things, fall into such fits, and as Lemnius addes, *lib. 4. cap.* 21. [c] *If they be solitary given, superstitious, precise, or very devout: seldome shall you finde a merchant, a souldier, an inn-keeper, a bawde, an host, an usurer so troubled in minde; they have cheverel consciences that will stretch, they are seldome moved in this kinde or molested; yong men and middle age are more wild, and less apprehensive; but old folkes, most part, such as are timorous and religiously given.* Pet. Forestus *observat. lib.* 10. *cap.* 12. *de morbis cerebri*, hath a fearful example of a minister, that through precise fasting in Lent, and overmuch meditation contracted this mischief, and in the end became desperate, thought he saw divels in his chamber, and that he could not be saved; he smelled nothing, as he said, but fire and brimstone, was already in hell, and would ask them still, if they did not [d] smel as much. I told him he was melancholy; but he laughed me to scorn, and replied that he saw divels, talked with them in good earnest, would spit in my face, and ask me if I did not smel brimstone; but at last he was by him cured. Such another story I finde in Plater *observat. lib.* 1. A poor fellow had done some foule offence, and for fourteen dayes would eat no meat, in the end became desperate; the divines about him could not ease him, [e] but so he died. Continual meditation of Gods judgements troubles many, *Multi ob timorem futuri judicii*, saith Guatinerius, *cap.* 5. *tract.* 15. *et suspicionem desperabundi sunt:* David himself complains that Gods judgements terrified his soule, Psal. 119. part. 15. vers. 8.

[a] 1566. Ob triticum diutius servatum conscientiæ stimulis agitatur, &c. [b] Tom. 2. c. 27. num. 282. Conversatio cum scrupulosis, vigiliæ, jejunia. [c] Solitarios et superstitiosos plerumque exagitat conscientia, non mercatores, lenones, caupones, fæneratores, &c. largiorem hi nacti sunt conscientiam. Juvenes plerumque conscientiam negligunt, senes autem, &c. [d] Annon sentis sulphur, inquit? [e] Desperabundus misere periit.

My flesh trembleth for feare of thee, and I am affraid of thy judgements. Quoties diem illum cogito (saith [a] Hierome) *toto corpore contremisco*, I tremble as often as I think of it. The terrible meditation of hell-fire and eternall punishment much torments a sinfull silly soule. What's a thousand yeers to eternity? *Ubi mœror, ubi fletus, ubi dolor sempiternus. Mors sine morte, finis sine fine*; a finger burnt by chance we may not endure; the pain is so grievous, we may not abide an hour; a night is intolerable; and what shall this unspeakable fire then be that burns for ever, innumerable infinite millions of yeers, *in omne ævum, in æternum.* O eternity!

[b] Æternitas est illa vox,
Vox illa fulminatrix,
Tonitruis minacior,
Fragoribusque cœli,
Æternitas est illa vox,
—— metâ carens et ortu, &c.
Tormenta nulla territant,
Quæ finiuntur annis;
Æternitas, æternitas
Versat coquitque pectus.
Auget hæc pœnas indies,
Centuplicatque flammas, &c.

This meditation terrifies these poor distressed soules, especially if their bodies be predisposed by melancholy, they religiously given, and have tender consciences; every small object affrights them; the very inconsiderate reading of scripture it selfe, and mis-interpretation of some places of it, as, *Many are called, few are chosen. Not every one that saith Lord. Feare not little flocke. He that stands, let him take heed lest he fall. Work out your salvation with feare and trembling. That night two shall be in a bed, one received, the other left. Straight is the way that leads to heaven, and few there are that enter therein.* The parable of the seed and of the sower, *some fell on barren ground, some was choaked. Whom he hath predestinated he hath chosen. He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy. Non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei.* These and the like places terrifie the soules of many; election, predestination, reprobation, preposterously conceived offend divers, with a deal of foolish presumption, curiosity, needless speculation, contemplation, sol-

[a] In 17. Johannis. Non pauci se cruciant, et excarnificant in tantum, ut non parum absint ab insaniâ; neque tamen aliud hâc mentis anxietate efficiunt, quam ut diabolo potestatem faciunt ipsos per desperationem ad inferos producendi. [b] Drexelius Nicet. lib. 2. cap. 11.

licitude, wherein they trouble and puzle themselves about those questions of grace, free-will, perseverance, Gods secrets; they will know more then is revealed by God in his word, humane capacity, or ignorance can apprehend; and too importunate enquiry after that which is revealed; mysteries, ceremonies, observation of sabbaths, lawes, duties, &c. with many such which the casuists discuss, and schoolmen broach; which divers mistake, misconstrue, misapply to themselves, to their own undoing, and so fall into this gulfe. *They doubt of their election, how they shall know it, by what signes. And so far forth,* saith Luther, *with such nice points, torture and crucifie themselves, that they are almost mad; and all they get by it is this, they lay open a gap to the divel by desperation to carry them to hell.* But the greatest harme of all, proceeds from those thundering ministers; a most frequent cause they are of this malady; [a] *and do more harme in the church* (saith Erasmus) *then they that flatter; great danger on both sides, the one lulls them asleep in carnal security, the other drives them to despair.* Whereas [b] St. Bernard well adviseth, *We should not meddle with the one without the other, nor speake of judgement without mercy; the one alone brings desperation, the other security.* But these men are wholly for judgement: of a rigid disposition themselves, there is no mercy with them; no salvation, no balsome for their diseased soules; they can speake of nothing but reprobation, hell fire, and damnation, as they did Luke 11. 46. lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, which they themselves touch not with a finger. 'Tis familiar with our Papists to terrifie mens soules with purgatory, tales, visions, apparitions, to daunt even the most generous spirits, to [c] *require charity,* as Brentius observes, *of others, bounty, meekness, love, patience, when they themselves breath nought but lust, envy, covetousness.* They teach others to fast, give almes, do penance, and crucifie their minde with superstitious observations, bread and water, hair-clothes, whips, and the like, when they themselves have all the dainties the world can afforde; lye on a down bed with a curtisan in their armes. *Heu quantum patimur pro Christo,* as [d] he said. What a cruel tyranny is this, so to insult over, and terrifie mens soules! Our indiscreet pastors, many of them come

[a] Ecclesiast. l. 1. Haud scio an majus discrimen ab his qui blandiuntur, an ab his qui territant: ingens utrinque periculum: alii ad securitatem ducunt, alii afflictionum magnitudine mentem absorbent, et in desperationem trahunt. [b] Bern. sup. 16. Cant. 1. Alterum sine altero proferre non expedit; recordatio solius judicii in desperationem præcipitat, et misericordiæ fallax ostentatio pessimam generat securitatem. [c] In Luc. hom. 103. Exigunt ab aliis caritatem, beneficentiam, cum ipsi nil spectent præter libidinem, invidiam, avaritiam. [d] Leo decimus.

not far behind; whilst in their ordinary sermons they speake so much of election, predestination, reprobation *ab æterno*, subtraction of grace, præterition, voluntary permission, &c. by what signes and tokens they shall discern and try themselves; whether they be Gods true children elect, *an sint reprobi, prædestinati, &c.* with such scrupulous points, they still aggravate sin, thunder out Gods judgements without respect; intempestively raile at and pronounce them damned in all auditories, for giving so much to sports and honest recreations; making every smal fault and thing indifferent an irremissible offence, they so rent, tear and wound mens consciences, that they are almost mad, and at their wits ends.

These bitter potions (saith [a] Erasmus) *are still in their mouths nothing but gall and horrour, and a mad noyse; they make all their auditors desperate:* many are wounded by this meanes, and they commonly that are most devout and precise, have been formerly presumptuous, and certain of their salvation; they that have tender consciences, that follow sermons, frequent lectures, that have indeed least cause, they are most apt to mistake, and fall into these miseries. I have heard some complain of Parson's Resolution, and other books of like nature (good otherwise;) they are too tragicall, too much dejecting men, aggravating offences; great care and choyce, much discretion is required in this kinde.

The last and greatest cause of this malady, is our owne conscience, sense of our sins, and Gods anger justly deserved: a guilty conscience for some foule offence formerly committed,

——— [b] O miser Oreste, quid morbi te perdit?

Or:

Conscientia, Sum enim mihi conscius de malis perpetratis.

A good conscience is a continuall feast, but a galled conscience is as great a torment as can possibly happen, a still baking oven, (so Pierius in his Hieroglyph. compares it) another hell. Our conscience, which is a great ledgier book, wherein are written all our offences, a register to lay them up, (which those [c] Ægyptians in their Hieroglyphicks expressed by a mill, as well for the continuance, as for the torture of it) grindes our soules with the remembrance of some precedent sins; makes us reflect upon, accuse and condemn our own selves. [d] *Sin lies at doore, &c.* I know there be many other causes assigned by Zanchius, [e] Musculus, and

[a] De futuro judicio, de damnatione horrendum crepunt, et amaras illas potiones in ore semper habent, ut multos inde in desperationem cogant. [b] Euripides.
[c] Pierius. [d] Gen. 4. [e] 9 Causes Musculus makes.

the rest; as incredulity, infidelity, presumption, ignorance, blindness, ingratitude, discontent; those five grand miseries in Aristotle, ignominy, need, sickness, enmity, death, &c. but this of conscience is the greatest, [a] *Instar ulceris corpus jugiter percellens.* This scrupulous conscience (as [b] Peter Forestus cals it) which tortures so many, that either out of a deep apprehension of their unworthiness, and consideration of their owne dissolute life, *accuse themselves and aggravate every small offence, when there is no such cause, misdoubting in the mean time Gods mercies, they fall into these inconveniences.* The poets call them [c] Furies, Diræ, but it is the conscience alone which is a thousand witnesses to accuse us;

> [d] Nocte dieque suum gestant in pectore testem.

A continual testor to give in evidence, to empanel a jury to examine us, to cry guilty; a prosecutor with hue and cry to follow, an apparitor to summon us, a bayliffe to carry us, a serjeant to arrest, an attourney to plead against us, a gaoler to torment, a judge to condemn, still accusing, denouncing, torturing and molesting. And as the statue of Juno, in that holy city neer Euphrates in [e] Assyria, will look still towards you; sit where you will in her temple, she stares full upon you; if you go by, she follows with her eye; in all sites, places, conventicles, actions, our conscience will be still ready to accuse us. After many pleasant dayes and fortunate adventures, merry tides, this conscience at last doth arrest us. Well he may escape temporal punishment, [f] bribe a corrupt judge, and avoid the censure of law, and flourish for a time; for [g] *who ever saw* (saith Chrysostome) *a covetous man troubled in minde when he is telling of his mony, an adulterer mourn with his mistress in his armes? we are then drunk with pleasure, and perceive nothing:* yet as the prodigal son had dainty fare, sweet musick at first, merry company, jovial entertainment, but a cruel reckoning in the end, as bitter as wormwood, a fearful visitation commonly followes. And the divel that then told thee that it was a light sin, or no sin at all, now aggravates on the other side, and telleth thee, that it is a most irremissible offence, as he did by Cain and Judas, to bring them to despair; every small circumstance before neglected and contemned, will now amplifie it self, rise up in

[a] Plutarch. [b] Alios misere castigat plena scrupulis conscientia, nodum in scirpo quærunt, et ubi nulla causa subest misericordiæ divinæ diffidentes, se orco destinant. [c] Cœlius lib. 6. [d] Juvenal. [e] Lucian de Deâ Syria. Si adstiteris, te aspicit; si transeas, visu te sequitur. [f] Prima hæc est ultio, quod se Judice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis gratia fallacis prætoris vicerit urnam. Juvenal. [g] Quis unquam vidit avarum ringi, dum lucrum adest; adulterum dum potitur voto; lugere in perpetrando scelere? voluptate sumus ebrii, proinde non sentimus, &c.

* — a fatted calf.

judgement and accuse; the dust of their shooes, dumb creatures, as to Lucian's tyrant, *lectus et candela*, the bed and candle did bear witness, to torment their soules for their sins past. Tragicall examples in this kinde are too familiar and common: Adrian, Galba, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Caracalla, were in such horrour of conscience for their offences committed, murders, rapes, extortions, injuries, that they were weary of their lives, and could get no body to kill them. [a] Kennetus, king of Scotland, when he had murdered his nephewe Malcolme, King Duffe's son, prince of Cumberland, and with counterfeit tears and protestations, dissembled the matter a long time, [b] *at last his conscience accused him, his unquiet soule could not rest day or night; he was terrified with fearful dreames, visions, and so miserably tormented all his life.* It is strange to read what [c] Comineus hath written of Lewes the 11. that French king; of Charles the 8; of Alphonsus king of Naples, in the fury of his passion, how he came into Sicily, and what prankes he plaid. Guicciardine, a man most unapt to believe lyes, relates, how that Ferdinand his fathers ghost (who before had died for grief,) came and told him, that he could not resist the French king, he thought every man cried France, France; the reason of it (saith Comineus) was because he was a vile tyrant, a murderer, an oppressour of his subjects; he bought up all commodities, and sold them at his owne price; sold abbies to Jewes and Falkoners; both Ferdinand his father, and he himselfe, never made conscience of any committed sin; and to conclude, saith he, it was impossible to do worse then they did. Why was Pausanias the Spartan tyrant, Nero, Otho, Galba, so persecuted with spirits in every house they came, but for their murders which they had committed? [d] Why doth the divel haunt many mens houses after their deaths, appear to them living, and take possession of their habitations, as it were, of their pallaces, but because of their severall villanies? why had Richard the 3 such fearful dreames, saith Polydor, but for his frequent murders? Why was Herod so tortured in his minde? because he had made away Mariamne his wife. Why was Theodoricus the king of the Gothes so suspitious, and so affrighted with a fish head alone, but that he had murdered Symmachus, and Boethius his son-in-law, those worthy Romans? Cælius *lib.* 27. *cap.* 22. See more in Plutarch, in his tract *De his qui sero a Numine puniuntur*, and in his book *De tranquillitate animi*, &c. Yea, and sometimes GOD himselfe hath a hand in

[a] Buchanan. lib. 6. Hist. Scot. [b] Animus conscientiâ sceleris inquietus nullum admisit gaudium, sed semper vexatus noctu et interdiu per somnum visis horrore plenis pertremefactus, &c. [c] De bello Neapol. [d] Thyreus de locis infestis part. 1. cap. 2. Nero's mother was still in his eye.

it, to shew his power, humiliate, exercise, and to trye their faith, (divine temptation, Perkins cals it, *Cas. cons. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *sect.* 1.) to punish them for their sins. God the avenger, as [a]David terms him, *ultor a tergo Deus*, his wrath is apprehended of a guilty soule, as by Saul and Judas, which the poets expressed by Adrastia, or Nemesis:

> Assequitur Nemesisque virûm vestigia servat,
> Ne male quid facias. ———

And she is, as [b]Ammianus *lib.* 14. describes her, *the queen of causes, and moderator of things*, now she puls downe the proud; now she reares and encourageth those that are good; he gives instance in his Eusebius; Nicephorus *lib.* 10. *cap.* 35. *eccles. hist.* in Maximinus and Julian. Fearfull examples of Gods just judgement, wrath and vengeance, are to be found in all histories; of some that have been eaten to death with rats and mice, as [c]Popelius the second king of Poland, ann. 830. his wife and children; the like story is of Hatto Archbishop of Mentz, ann. 969, so devoured by these vermine, which howsoever Serrarius the Jesuite *Mogunt. rerum lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. impugne by 22 arguments; Tritemius, [d]Munster, Magdeburgenses, and many others relate for a truth. Such another example I finde in Geraldus Cambrensis *Itin. Cam. lib.* 2. *cap.* 2. and where not?

And yet for all these terrours of conscience, affrighting punishments which are so frequent, or whatsoever else may cause or aggravate this fearfull malady in other religions, I see no reason at all why a papist, at any time should despair, or be troubled for his sins; for let him be never so dissolute a catiffe, so notorious a villain, so monstrous a sinner, out of that treasure of indulgences and merits of which the Pope is dispensator, he may have free pardon and plenary remission of all his sins. There be so many general pardons for ages to come, 40000 yeers to come, so many jubilies, so frequent gaol-deliveries out of purgatory for all soules, now living, or after dissolution of the body, so many particular masses daily said in severall churches, so many altars consecrated to this purpose, that if a man have either mony or friends, or will take any paines to come to such an altar, hear a mass, say so many pater-nosters, undergo such and such penance, he cannot doe amiss; it is impossible his minde should be troubled, or he have any scruple to molest him. Besides that *Taxa Cameræ Apostolicæ*, which

[a] Psal. 44. 16. opprimit, &c. et Magde.

[b] Regina causarum et arbitra rerum, nunc erectas cervices

[c] Alex. Gaguinus catal. reg. Pol.

[d] Cosmog. Munster,

was first published to get mony in the dayes of Leo decimus that sharking pope, and since divulged to the same ends, sets down such easie rates and dispensations for all offences, for perjury, murder, incest, adultery, &c. for so many grosses or dollers (able to invite any man to sin, and provoke him to offend, me thinks, that otherwise would not) such comfortable remission, so gentle and parable a pardon, so ready at hand, with so smal cost and suit obtained, that I cannot see how he that hath any friends amongst them (as I say) or mony in his purse, or will at least to ease himselfe, can any way miscarry or be misaffected, how he should be desperate, in danger of damnation or troubled in minde. Their ghostly fathers can so readily apply remedies, so cunningly string and unstring, winde and unwinde their devotions, play upon their consciences with plausible speeches and terrible threats, for their best advantage settle and remove, erect with such facility and deject, let in and out, that I cannot perceive how any man amongst them should much or often labour of this disease, or finally miscarry. The causes above named must more frequently therefore take hold on others.

SUBSECT. IV.

Symptomes of Despair, Feare, Sorrow, Suspition, Anxiety, Horrour of Conscience, fearfull Dreames and Visions.

As shoomakers doe when they bring home shooes, still cry, leather is dearer and dearer; may I justly say of those melancholy symptomes: these of despair are most violent, tragicall and grievous, far beyond the rest; not to be expressed but negatively, as it is privation of all happiness, not to be endured; *for a wounded spirit who can bear it?* Pro. 18. 14. What therefore [a] Timanthes did, in his picture of Iphigenia, now ready to be sacrificed, when he had painted Chalcas mourning, Ulysses sad, but most sorrowfull Menelaus, and shewed all his art in expressing variety of affections, he covered the maids father, Agamemnon's head with a vaile, and left it to every spectator to conceive what he would himselfe; for that true passion and sorrow in *summo gradu*, such as his was, could not by any art be deciphred. What he did in his picture, I will do in describing the symptomes of despair. Imagine what thou canst, feare, sorrow, furies, griefe, pain, terrour, anger, dismal, ghastly, tedious, irksome, &c. it is not sufficient,

[a] Plinius cap. 10. l. 35. Consumptis affectibus, Agamemnonis caput velavit, ut omnes quam possent, maximum mœrorem in virginis patre cogitarent.

× How many epithets have he given to Leo Decimus!

it comes far short; no tongue can tell, no heart conceive it. 'Tis an epitome of hell, an extract, a quintessence, a compound, a mixture of all ferall maladies, tyrannical tortures, plagues and perplexities. There is no sickness almost but physick provideth a remedy for it; to every sore, chirurgery will provide a salve; friendship helpes poverty; hope of liberty easeth imprisonment; suit and favour revoke banishment; authority and time weare away reproach: but what physick, what chirurgery, what wealth, favour, authority can relieve, bear out, asswage, or expel a troubled conscience? A quiet minde cureth all them, but all they cannot comforte a distressed soule: who can put to silence the voyce of desperation? All that is single in other melancholy, *Horribile, dirum, pestilens, atrox, ferum,* concur in this; it is more then melancholy in the highest degree; a burning feaver of the soule; so made, saith [a] Jacchinus, by this misery; feare, sorrow and despair he puts for ordinary symptomes of melancholy. They are in great pain and horrour of minde, distraction of soule, restless, full of continual feares, cares, torments, anxieties; they can neither eat, drinke, nor sleep for them, take no rest,

> [b] Perpetua impietas, nec mensæ tempore cessat,
> Exagitat vesana quies, somnique furentes.
>
> Neither at bed, nor yet at bord,
> Will any rest despair afforde.

Feare takes away their content, and dries the bloud, wasteth the marrow, alters their countenance, even in their *greatest delights, singing, dancing, dalliance,* they are still (saith [c] Lemnius) tortured in their soules. It consumes them to nought; *I am like a pelican in the wilderness* (saith David of himselfe, temporally afflicted) *an owle because of thine indignation,* Psal. 102, vers. 9. 10, and Psal. 55. 4. *My heart trembleth within mee, and the terrours of death have come upon mee; feare and trembling are come upon mee, &c. at deaths doore,* Psal. 107. 18. *Their soule abhors all manner of meats.* Their [d] sleep is (if it be any) unquiet, subject to fearful dreames and terrours. Peter in his bonds, slept secure, for he knew God protected him; and Tully makes it an argument of Roscius Amerinus innocency, that he had not killed his father, because he so securely slept. Those martyres in the primitive

[a] Cap. 15. in 9. Rhasis. [b] Juv. Sat. 13. [c] Mentem eripit timor hic; vultum, totumque corporis habitum immutat, etiam in deliciis, in tripudiis, in symposiis, in amplexu conjugis carnificinam exercet, lib. 4. cap. 21. [d] Non sinit conscientia tales homines recta verba proferre, aut rectis quenquam oculis aspicere, ab omni hominum coetu eosdem exterminat, et dormientes perterrefacit. Philost. lib. 7. de vitâ Apollonii.

church were most [a] chearfull and merry in the midst of their persecutions; but it is far otherwise with these men, tossed in a sea, and that continually, without rest or intermission, they can think of naught that is pleasant; [b] *their conscience will not let them be quiet*, in perpetual feare, anxiety; if they be not yet apprehended, they are in doubt still that they shall be ready to betray themselves, as Cain did, he thinkes every man will kill him: *And roare for griefe of heart*, Psal, 38. 8. as David did, as Job did, 3. 20, 21, 22, &c. *Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life to them that have heavie hearts? Which long for death, and if it come not, search it more then treasures, and rejoyce when they can find the grave.* They are generally weary of their lives, a trembling heart they have, a sorrowful minde, and little or no rest.

Terror ubique tremor, timor undique et undique terror.

Feares, terrours, and affrights in all places, at all times and seasons. *Cibum et potum pertinaciter aversantur multi, nodum in scirpo quæritantes, et culpam imaginantes ubi nulla est*, as Wierus writes *de Lamiis, lib.* 3. *c.* 7. they refuse, many of them, meat and drinke, cannot rest, aggravating still and supposing grievous offences where there are none. Gods heavie wrath is kindled in their soules; and notwithstanding their continual prayers and supplications to Christ Jesus, they have no release or ease at all, but a most intolerable torment, and insufferable anguish of conscience, and that makes them, through impatience, to murmure against God, many times, to rave, to blaspheme, turne atheists, and seek to offer violence to themselves. Deut. 28. 67. *In the morning they wish for evening, and for morning in the evening, for the sight of their eys which they see, and feare of hearts.* [c] Marinus Marcennus in his Comment on Genesis, makes mention of a desperate friend of his, whom amongst others he came to visit, and exhort to patience, that broke out into most blasphemous atheisticall speeches, too fearfull to relate. When they wished him to trust in God; *Quis est ille Deus (inquit) ut serviam illi, quid proderit si oraverim; si præsens est, cur non succurrit? cur non me carcere, inediâ, squalore confectum liberat? quid ego feci? &c. absit a me hujusmodi Deus.* Another of his acquaintance brake out into like atheisticall blasphemies; upon his wives death raved, cursed, said and did he car'd not what. And so for the most part it is with them all. Many of them in their extremity,

[a] Eusebius, Nicephorus eccles. hist. lib. 4. c. 17. [b] Seneca lib. 18. epist. 106. Conscientia aliud agere non patitur, perturbatam vitam agunt, nunquam vacant, &c.
[c] Artic. 3. ca. 1. fol. 230. Quod horrendum dictu, desperabundus quidam me presente cum ad patientiam hortaretur, &c.

thinke they hear and see visions, out-crys, confer with divels, that they are tormented, possessed, and in hell fire, already damned, quite forsaken of God, they have no sense or feeling of mercy, or grace, hope of salvation; their sentence of condemnation is already past, and not to be revoked, the divel will certainly have them. Never was any living creature in such torment before, in such a miserable estate, in such distress of minde, no hope, no faith, past cure, reprobate, continually tempted to make away themselves. Something talkes with them, they spit fire and brimstone, they cannot but blaspheme, they cannot repent, beleeve, or thinke a good thought; so far carryed, *ut cogantur ad impia cogitandum etiam contra voluntatem*, said [a]Fœlix Plater; *ad blasphemiam erga Deum, ad multa horrenda perpetranda, ad manus violentas sibi inferendas, &c.* and in their distracted fits and desperate humors, to offer violence to others, their familiar and dear friends sometimes, or to meer strangers, upon every small or no occasion: For he that cares not for his owne, is master of another mans life. They think evill against their wils; that which they abhor themselves, they must needs thinke, doe, and speake. He gives instance in a patient of his, that when he would pray, had such evill thoughts still suggested to him, and wicked [b] meditations. Another instance he hath, of a woman that was often tempted to curse God, to blaspheme and kill her selfe. Sometimes the divel (as they say) stands without and talks with them, sometimes he is within them, as they thinke, and there speakes and talks as to such as are possessed: so Apollidorus, in Plutarch, thought his heart spake within him. There is a most memorable example of [c]Francis Spira, an advocate of Padua, ann. 1545, that being desperate, by no counsell of learned men could be comforted; he felt (as he said) the pains of hell in his soule, in all other things he discoursed aright; but in this most mad. Frismelica, Bullovat, and some other excellent physicians, could neither make him eat, drinke, or sleep; no perswasion could ease him. Never pleaded any man so well for himselfe, as this man did against himselfe, and so he desperately died. Springer a lawyer hath written his life. Cardinal Crescence died likewise so desperate at Verona, still he thought a black dog followed him to his death-bed, no man could drive the dog away. Sleidan. *com.* 23. *cap. lib.* 3. Whilst I was writing this treatise, saith Montaltus, *cap.* 2. *de mel.* [d]*A nun came to me for helpe, well for all other matters, but troubled in conscience for five yeers last past; she is almost mad, and not able to resist; thinkes she hath offended God, and*

[a] Lib. 1. obser. cap. 3. [b] Ad maledicendum Deo. [c] Goulart. [d] Dum hæc scribo, implorat opem meam monacha, in reliquis sana, et judicio recta, per 5 annos melancholica; damnatam se dicit, conscientiæ stimulis oppressa, &c.

is certainly damned. Fœlix Plater hath store of instances of such as thought themselves damned, [a] forsaken of God, &c. One amongst the rest, that durst not go to church, or come near the Rhine, for feare to make away himselfe, because then he was most especially tempted. These and such like symptomes, are intended and remitted, as the malady itselfe is more or less; some will hear good counsel, some will not; some desire helpe, some reject all, and will not be eased.

SUBSECT. V.

Prognostiques of Despair, Atheism, Blasphemy, violent Death, &c.

MOST part these kinde of persons [b] make away themselves, some are mad, blaspheme, curse, deny God; but most offer violence to their own persons, and sometimes to others. *A wounded spirit who can bear?* Prov. 18. 14. As Cain, Saul, Achitophel, Judas, blasphemed and died. Bede saith, Pilate died desperate eight yeers after Christ. [c] Fœlix Plater hath collected many examples. [d] *A merchants wife that was long troubled with such temptations,* in the night rose from her bed, and out of the windowe broke her neck into the street: another drowned himselfe, desperate as he was, in the Rhine; some cut their throats, many hang themselves. But this needs no illustration. It is controverted by some, whether a man so offering violence to himselfe, dying desperate, may be saved aye or no? If they dye so obstinately and suddenly, that they cannot so much as wish for mercy, the worst is to be suspected, because they dye impenitent. [e] If their death had been a little more lingring, wherein they might have some leasure in their hearts to cry for mercy, charity may judge the best; divers have been recovered out of the very act of hanging and drowning themselves, and so brought *ad sanam mentem,* they have been very penitent, much abhorred their former fact, confessed that they have repented in an instant, and cryed for mercy in their hearts. If a man put desperate hands upon himself, by occasion of madness or melancholy, if he have given testimony before of

[a] Alios conquerentes audivi se esse ex damnatorum numero; Deo non esse curæ, aliaque infinita quæ proferre non audebant, vel abhorrebant. [b] Musculus, Partritus, ad vim sibi inferendam cogit homines. [c] 3 De mentis alienat. observ. lib. 1.
[d] Uxor Mercatoris diu vexationibus tentata, &c. [e] Abernethy.

ries, and too deep an apprehension of their sins, they cannot apply themselves to good counsell, pray, beleeve, repent; we must, as much as in us lies, occur and helpe their peculiar infirmities, according to their severall causes and symptomes, as we shall finde them distressed and complain.

The main matter which terrifies and torments most that are troubled in minde, is the enormity of their offences, the intolerable burthen of their sins, Gods heavie wrath and displeasure so deeply apprehended, that they account themselves reprobates, quite forsaken of God, already damned, past all hope of grace, uncapable of mercy, *diaboli mancipia*, slaves of sin, and their offences so great they cannot be forgiven. But these men must know there is no sin so hainous which is not pardonable in it selfe; no crime so great but by Gods mercy it may be forgiven. *Where sin aboundeth, grace aboundeth much more*, Rom. 5. 20. And what the Lord said unto Paul in his extremity, 2 Cor. 12. 9. *My grace is sufficient for thee, for my power is made perfect through weakness*, concernes every man in like case. His promises are made indefinite to all beleevers; generally spoken to all, touching remission of sins, that are truly penitent, grieved for their offences, and desire to be reconciled; Matth. 9. 12, 13. *I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance*, that is, such as are truly touched in conscience for their sins. Again, Matt. 11. 28. *Come unto me all ye that are heavie laden, and I will ease you.* Ezek. 18. 27. *At what time soever a sinner shall repent him of his sins, from the bottom of his heart, I will blot out all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord.* Isay 43. 25. *I, even I am he that put away thine iniquity for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins. As a father* (saith David, Psal. 103. 13.) *hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that feare him.* And will receive them again as the prodigall son was entertained, Luk. 15. if they shall so come with tears in their eys, and a penitent heart. *Peccator agnoscat, Deus ignoscit. The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slowe to anger, of great kindness*, Psal. 103. 8. *He will not alwayes chide, neither keepe his anger for ever.* 9. *As high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that feare him.* 11. *As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our sins from us.* 12. Though Cain cry out in the anguish of his soule, My punishment is greater then I can bear, 'tis not so; *Thou liest Cain* (saith Austin) *Gods mercy is greater than thy sins. His mercy is above all his workes*, Psal. 145. 9. able to satisfie for all mens sins, *antilutron*, 1 Tim. 2. 6. His mercy is a *panacea*, a balsome for an afflicted soule, a soveraign medicine, an alexiphar-

macum for all sin, a charm for the divel; his mercy was great to Solomon, to Manasses, to Peter, great to all offenders, and whosoever thou art, it may be so to thee. For why should God bid us pray (as Austin infers) *Deliver us from all evil, nisi ipse misericors perseveraret,* if he did not intende to helpe us? He therefore that [a] doubts of the remission of his sins, denies Gods mercy, and doth him injury, saith Austin. Yea, but thou replyest, I am a notorious sinner; mine offences are not so great as infinite. Hear Fulgentius, [b] *Gods invincible goodness cannot be overcome by sin; his infinite mercy cannot be terminated by any: the multitude of his mercy is equivalent to his magnitude.* Hear [c] Chrysostome, *Thy malice may be measured, but Gods mercy cannot be defined; thy malice is circumscribed, his mercies infinite.* As a drop of water is to the sea, so are thy misdeeds to his mercy; nay, there is no such proportion to be given: for the sea though great, yet may be measured, but Gods mercy cannot be circumscribed. Whatsoever thy sins be then, in quantity or quality, multitude or magnitude, feare them not, distrust not. I speak not this, saith [d] Chrysostome, *to make thee secure and negligent, but to cheer thee up.* Yea, but thou urgest again, I have little comfort of this which is said, it concerns me not: *Inanis pœnitentia quam sequens culpa coinquinat;* 'tis to no purpose for me to repent and doe worse then ever I did before, to persevere in sin, and to return to my lusts as a dog to his vomit, or a swine to the mire: [e] to what end is it to ask forgiveness of my sins, and yet daily to sin again and again, to do evil out of an habit? I daily and hourly offende in thought, worde, and deed; in a relapse by mine owne weakness and wilfulness; my *bonus Genius,* my good protecting angel is gone, I am faln from that I was, or would be, worse and worse, *my latter end is worse then my beginning. Si quotidie peccas, quotidie,* saith Chrysostome, *pœnitentiam age,* If thou daily offend, daily repent: [f] *if twice, thrice, an hundred, an hundred thousand times; twice, thrice, an hundred thousand times repent.* As they doe by an old house that is out of repaire, still mend some part or other; so doe by thy soule, still reform some vice, repaire it by repentance; call to him for grace and thou shalt have it; *for we are freely justified by his grace,* Rom. 3. 24. If thine enemy repent, as our Saviour

rub and so on.

[a] Magnam injuriam Deo facit, qui diffidit de ejus misericordiâ. [b] Bonitas invicti non vincitur; infiniti misericordia non finitur. [c] Hom. 3. De pœnitentiâ: Tua quidem malitia mensuram habet; Dei autem misericordia mensuram non habet. Tua malitia circumscripta est, &c. Pelagus etsi magnum, mensuram habet; Dei autem, &c. [d] Non ut desidiores vos faciam, sed ut alacriores reddam. [e] Pro peccatis veniam poscere, et mala de novo iterare. [f] Si bis, si ter, si centies, si centies millies, toties pœnitentiam age.

enjoyned Peter, forgive him 77 times; and why shouldst thou thinke God will not forgive thee? Why should the enormity of thy sins trouble thee? God can doe it, he will doe it. *My conscience* (saith [a] Anselm) *dictates to me, that I deserve damnation, my repentance will not suffice for satisfaction; but thy mercy, O Lord, quite overcomes all my transgressions.* The gods once (as the Poets fain) with a gold chain would pull Jupiter out of heaven, but they all together could not stirr him, and yet he could draw and turne them as he would himselfe, maugre all the force and fury of these infernal fiends and crying sins, *his grace is sufficient.* Confer the debt and the payment; Christ and Adam; sin and the cure of it; the disease and the medicine; confer the sicke man to the physician, and thou shalt soon perceive that his power is infinitely beyond it. God is better able, as [b] Bernard informeth us, *to helpe, then sin to do us hurt; Christ is better able to save, then the divel to destroy.* [c] If he be a skilful physician, as Fulgentius addes, *he can cure all diseases; if mercifull, he will. Non est perfecta bonitas a qua non omnis malitia vincitur,* his goodness is not absolute and perfect, if it be not able to overcome all malice. Submit thy selfe unto him, as Saint Austin adviseth, [d] *he knoweth best what he doth; and be not so much pleased when he sustains thee, as patient when be corrects thee; he is omnipotent, and can cure all diseases when he sees his owne time.* He lookes down from heaven upon earth, that he may hear the *mourning of prisoners, and deliver the children of death,* Psal. 102, 19, 20. *and though our sins be as red as scarlet, he can make them as white as snow,* Isay 1. 18. Doubt not of this, or aske how it shall be done; he is allsufficient that promiseth; *qui fecit mundum de immundo,* saith Chrysostome, he that made a faire world of nought, can do this and much more for his part: doe thou onely beleeve, trust in him, rely on him, be penitent and heartily sorry for thy sins. Repentance is a soveraign remedy for all sins, a spirituall wing to ereare us, a charm for our miseries, a protecting amulet to expell sins venome, an attractive loadstone to draw Gods mercy and graces unto us. [e] *Pecoatum vulnus, pœnitentia medicinam;* sin made the breach, repentance must helpe it; howsoever thine offence came by errour, sloath, obstinacy, ignorance, *exitur per pœniten-*

[a] Conscientia mea meruit damnationem, pœnitentia non sufficit ad satisfactionem; sed tua misericordia superat omnem offensionem. [b] Multo efficacior Christi mora in bonum, quam peccata nostra in malum. Christus potentior ad salvandum, quam dæmon ad perdendum. [c] Peritus medicus potest omnes infirmitates sanare; si misericors, vult. [d] Omnipotenti medico nullus languor insanabilis occurrit: tu tantum doceri te sine, manum ejus ne repelle: novit quid agat; non tantum delecteris cum fovet, sed tolleres quum secat. [e] Chrys. hom. 3. de pœnit.

tiam, this is the sole meanes to be relieved. [a] Hence comes our hope of safety, by this alone sinners are saved, God is provoked to mercy. *This unlooseth all that is bound, enlightneth darkness, mends that is broken, puts life to that which was desperately dying*: Makes no respect of offences, or of persons. [b] *This doth not repell a fornicator, reject a drunkard, resist a proude fellow, turn away an idolater, but entertains all, communicates it selfe to all.* Who persecuted the church more then Paul, offended more then Peter? and yet by repentance (saith Chrysologus) they got both *Magisterium et ministerium sanctitatis*, the magistery of holiness. The prodigall son went far, but by repentance he came home at last. [c] *This alone will turn a woolf into a sheep, make a publican a preacher, turn a thorne into an olive, make a deboshed fellow religious*, a blasphemer sing *Halleluia*, make Alexander the copper-smith truly devout, make a divel a saint. [d] *And him that polluted his mouth with calumnies, lying, swearing and filthy tunes and tones, to purge his throat with divine psalms.* Repentance will effect prodigious cures, make a stupend metamorphosis. *An hauk came into the ark, and went out again an hauk; a lyon came in, went out a lyon; a bear, a bear; a woolf, a woolf; but if an hauk come into this sacred temple of repentance, he will go forth a dove*, (saith [e] Chrysostome) *a woolf go out a sheep, a lyon a lamb.* [f] *This gives sight to the blinde, legs to the lame, cures all diseases, confers grace, expels vice, inserts vertue, comforts and fortifies the soule.* Shall I say, let thy sin be what it will, do but repent, it is sufficient.

[g] Quem pœnitet peccasse, pene est innocens.

'Tis true indeed and all sufficient this; they do confess, if they could repent, but they are obdurate, they have cauterized consciences, they are in a reprobate sense, they cannot thinke a good thought, they cannot hope for grace, pray, beleeve, repent, or be sorry for their sins, they finde no griefe for sin in themselves, but rather a delight, no groaning of spirit, but are carryed headlong to their owne destruction,, *heaping wrath to themselves against the day of wrath*, Rom. 2. 5. 'Tis a

[a] Spes salutis per quam peccatores salvantur, Deus ad misericordiam provocatur. Isidor. Omnia ligata tu solvis, contrita sanas, confusa lucidas, desperata animas. [b] Chrys. hom. 5. Non fornicatorem abnuit, non ebrium avertit, non superbum repellit, non aversatur Idolatram, non adulterum, sed omnes suscipit, omnibus communicat. [c] Chrys. hom. 5. [d] Qui turpibus cantilenis aliquando inquinavit os, divinis hymnis animum purgabit. [e] Hom. 5. Introivit hic quis accipiter, columba exit; introivit lupus, ovis egreditur. &c. [f] Omnes languores sanat, cæcis visum, claudis gressum, gratiam confert, &c. [g] Seneca.

grievous case this I do yeeld, and yet not to be despaired of; God of his bounty and mercy cals all to repentance, Rom. 2. 4. thou maist be called at length, restored, taken to his grace as the thiefe upon the cross, at the last hour, as Mary Magdalen and many other sinners have been, that were buryed in sin. God (saith [a] Fulgentius) *is delighted in the conversion of a sinner, he sets no time; prolixitas temporis Deo non præjudicat, aut gravitas peccati,* deferring of time or grievousness of sin doe not prejudicate his grace; things past and to come are all one to him as present, 'tis never too late to repent. [b] *This heaven of repentance is still open for all distressed soules;* and howsoever as yet no signes appear, thou maist repent in good time. Hear a comfortable speech of S[t]. Austin; [c] *Whatsoever thou shalt doe, how great a sinner soever, thou art yet living; if God would not helpe thee, he would surely take thee away; but in sparing thy life, he gives thee leasure, and invites thee to repentance.* Howsoever as yet, I say, thou perceivest no fruit, no feeling, findest no likelihood of it in thy selfe, patiently abide the Lords good leasure, despaire not, or thinke thou art a reprobate; he came to call sinners to repentance, Luke 5. 32. of which number thou art one; he came to call thee, and in his time will surely call thee. And although as yet thou hast no inclination to pray, to repent, thy faith be cold and dead, and thou wholy averse from all divine functions, yet it may revive; as trees are dead in winter but flourish in the spring: these vertues may lye hid in thee for the present, yet hereafter shew themselves, and peradventure already bud, howsoever thou dost not perceive it. 'Tis Satan's policy to plead against, suppress and aggravate, to conceal those sparkes of faith in thee. Thou dost not beleeve thou saist, yet thou wouldst beleeve if thou couldst, 'tis thy desire to beleeve; then pray, [d] *Lord help my unbeliefe;* and hereafter thou shalt certainly beleeve: [e] *Dabitur sitienti,* It shall be given to him that thirsteth. Thou canst not yet repent, hereafter thou shalt; a blacke cloud of sin as yet obnubilates thy soule, terrifies thy conscience, but this cloud may conceive a rain-bow at the last, and be quite dissipated by repentance. Be of good cheer; a child is rationall in power, not in act; and so art thou penitent in affection, though not yet in action. 'Tis thy desire to please God, to be heartily

[a] Delectatur Deus conversione peccatoris; omne tempus vitæ conversioni deputatur; pro præsentibus habentur tam præterita quam futura. [b] Austin. Semper pœnitentia portus apertus est ne desperemus. [c] Quicquid feceris, quantumcunque peccaveris, adhuc in vitâ es, unde te omnino si sanare te nollet Deus, auferret; parcendo clamat ut redeas, &c. [d] Matth. 6. 23. [e] Rev. 22. 17.

sorry; comfort thy selfe, no time is overpast, 'tis never too late. A desire to repent, is repentance it selfe, though not in nature, yet in Gods acceptance; a willing minde is sufficient. *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness*, Mat. 5. 6. He that is destitute of Gods Grace, and wisheth for it shall have it. *The Lord* (saith David, Psal. 10. 17) *will hear the desire of the poor*, that is, of such as are in distress of body and minde. 'Tis true thou canst not as yet grieve for thy sin, thou hast no feeling of faith, I yeeld; yet canst thou grieve thou dost not grieve? It troubles thee, I am sure, thine heart should be so impenitent and hard, thou wouldst have it otherwise; 'tis thy desire to grieve, to repent and beleeve. Thou lovest Gods children and saints in the mean time, hatest them not, persecutest them not, but rather wishest thy selfe a true professor, to be as they are, as thou thy selfe hast been heretofore; which is an evident token thou art in no such desperate case. 'Tis a good signe of thy conversion, thy sins are pardonable, thou art, or shalt surely be reconciled. *The Lord is neer them that are of a contrite heart*, Luke 4. 18. [a] A true desire of mercy in the want of mercy, is mercy it selfe; a desire of grace in the want of grace, is grace it selfe; a constant and earnest desire to beleeve, repent, and to be reconciled to God, if it be in a touched heart, is an acceptation of God, a reconciliation, faith and repentance it selfe. For it is not thy faith and repentance, as [b] Chrysostome truly teacheth, that is vailable, but Gods mercy that is annexed to it; he accepts the will for the deed: So that I conclude, to feel in ourselves the want of grace, and to be grieved for it, is grace it selfe. I am troubled with feare my sins are not forgiven, *Careless objects*; but Bradford answers, they are; *For God hath given thee a penitent and beleeving heart, that is, an heart which desireth to repent and beleeve; for such a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a truly penitent and beleeving heart.*

All this is true thou replyest, but yet it concernes not thee; 'tis verified in ordinary offenders, in common sins, but thine are of an higher strain, even against the Holy Ghost himselfe, irremissible sins, sins of the first magnitude, written with a pen of iron, engraven with the point of a diamond. Thou art worse than a Pagan, Infidel, Jewe, or Turke, for thou art an Apostate and more, thou hast voluntarily blasphemed, renounced God and all religion, thou art worse then Judas himselfe, or they that crucified Christ: for they did offende out of ignorance, but thou hast thought in thine heart there is no God. Thou hast given thy soule to the divel, as witchers and conjurers

[a] Abernethy, Perkins. [b] Non est pœnitentia, sed Dei misericordia annexa.

doe, *explicite* and *implicite*, by compact, band, and obligation (a desperate, a fearfull case) to satisfie thy lust, or to be revenged of thine enemies; thou didst never pray, come to church, hear, reade, or doe any divine duties with any devotion, but for formality and fashion sake, with a kinde of reluctancie; 'twas troublesome and painfull to thee to performe any such thing, *præter voluntatem*, against thy will. Thou never mad'st any conscience of lying, swearing, bearing false witness, murder, adultery, bribery, oppression, thefte, drunkenness, idolatrie, but hast ever done all duties for feare of punishment, as they were most advantageous, and to thine owne ends, and committed all such notorious sins, with an extraordinary delight, hating that thou shouldest love, and loving that thou shouldest hate. In stead of faith, feare and love of God, repentance, &c. blasphemous thoughts have been ever harboured in his minde, even against God himselfe, the blessed Trinitie: the [a] Scripture false, rude, harsh, immethodicall: heaven, hell, resurrection, meer toyes and fables, [b] incredible, impossible, absurd, vaine, ill contrived; religion, policie, and humane invention, to keep men in obedience; or for profit, invented by priests and law-givers to that purpose. If there be any such supream power he takes no notice of our doings, hears not our prayers, regardeth them not, will not, cannot helpe; or else he is partiall, an excepter of persons, authour of sin, a cruell, a destructive God, to create our soules, and destinate them to eternall damnation; to make us worse then our dogs and horses. Why doth he not govern things better, protect good men, root out wicked livers? why do they prosper and flourish? as she raved in the [c] tragedy—— *pellices cœlum tenent*, there they shine,

Suasque Perseus aureas stellas habet.

where is his providence? how appears it?

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pomponius nullo; quis putet esse Deos.

Why doth he suffer Turkes to overcome Christians, the enemy to triumph over his church, Paganisme to domineer in all places as it doth, heresies to multiply, such enormities to be committed, and so many such bloudy wars, murders, massacres, plagues, ferall diseases? why doth he not make us all good, able, sound? why makes he [d] venomous creatures, rockes, sands, deserts, this

[a] Cæcilius Minutio. Omnia ista figmenta male sanæ religionis, et inepta solatia a poetis inventa, vel ab aliis ob commodum, superstitiosa mysteria, &c. [b] These temptations and objections are well answered in John Downam's christian warfare. [c] Seneca. [d] Vid. Campanella cap. 6. Atheis. Triumphat. et c. 2. ad argumentum 12. ubi plura. Si Deus bonus unde colum, &c.

earth it selfe the muckhill of the world, a prison, an house of correction?

[a] Mentimur regnare Jovem, &c.

with many such horrible and execrable conceits, not fit to be uttered; *Terribilia de fide, horribilia de Divinitate.* They cannot, some of them, but thinke evil; they are compelled *volentes nolentes*, to blaspheme, especially when they come to church and pray, reade, &c. such fowl and prodigious suggestions come into their hearts.

These are abominable, unspeakable offences, and most opposite to God, *tentationes fædæ et impiæ*; yet in this case, he or they that shall be tempted and so affected, must know, that no man living is free from such thoughts in part, or at some times; the most divine spirits have been so tempted in some sort; evil custome, omission of holy exercises, ill company, idleness, solitariness, melancholy, or depraved nature, and the divel is still ready to corrupt, trouble, and divert our soules; to suggest such blasphemous thoughts into our phantasies, ungodly, profane, monstrous and wicked conceits. If they come from Satan, they are more speedy, fearfull and violent, the parties cannot avoid them: they are more frequent, I say, and monstrous when they come; for the divel he is a spirit, and hath meanes and opportunitie to mingle himselfe with our spirits, and sometimes more slily, sometimes more abruptly and openly, to suggest such divelish thoughts into our hearts. He insultes and domineers in melancholy distempered phantasies and persons especially; melancholy is *balneum diaboli*, as Serapio holds, the divels bath, and invites him to come to it. As a sicke man frets, raves in his fits, speakes and doth he knows not what, the divel violently compels such crazed soules, to thinke such damned thoughts against their wils; they cannot but do it; sometimes more continuate, or by fits, he takes his advantage, as the subject is less able to resist; he aggravates, extenuates, affirmes, denies, damnes, confounds the spirits, troubles heart, braine, humors, organs, senses, and wholly domineers in their imaginations. If they proceed from themselves, such thoughts, they are remiss and moderate, not so violent and monstrous, not so frequent. The divel commonly suggests things opposite to nature, opposite to God and his word, impious, absurd, such as a man would never of himselfe, or could not conceive, they strike terrour and horrour into the parties owne heart. For if he or they be asked whether they do approve of such like thoughts or no, they answer (and their owne soules truely dictate as much) they abhor them as hell and the divel himselfe, they would fain

[a] Lucan.

thinke otherwise if they could; he hath thought otherwise, and with all his soule desires so to thinke again; he doth resist, and hath some good motions intermixt now and then: So that such blasphemous, impious, unclean thoughts, are not his owne, but the divels; they proceed not from him, but from a crazed phantasie, distempered humors, blacke fumes which offend his braine; [a] they are thy crosses, the divels sins, and he shall answer for them; he doth enforce thee to doe that which thou dost abhor, and didst never give consent to: And although he hath sometimes so slily set upon thee, and so far prevailed, as to make thee, in some sort, to assent to such wicked thoughts, to delight in them, yet they have not proceeded from a confirmed will in thee, but are of that nature which thou dost afterwards reject and abhor. Therefore be not overmuch troubled and dismaid with such kinde of suggestions, at least if they please thee not; because they are not thy personall sins, for which thou shalt incur the wrath of God, or his displeasure: contemne, neglect them, let them go as they come, strive not too violently, or trouble thy selfe too much, but as our Saviour said to Satan in like case, say thou, *Avoid Satan*, I detest thee and them. *Satanæ est mala ingerere* (saith Austin) *nostrum non consentire:* as Satan labours to suggest, so must we strive not to give consent, and it will be sufficient: the more anxious and solicitous thou art, the more perplexed, the more thou shalt otherwise be troubled, and entangled. Besides, they must know this, all so molested and distempered, that although these be most execrable and grievous sins, they are pardonable yet, through Gods mercy and goodness they may be forgiven, if they be penitent and sorry for them. Paul himselfe confesseth, Rom. 7. 19. *He did not the good he would doe, but the evil which he would not doe; 'tis not I, but sin that dwelleth in me.* 'Tis not thou, but Satan's suggestions, his craft and subtilty, his malice: comfort thy selfe then if thou be penitent and grieved, or desirous to be so, these hainous sins shall not be laid to thy charge. Gods mercy is above all sins, which if thou doe not finally contemne, without doubt thou shalt be saved. [b] *No man sins against the Holy Ghost, but he that wilfully and finally renounceth Christ, and contemneth him and his word to the last, without which there is no salvation; from which grievous sin, God of his infinite mercy deliver us.* Take hold of this to be thy comfort, and meditate withall on God's word, labour to pray, to repent, to be renewed in minde, *keep thine heart with all diligence*, Prov. 4. 23. resist the

[a] Perkins. [b] Hemmingius. Nemo peccat in Spiritum Sanctum, nisi qui finaliter et voluntarie renunciat Christo, eumque et ejus verbum extremo contemnit, sine quo nulla salus; a quo peccato liberet nos Dominus Jesus Christus. Amen.

divel and he will flye from thee, pour out thy soule unto the Lord with sorrowful Hannah, *pray continually*, as Paul injoyns, and as David did, Psal. 1. *meditate on his law day and night.*

Yea, but this meditation is that that mars all; and mistaken, makes many men far worse, misconceiving all they reade or hear, to their owne overthrow. The more they search and reade Scriptures, or divine treatises, the more they puzle themselves; as a bird in a net, the more they are intangled and precipitated into this preposterous gulf. *Many are called, but few are chosen*, Mat. 20. 16. and 22. 14. with such like places of scripture misinterpreted, strike them with horrour; they doubt presently whether they be of this number or no. Gods eternall decree of predestination, absolute reprobation, and such fatall tables they form to their owne ruine, and impinge upon this rocke of despair. How shall they be assured of their salvation, by what signes? *If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinners appear?* 1 Pet. 4. 18. Who knowes, saith Solomon, whether he be elect? This grindes their soules; how shall they discern they are not reprobates? But I say again, how shall they discern they are? From the divel can be no certainty, for he is a lyar from the beginning: If he suggest any such thing, as too frequently he doth, reject him as a deceiver, an enemy of humane kinde; dispute not with him, give no credit to him, obstinately refuse him, as S^t^. Anthony did in the wilderness, whom the divel set upon in severall shapes, or as the collier did, so do thou by him. For when the divel tempted him with the weakness of his faith, and told him he could not be saved, as being ignorant in the principles of religion: and urged him moreover to know what he beleeved, what he thought of such and such points and mysteries: the collier told him, he beleeved as the church did; but what (said the divel again) doth the church beleeve? as I doe (said the collier) and what's that thou beleevest? as the church doth, &c. when the divel could get no other answer, he left him. If Satan summon thee to answer, send him to Christ: he is thy liberty, thy protector against cruell death, raging sin, that roaring lyon; he is thy righteousness, thy saviour, and thy life. Though he say, thou art not of the number of the elect, a reprobate, forsaken of God, hold thine owne still,

—— hic murus aheneus esto,

Let this be as a bulwark, a brazen wall to defend thee, stay thy selfe in that certainty of faith; let that be thy comfort, CHRIST will protect thee, vindicate thee, thou art one of his flocke, he will triumph over the law, vanquish death, over-

think otherwise! [a] *Why should we pray to God that are Gentiles, and thanke him for his mercies and benefits, that hath damned us all innocuous for Adams offence, one mans offence, one small offence, eating of an apple? why should we acknowledge him for our governour that hath wholly neglected the salvation of our soules, contemned us, and sent no prophets or instructors to teach us, as he hath done to the Hebrewes?* So Julian the apostate objects. Why should these Christians (Cælius urgeth) reject us and appropriate God unto themselves, *Deum illum suum unicum, &c.* But to return to our forged Cælius. At last he comes to that, he will have those saved that never heard of, or beleeved in Christ, *ex puris naturalibus*, with the Pelagians, and proves it out of Origen and others. *They* (saith [b] Origen) *that never heard Gods word, are to be excused for their ignorance: we may not thinke God will be so hard, angry, cruell or injust as to condemne any man* indictâ causâ. They alone (he holdes) are in the state of damnation that refuse Christs mercy and grace, when it is offered. Many worthy Greekes and Romans, good moral honest men, that kept the law of Nature, did to others as they would be done to themselves, are as certainly saved, he concludes, as they were that lived uprightly before the law of Moses. They were acceptable in Gods sight, as Job was, the Magi, the queene of Sheba, Darius of Persia, Socrates, Aristides, Cato, Curius, Tully, Seneca, and many other philosophers, upright livers, no matter of what religion, as Cornelius, out of any nation, so that he live honestly, call on God, trust in him, feare him, he shall be saved. This opinion was formerly maintained by the Valentinian and Basiledian heretiques; revived of late in [c] Turkie, of which sect Rustan Bassa was patron, defended by [d] Galeatius Martius, and some ancient fathers; and of later times favoured by [e] Erasmus, by Zuinglius *in exposit. fidei ad Regem Galliæ*, whose tenet Bullinger vindicates, and Gualter approves in a just apology, with many arguments. There be many Jesuites that follow these Calvinists in this behalfe; Franciscus Buchsius Moguntinus, Andradius *Consil. Trident.* many schoolmen that out of the Rom. 2. 14, 15. are verily perswaded that those good workes of the Gentiles did so far please God, that they might *vitam æternam promereri*, and be saved in the end. Sesellius, and Benedictus Justinianus in his Comment on the

[a] Vide Cyrillum lib. 4. adversus Julianum. Qui poterimus illi gratias agere, qui nobis non misit Mosen et prophetas, et contempsit bona animarum nostrarum?
[b] Venia danda est iis qui non audiunt ob ignorantiam. Non est tam iniquus Judex Deus; ut quenquam indicta causa damnare velit. Ii solum damnantur, qui oblatam Christi gratiam rejiciunt. [c] Busbequius Lonicerus Tur. hist. To. 1. l. 2.
[d] Clem. Alex. [e] Paulus Jovius Elog. vir. Illust.

first of the Romans, Mathias Ditmarsh the polititian, with many others, hold a mediocrity, they may be *salute non indigni*, but they will not absolutely decree it. Hofmannus, a Lutheran Professour of Helmstad, and many of his followers, with most of our church, and papists are stiffe against it. Franciscus Collius hath fully censured all opinions in his five Books *de Paganorum animabus post mortem*, and amply dilated this question, which who so will may peruse. But to return to my authour; his conclusion is, that not only wicked livers, blasphemers, reprobates, and such as reject Gods grace, *but that the divels themselves shall be saved at last*, as [a] Origen long since delivered in his workes; and our late [b] Socinians defend Ostorodius, *cap.* 41. *institut. Smaltius, &c.* Those termes of all and for ever in scripture, are not eternall, but only denote a longer time, which by many examples they prove. The world shall end like a comœdy, and we shall meet at last in heaven, and live in bliss together; or else in conclusion, *in nihil evanescere.* For how can he be merciful that shall condemne any creature to eternall, unspeakable punishment, for one small temporary fault, all posterity, so many myriades, for one and an other mans offence, *quid meruistis oves?* But these absurde paradoxes are exploded by our church; we teach otherwise. That this vocation, predestination, election, reprobation, *non ex corruptâ massâ, prævisa fide*, as our Arminians, or *ex prævisis operibus*, as our papists, *non ex præteritione*, but Gods absolute decree *ante mundum creatum*, (as many of our church holde) was from the beginning, before the foundation of the world was laid, or *homo conditus*, (or from Adam's fall, as others will, *homo lapsus objectum est reprobationis)* with *perseverantia sanctorum*, we must be certain of our salvation; we may fall but not finally, which our Arminians will not admit. According to his immutable, eternall, just decree and counsell of saving men and angels, God cals all, and would have all to be saved according to the efficacy of vocation: all are invited, but onely the elect apprehended: the rest that are unbeleeving, impenitent, whom God in his just judgement leaves to be punished for their sins, are in a reprobate sense; yet we must not determine who are such, condemne our selves or others, because we have an universal invitation; all are commanded to beleeve, and we know not how soon or late before our end we may be received. I might have said more of this subject, but forasmuch as it is a forbidden question; and in the preface or declaration to the articles of the church, printed 1633,

[a] Non homines sed et ipsi dæmones aliquando servandi. [b] Vid. Pelsii Harmoniam art. 22. p. 2.

to avoid factions and altercations, we that are universitie divines especially, are prohibited *all curious searche, to print or preach, or drawe the article aside by our owne sense and comments, upon pain of ecclesiasticall censure,* I will surcease, and conclude with [a] Erasmus, of such controversies: *Pugnet qui volet, ego censeo leges majorum reverenter suscipiendas, et religiose observandas, velut a Deo profectas; nec esse tutum, nec esse pium, de potestate publicâ sinistram concipere aut serere suspitionem. Et siquid est tyrannidis, quod tamen non cogat ad impietatem, satius est ferre, quam seditiose reluctari.*

But to my former taske. The last main torture and trouble of a distressed minde, is not so much this doubte of election, and that the promises of grace are smothered and extinct in them, nay quite blotted out, as they suppose, but withall Gods heavy wrath, a most intolerable pain and griefe of heart seizeth on them. To their thinking, they are already damned; they suffer the paines of hell, and more then possibly can be expressed; they smell brimstone, talk familiarly with divels, hear and see chimeras, prodigious, uncouth shapes, bears, owls, antiques, blacke dogs, fiends, hideous outcries, fearfull noises, shreeks, lamentable complaintes, they are possessed, and through [b] impatience they roare and howle, curse, blaspheme, deny God, call his power in question, abjure religion, and are still ready to offer violence unto themselves, by hanging, drowning, &c. Never any miserable wretch from the beginning of the world, was in such a wofull case. To such persons I oppose Gods mercy and his justice; *Judicia Dei occulta, non injusta:* his secret counsell and just judgement, by which he spares some, and sore afflicts others again in this life: his judgement is to be adored, trembled at, not to be searched or enquired after by mortall men; he hath reasons reserved to himselfe, which our frailty cannot apprehend. He may punish all if he will, and that justly, for sin; in that he doth it in some, is to make a way for his mercie that they repent and be saved; to heal them, to trye them, exercise their patience, and make them call upon him; to confess their sins and pray unto him, as David did, Psal. 119. 137. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgements.* As the poor publican, Luke 18. 13. *Lord have mercie upon me a miserable sinner.* To put confidence and have an assured hope in him, as Job had 13. 15. *Though he kill me I will trust in him: Ure, seca, occide, O Domine,* (saith Austin) *modo serves animam,* kill, cut in pieces, burne my body (O Lord) to save my

[a] Epist. Erasmi de utilitate Colloquior. ad lectorem.

[b] Vastatâ conscientiâ sequitur sensus iræ divinæ. (Hemingius) fremitus cordis, ingens animæ cruciatus, &c.

soule. A small sickness, one lash of affliction, a little miserie, many times, will more humiliate a man, sooner convert, bring him home to know himselfe, then all those parænetical discourses, the whole theory of philosophy, law, physicke and divinity, or a world of instances, and examples. So that this, which they take to be such an insupportable plague, is an evident signe of Gods mercie and justice, of his love and goodness: *periissent nisi periissent*, had they not thus been undone, they had finally been undone. Many a carnall man is lulled asleep in perverse securitie, foolish presumption, is stupified in his sins, and hath no feeling at all of them. I *have sinned* (he saith) *and what evill shall come unto me*, Ecclus. 5. 4. and *tush, how shall God know it?* And so in a reprobate sense goes downe to hell. But here, *Cynthius aurem vellit*, God pulls them by the eare, by affliction, he will bring them to heaven and happiness; *Blessed are they that mourne, for they shall be comforted*, Matth. 5. 4. a blessed and an happy state, if considered aright, it is, to be so troubled. *It is good for me that I have been afflicted*, Psal. 119. *before I was afflicted I went astray; but now I keepe thy word. Tribulation workes patience, patience hope.* Rom. 5. 4. and by such like crosses and calamities we are driven from the state of securitie. So that affliction is a school or academy, wherein the best schollers are prepared to the commencements of the deity. And though it be most troublesome and grievous for the time, yet know this, it comes by Gods permission and providence, he is a spectator of thy groanes and teares, still present with thee, the very hairs of thy head are numbred, not one of them can fall to the ground, without the express will of God: he will not suffer thee to be tempted above measure, he corrects us all [a] *numero, pondere, et mensurâ*; The Lord will not quench the smoaking flaxe, or breake the bruised reed. *Tentat* (saith Austin) *non ut obruat, sed ut coronet*, he suffers thee to be tempted for thy good. And as a mother doth handle her child sicke and weake, not reject it, but with all tenderness observe and keepe it, so doth God by us, not forsake us in our miseries, or relinquish us for our imperfections, but with all piety and compassion support and receive us: whom he loves he loves to the end. Rom. 8. *Whom he hath elected, those he hath called, justified, sanctified, and glorified.* Think not then thou hast lost the spirit, that thou art forsaken of God, be not overcome with heaviness of heart, but as David said, *I will not feare though I walk in the shadowes of death.* We must all go, *non a delitiis ad delitias*, but from the crosse to the crowne,

[a] Austin.

by hell to heaven, as the old Romans put Vertues temple in the way to that of honour: we must endure sorrow and miserie in this life. 'Tis no new thing this, Gods best servants and dearest children have been so visited and tryed. Christ in the garden cryed out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me:* his son by nature, as thou art by adoption and grace. Job in his anguish said, *The arrowes of the Almighty God were in him,* Job 6. 4. *His terrours fought against him, the venome dranke up his spirit,* cap. 13. 26. He saith, *God was his enemie, writ bitter things against him,* (16. 9.) *hated him.* His heavy wrath had so seized on his soule. David complains, *His eys were eaten up, sunk into his head,* Ps. 6. 7. *His moisture became as the drought in summer, his flesh was consumed, his bones vexed:* yet neither Job nor David did finally despair. Job would not leave his hold, but still trust in him, acknowledging him to bee his good God. *The Lord gives, the Lord takes, blessed be the name of the Lord,* Job. 1. 21. *Behold I am vile, I abhor my selfe, repent in dust and ashes,* Job 40. 4. David humbled himself, Psal. 31. and upon his confession received mercie. Faith, hope, repentance, are the soveraign cures and remedies, the sole comforts in this case; confess, humble thy self, repent, it is sufficient. *Quod purpura non potest, saccus potest,* saith Chrysostome: the king of Ninive's sackcloth and ashes did that which his purple robes and crowne could not effect; *Quod diadema non potuit, cinis perfecit.* Turn to him, he will turn to thee: The Lord is neer those that are of a contrite heart, and will save such as be afflicted in spirit, Psal. 34. 18. *He came to the lost sheep of Israel,* Mat. 15. 24. *Si cadentem intuetur, clementiæ manum protendit,* he is at all times ready to assist. *Nunquam spernit Deus pœnitentiam, si sincere et simpliciter offeratur,* he never rejects a penitent sinner, though he have come to the full height of iniquity, wallowed and delighted in sin; yet if he will forsake his former wayes, *libenter amplexatur,* he will receive him. *Parcam huic homini,* saith [a] Austin, (*ex personâ Dei*) *quia sibi ipsi non pepercit; ignoscam quia peccatum agnovit.* I will spare him because he hath not spared himselfe; I will pardon him, because he doth acknowledge his offence; let it be never so enormous a sin *his grace is sufficient,* 2 Cor. 12. 9. Despair not then, faint not at all, be not dejected, but rely on God, call on him in thy trouble, and he will hear thee, he will assist, helpe, and deliver thee: *Draw neer to him, he will draw neer to thee,* Jam. 4. 8. Lazarus was poor and

[a] Super Psal. 52. Convertar ad liberandum eum, quia conversus est ad peccatum suum puniendum.

full of boyles, and yet still he relied upon God; Abraham did hope beyond hope.

Thou exceptest, these were chiefe men, divine spirits, *Deo chari*, beloved of God, especially respected; but I am a contemptible and forlorne wretch, forsaken of God, and left to the merciless fury of evil spirits. I cannot hope, pray, repent, &c. How often shall I say it! thou maist performe all these duties, christian offices, and be restored in good time. A sicke man loseth his appetite, strength and ability, his disease prevaileth so far, that all his faculties are spent, hand and foot performe not their duties, his eys are dimme, hearing dull, tongue distasts things of pleasant rellish, yet nature lies hid, recovereth again, and expelleth all those fœculent matters by vomit, sweat, or some such like evacuations. Thou art spiritually sicke, thine heart is heavy, thy minde distressed, thou maist happily recover again, expell those dismal passions of feare and griefe: God did not suffer thee to be tempted above measure; whom he loves (I say) he loves to the end; hope the best. David in his misery prayed to the Lord, remembring how he had formerly dealt with him; and with that meditation of Gods mercy confirmed his faith, and pacified his own tumultuous heart in his greatest agony. *O my soule, why art thou so disquieted within me, &c.* Thy soule is eclipsed for a time, I yeeld, as the sun is shadowed by a cloude; no doubt but those gratious beames of Gods mercie will shine upon thee again, as they have formerly done; those embers of faith, hope and repentance, now buried in ashes, will flame out afresh, and be fully revived. Want of faith, no feeling of grace for the present, are not fit directions; we must live by faith, not by feeling; 'tis the beginning of grace to wish for grace: we must expect and tarry. David, a man after Gods own heart, was so troubled himselfe; *Awake, why sleepest thou? O Lord, arise, cast me not off; wherefore hidest thou thy face, and forgettest mine affliction and oppression? My soule is bowed downe to the dust. Arise, redeem us, &c.* Psal. 44. 22, 23, 24. He prayed long before he was heard, *expectans expectavit*; endured much before he was relieved. Psal. 69. 3. he complaines, *I am weary of crying, and my throat is dry, mine eys fail, whilst I wait on the Lord*; and yet he perseveres. Be not dismayed, thou shalt be respected at last. God often workes by contrarieties; he first kils and then makes alive; he woundeth first and then healeth; he makes man sow in teares that he may reap in joye; 'tis Gods method. He that is so visited, must with patience endure, and rest satisfied for the present. The paschal lamb was eaten with sowre hearbs; we shall feel no sweetness of his bloud, till we first feel the smart of our sins. Thy paines are great, intolerable for the time; thou art

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John Keats

from his friend Leigh Hunt.